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FIELD MARSHAL

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

...the Victorious ARTHUR WELLESLEY, who, had, were taken ... case to Vittoria ...

Official Dispatch.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Political and Military Events,

OF

1815;

INTENDED TO COMPLETE

THE NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGNS

OF

1812, 1813, AND 1814.

BY JAMES M'QUEEN.

"The people of France, *if they do not already feel*, that Europe is too strong for them, *should be made sensible of it;* and that whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual Powers in Europe, THE DAY OF RETRIBUTION MUST COME."

WELLINGTON'S LETTER TO CASTLEREAGH, PARIS, SEPT. 23, 1815.

"THEY MAY NOW THANK PROVIDENCE, FOR OUR NOT FOLLOWING THEIR BASE EXAMPLE."

BLUCHER'S LETTER, OCT. 19, 1815.

GLASGOW:
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PREFACE.

THE rapidity with which the remarkable events of 1815, succeeded to those which had taken place in the former years, alone induced me to resume my pen and complete a subject which I had previously supposed was concluded. In this undertaking I have followed the same plan as in the former work. I have endeavoured to record not only what the opposite parties *did*, but also what they *said*. Of the differences of opinion in the Cabinet of Napoleon, and the private councils of the Allies on the Continent, or in those of our own Cabinet, on these momentous occurrences, I pretend not to know—I attempt not to trace. It is the language and the deeds as promulgated, undertaken and executed in the name of, and by each nation or alliance, which I have chosen as my guide; and in which the public alone were immediately interested.—It is chiefly these which I have attempted to collect together.

Of the military affairs, particularly of the memorable battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo; and, in a more particular manner, concerning the latter, I have endeavoured to collect the details from the various Official Dispatches, and from such private sources of information as I could rely on, in order to form the whole into one connected narrative, each part bearing upon its true point. But though this was a pleasant, yet it was by no means an easy task. The materials, indeed, are abundant; but so scattered and disjointed, that it is scarcely possible to arrange them so as to be entirely free from errors: and I greatly fear, after every care, that these may still be considerable, as far as concerns particular periods and points of the battle. Of that dreadful day, indeed, no language can describe the reality. After all I have done—after all I have seen done on the subject, still the whole is but a faint and imperfect account of that most decisive combat. There every individual carried on a sanguinary conflict. There every regiment fought

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a battle in itself, equal to many mighty engagements in former wars. Their country can never sufficiently appreciate the labours and the dangers of her brave children, on that dreadful day. The world can never sufficiently admire those exertions which crushed the last collected efforts of evil in Europe, and which banished the Head of Discord to a rock amidst the wild and the vast waves of the ocean in another hemisphere.

In referring, as I have done, to the daily journal called The Morning Chronicle, I have done so only because its opinions and principles in general, are well understood to be the opinions and principles of that body of men who wished to pursue a different course than that which has delivered Europe. I knew not how to embody these opinions so well from any other authority. In quoting from the French Journals, I have done so because their opinions and principles are well known to have been the opinions and the principles of the French Government.

Of the condition and views of France, it is scarcely possible to form a decided opinion. While Napoleon lives, many of his party will still have hopes, and keep aloof from the present Government. These will also be ready to coalesce with any other party in overthrowing the present system, with the hope of rendering their own victorious at last. But if the revolutionary spirit should again resume the ascendancy, it will be put down by an indignant world, and deprived of the means of ever again annoying or alarming Europe. If the Bourbon Government, impelled by the spirit of the nation, turn their views to wars of ambition, France will perish in the attempt, and be swept by the fury of indignant millions. This, however, cannot be the wish of the Bourbon Government; as their internal factions and enemies are of sufficient force to employ their power and their strength, without raising up foreign powers against them. These will continue to exert themselves in every way, and in every shape. Jacobinical hatred and Democratic anger, in defiance of truth and experience, will still continue to tell us that it was only to restore that family, that all the wars so lately concluded, have been carried on. But we fought to secure our own independence and safety; we fought to beat down French ambition, whether it assumed the barbarous aspect of a wild anarchy—the corrupted features of an

organized want of principle, or the hideous garb of an unrelenting military despotism. And it is this, and this only, which we must in future guard against. Their conduct otherwise, in their internal affairs, can do us no harm; but whenever the Government that may guide France shall again let loose those infernal principles which destroyed social order, and shall organize a military power, which, having nothing to do within, can only be employed in wars of external aggression, all Europe must put it down, because all Europe is interested in doing so. Beaten to the ground and disappointed, the odious remnant of Atheism and Jacobinism will never rest in peace. It will, in every country, resume its usual employment and usual activity. It will calumniate every power it should respect; desperate and deliberate falsehoods, and the most gross, dangerous, and insidious fabrications, concerning all public affairs and public men, will be circulated over the world in abundance, in order to corrupt, irritate, confuse, and alarm, the human mind. But let the people beware; these are the weapons of 1790, and the poisoned arrows of 1793. Whatever the future conduct of any Sovereign in Europe may be, or however odious and despotic they may turn, it never can exonerate France in her infamous career. Their conduct can never equal hers; nor can it ever lessen the merit of any one, for their conduct at this time in overthrowing her system and clearing the world of her ambition.

As Britons, we have reason to be proud: as men, we can never be sufficiently thankful to that Almighty Power, who has crowned the unparalleled exertions of this nation with the greatest triumph and the completest success. Left alone to contend against a world in arms, and under the banners of evil arrayed against us, we yet withstood the shock and triumphed over them all. We did more—we supported justice—we re-animated morality—we administered consolation to the broken-hearted—we comforted and assisted the oppressed—we restored to man his dignity—we encouraged and aided him to regain his lost rights. We placed the cup of retribution in the hands of our mortal foes—of the foes of all order; and in the presence of an assembled and indignant world, made them wring out and drink the bitter dregs of their own iniquity, and which they intended for us. We have preserv-

ed inviolate every thing that was dear to us. We have raised our national character to a pitch of glory and honour unknown to any other; glory and honour founded upon the basis of justice, and supported by the gratitude of a world delivered from oppression.

As far as man can judge, a bright prospect lies before us. We have seen the causes which led other nations into the dreadful abyss from which our exertions have tended to deliver them. Let us therefore, both as individuals and as a nation, shun the footsteps which they followed, that we never experience nor suffer what they have done. The way to do this is the cheapest, the easiest, and the most honourable possible: *Let every man reform himself, and his country will never stand in need of it.* Let us honour and obey our mild Sovereign and our just laws. Above all, let us remember and reverence our GOD. Let truth guide our words, and integrity our actions. Thus situated, we shall at all times have an invincible ægis round our heads, which the malice and strength of man will in vain attack; and which the re-appearance of Napoleon, with the splendour of the sun of Austerlitz round his head *never can endanger, and will assail in vain.*

Glasgow,
25th January, 1816.

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A. Ramsay pinx.t — Bickwood Sculpsit

GEORGE THE THIRD

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN &c.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS

OF 1815.

When I first considered the extraordinary events, and the memorable campaigns, of 1812, 1813, and 1814, I did not expect that by the time I had closed the volume, a fresh subject, proceeding from the same system, and arising in the same quarter, should so soon claim the attention of Europe, and demand the labour of the Narrator. That the restless mind and evil disposition of the mass of the population of France, would, in a short period, plunge Europe into a fresh war, I did not doubt; but that, to accomplish this object, they would so soon arm themselves with the same weapons, and march under their former banners, I believe, few were prepared to expect. While Europe yet remained in arms, and in threatening array—when the Andalusian, in his return to his home, had as yet only gained a distant view of the mountain which he revered, and the Cossack of the stream which he loved; who could have supposed that the former would not have been suffered to enhale, in peace, the healthful breeze on the one, and the latter not to taste the refreshing draught from the other. Worn grey in the service, half his life spent in the tented field, familiar with glory, and satisfied that, with his own peace and liberty, he had secured the independence and repose of his native land, we beheld the soldier returning to enjoy the fruits

of his honourable wounds, his toils, and his dangers. Under the prospect of durable comfort and repose, we saw him welcomed by his family and friends, whether these were situated around the banks of the Danube, or the Moskwa, or the Oder; on the shores of Britain, or the mountains of the North. We every where beheld the brave defenders of their country, standing, as it were, upon the threshold of their beloved homes; while the tear of welcome, and the smile of satisfaction animated the countenances of those dearest to their hearts; and whose eager arms prepared to unbuckle their armour, and to lay aside their arms. But soon those soft scenes were ruffled. Soon these transports fled. The cloud of the storm rolled sullen on the brow of the mountain. The wind began to howl fiercely along the agitated stream. The blast of the trumpet again sounded the alarm of battle, and commanded the warrior to retrace his footsteps with the utmost speed—commanded him again to leave his native land, his friends and his family—so often desired—thus barely found, and to leave them, perhaps, for ever. Who can describe the feelings, which such a moment called forth in the agitated groupe? Who can paint the anguish and alarm which, at such a moment, overspread Europe? Bitter, however, as these were; equally so, was the indignation aroused, against those whose conduct had occasioned all this.

The Treaty of Paris, it was fondly anticipated, had secured for a long time the repose of Europe. That of Ghent, concluded at the close of the year, was believed to have consolidated the harmony of the civilized world. Vain hope! Scarcely was the ink dry with which the former was ratified, and the vast military force of the allies, at first too lightly felt, and next too hastily removed, withdrawn beyond the boundaries of France, when the restless, arrogant, ambitious, and ungrateful character of that nation, which, during the hour of danger, had either shrunk from observation, or had been passed over unnoticed amidst the general satisfaction which pervaded the world, began again to shew itself. The Jacobin party, whom no social compact can bind, nor limited power control, saw that family restored, on whose unfortunate heads their fury and their crimes had, without reason, as without

mercy, heaped numberless calamities. It was impossible that this family could ever look upon them as their sincere friends. Their presence, besides, constantly recalled to the memories of those Revolutionary characters, the carnage and the crimes perpetrated by them in the bosom of their unhappy country. The establishment of peace and order, constantly recalled to their memories how completely they overturned both. Their guilty consciences took the alarm; and as soon as the fiery sword of indignant Europe, the edge of which their odious conduct had to the utmost provoked, was removed from above their trembling heads, these still bade them dread those innocent individuals whom they had formerly so grievously persecuted and oppressed. Under these circumstances, the backwardness of the Court to treat these men with that familiarity, confidence, and kindness, which it practised to its friends, excited, but without any just reason, their suspicions, their hatred, and their indignation. That Louis XVIII. forgave them in sincerity, there is no doubt. That he pardoned them freely, is certain. For him to do more, was what they had no reason to expect, and was what they did not deserve. This mercy, however, did not satisfy them—they had been accustomed to rule and to dictate, but not patiently to obey any power but such as they trembled to behold; namely, such as that of Robspierre, and that of Napoleon Bonaparte. These men took every opportunity to spread their own base, suspicious, and guilty fears, amongst the thoughtless multitude; who, in every country, but more particularly in France, are ever ready to believe what is bad, and to look forward with satisfaction to changes and convulsions. All the danger, however, proceeding from this quarter, great as it was, might have been got the better of, by firmness and wisdom on the part of the Government; and that odious, but powerful party, have been consigned to deeper and deeper obscurity, a mild punishment for their conduct, had not more dangerous weapons of faction and discord remained ready at hand, and been found most abundant in France. These were the military. Equally unprincipled as the others, born and educated in the same school, their intentions were equally criminal, and their pursuits more dangerous than those of their

turbulent and unruly brethren. This party had every thing to gain, and nothing to lose but their lives; which they were ready at all times to stake on any undertaking which promised them preferment and reward. These men alike hated the Bourbon family as the others, because that family at this moment wished to remain at peace with Europe, and to disarm those whose wild and ungovernable passions had so long been her ruin and her scourge. This dangerous power, however, had, in all its aggravated forms, been too deeply rooted and widely spread in France, during a long period of successful ambition and lawless violence, for common misfortunes to subdue, or ordinary disasters either to eradicate or tame. The love of military glory, indeed, was their sole delight, and their only pursuit. This term, in the French Revolutionary vocabulary, means that France, because she conceives herself a great nation, should therefore, as such, tyrannise over Europe; and her sons enrich themselves at the expense of the latter. From a long career of splendid success, and from the easy manner in which France had escaped from beneath the uplifted arm of indignant Europe, this idea had taken full possession of their thoughtless minds. Every feeling of their hearts—every thought that animated their bosoms, were all guided by this dangerous principle, and directed to the accomplishment of this object; heedless of the means by which they gained it, or the paths which they took to reach the gaol they had in view. The forbearance of the allies at the capture of Paris, in 1814, was construed by the mass of the French people, and particularly by the latter class, into fear of those vast national resources and energies which France possessed; which she fondly believed, and which her blind and infatuated admirers every where after her, still proclaimed to be invulnerable and invincible. Though most signally beaten, France eagerly clung to this gay and this dangerous delusion. Every thing that ingenuity and falsehood could muster, was brought forward to ward off from their heads the shame of disgrace or defeat. The arrogant domineering spirit of her unprincipled military hordes, so long accustomed, under their former ambitious and vain glorious sovereign, to have full scope, as far as passion, with every excitement,

and without any restraint, might carry them, could never brook the control of civil laws or social life. The return of hundreds of thousands of these men from the different prisons where European bravery had confined them, and from whence European generosity had now liberated them without ransom, and restored them to a country where every principle of religion, honour, and fidelity, in any cause that was good, had long been laughed to scorn, increased to an alarming degree this band, in whose existence Europe had, and ever must have, such dangerous and implacable enemies. Amongst these, the Jacobins found ready associates in evil plans, and very readily fanned the flame of treason and discontent. The number of prisoners at this time restored to France, could not be fewer than 400,000 men; and all these, but particularly those from Great Britain, were the most hardened and abandoned in the French Revolutionary school. All ranks amongst this class were the same; or rather, the higher the rank, the more profligate and unprincipled they were. It was this class which were the most dangerous enemies to the prosperity of France, and repose of Europe; and without whose assistance those female politicians, the abandoned Countess of St. Leu, the Duchess of Bassano, Madame Savary, and the Duchess of Montebello, might have plotted; and those hoary-headed traitors, Carnot, Ney, Cambaceres, Davoust, &c. might all have planned in vain. Their chiefs had been raised to the rank of principalities and powers—to the dignities of marshals, dukes, and sovereigns, at the expense of bleeding Europe; and every profligate French coxcomb, who could wield a sword, or carry a musquet, conceived, that by following their footsteps, he might in time enjoy similar rank, and obtain the same wealth, and power, and distinction.

But it was not amongst those children of evil and those tools of tyranny alone, that the evil, so dangerous to Europe, had taken such deep root. It pervaded the mind of the population of France, in a greater or a lesser degree. The principles of the nation, male and female, old and young, were generally corrupted, and their morals destroyed. Their sense of right and wrong were absolutely confounded; and every ray of hu-

man reason was swallowed up, or turned from its proper direction, in this terrible scene of moral chaos and confusion. It is not that there is no good principles in France, but that while the bad predominates, there is no line of distinction—no barriers arising from feelings still more powerful than coercive laws, to be found between virtue and vice; but all are blended together, and followed as the interests, the passions, and the pleasures of the moment direct. The honest Statesman and profligate Courtier, either enjoy equal consideration; or the scale of public favour, wealth and honour, preponderates in favour of the latter. The married wife, and her marriageable daughters, appear in the same society, with the openly acknowledged kept-mistress; and while the former adopts the manner of the latter, not the latter of the former, both are addressed and accosted, in the manner, which accords with the profligate life of the last mentioned class. In this manner the bonds of social society are corrupted at their source. The laws of nations were only regarded, as these were found agreeable to the interests or the passions of the nation, however arbitrary, odious and unjust, these happened to be. It was in vain to attempt to argue with, or try to convince, a people whose only answer was to brandish the bayonet, and whose constant appeal was to the sword. Fortunately for Europe, though their national vanity, prevented them from perceiving it in themselves, a long course of anarchy, Atheism, tyranny, and debauchery, the latter supplied from the spoils of plundered nations, had enervated their souls, and weakened their energies; while their odious and oppressive conduct throughout Europe, had developed their real character and views, in such a manner, that these could no longer be mistaken by any one, however weak or prejudiced. Besides this conduct of theirs had not only deprived them of every friend amongst the more respectable part of mankind, but individually, and nationally, had every where roused a spirit of resentment so severe and so strong, that it was quite obvious to the most thoughtless observer, if ever its strength was called into action again, that it would, beyond a doubt, prove not only irresistible but fatal to them. Of this spirit however, and this indignation, the French

people in general were not aware. The state of ignorance in which their daring and arrogant Government kept them, in order to carry on its own views and designs, prevented them from learning how much they merited the vengeance of Europe; while in those parts where the conduct of their nation was known, such as it was in their numerous and unjust wars, their understandings were so led away by the false principles instilled by the Revolution, that they never considered any thing wrong that was successful, nor even when it was otherwise, if, they could get the intervention of hail, or snow, or rain, to accuse as the cause of their defeat. Hence, the French nation conceived, that the just indignation of Europe against them, arose from objects of aggrandisement and ambition; and the cry that the nation is in danger, whether their sway was bounded by the Rhine or the Niemen, called forth all their might and all their resources to preserve it, without any inquiry, about its propriety or its justice. That spirit, however, the union and the valour of Europe, had at length circumscribed within narrower bounds, and confined to the distracted country, which gave it birth. The British banners planted on the ramparts of Thoulouse, and the Russian eagles on the heights of Montmartre, at last convinced them, that *their* Europe no longer on the one hand, extended to the straits of Gibraltar, nor on the other to the "*confines of Asia.*" The charm of military parade and noisy victories no longer elated their minds, and diverted their thoughts. But what touched their feelings and their judgments more acutely, was that the plunder of Europe no longer engaged their cupidity nor supplied their extravagance. If they made war, they began to find they must pay for it; and, hence, their feelings were brought to examine with more attention, its justice or its policy. But this knowledge the resentment arising from wounded vanity and thoughtless pride, quickly destroyed. On whichever side they turned their eyes, they found the remembrance of their former boasted triumphs and extensive dominions gone, without leaving a shadow behind. Hence, France was discontented—hence her factious demagogues, whose only pursuit was power, and object, mischief; easily succeeded in persuading her that she had been betrayed,

and that their counsels, if followed, would soon succeed in placing France in her former powerful situation. Hence the majority of the French people looked forward to the moment when, with safety to themselves and their *beautiful* country, they might replunge Europe into all the horrors of war.—Daily, this spirit became more and more visible and alarming; and which, the Bourbon government, though certainly pacifically inclined, durst not, at least did not find it altogether politic to repress.

The loss of Belgium, which, for more than a century, had been a particular object of French ambition, and which, by the assistance of domestic traitors, Republican fury had overrun and conquered, hung heavy upon the spirits of France. This was particularly an object of Jacobinical vanity, as it was under their immediate sway that this conquest was accomplished, and annexation made. They eagerly fanned the flame of discontent, by comparing the situation of France, with all her conquests, and now that she was stripped of them all; and, at the same time, insinuated that the King had made this sacrifice purely from subserviancy to England, and from his wish to aggrandize her at the expense of France. False, however, as these accusations were, they, nevertheless, made a prodigious impression upon the public mind; which, whatever be the rank or the party to which they lean, in France, cordially unite in hatred and animosity against their great political rival, England. This added to the general discontent, and gave the disturbers of mankind an opportunity which they eagerly seized, to charge their present Government with want of energy, and to contrast it with the unbending and haughty conduct of that which was lately overthrown. The Marshals and leading men, had been stripped of their boasted claims to superior wisdom, bravery, and might; and no longer had the treasures of innocent nations to fill their coffers, to supply their extravagance, and to enable them to continue their abandoned and dissipated lives. Hence, they unanimously regretted the Sovereign and the system, which was gone; and eagerly embraced and cherished the idea of reviving another similar, if not the same, as that which they had lost. Accustomed to tyrannize over pros-

trate nations and trembling millions, they soon became tired of the comparative state of obscurity and insignificance to which peace, and the return of France to a state of social order, had reduced them. From a mistaken lenity and gross impolicy, almost every one of these men were retained in power; and had, thereby, complete opportunity afforded them to sap the foundations of that government, whose cause they had previously embraced, apparently with such ardour, and which they had openly and readily sworn to support. This latter circumstance, however, with them had no weight. They were bred in the Revolutionary, and had been too long trained in the still more unprincipled Napoleonic school, from whence nothing, either good or honourable, ever came. Thus educated, no reflecting mind ever could expect that they would pay any regard to the government of the king; or, indeed, to any other that did not give full scope to their restless spirits, and their insatiable love of personal aggrandisement, honour and wealth; at least what they conceived were honours, by whatever means these could be attained. Foremost in the list of those were, Massena, Ney, Davoust, Suchet, Jourdan, Vandamme, with the infamous Excellmans, Lallemands, and Lefebres, to whom honour and probity were altogether unknown. In the civil departments of government, were to be found, if possible, a still more profligate and mischievous crew; children of Crime, whose wealth and whose honours had been gained by the application of the guillotine, and a total perversion of the reason and judgment of man. Foremost in the ranks of this diabolical band was, Carnot, Fouche, Cambaceres, Merlin, Thibadeau, Savary, and a long list of names which recal to the mind of the observer, the bloodiest period of republican frenzy and criminal equality. Peace, to such men, was a state of the most dreadful punishment. Their minds, unoccupied by the only pursuits they had ever followed, in their moments of retirement from the world returned within themselves, and stung them with the bitterest stings of guilt, and filled them with anguish and dismay. War and confusion were the only elements in which such restless spirits could find comfort, or in which they could endure to live. Whoever, therefore, was

most likely to restore them to their former employments, him they were ready and willing to obey.

The arrogant and impetuous temper of the French nation never allowed them to reflect, how easy they had escaped the consequences of a contest, provoked by their wild deeds and insatiable ambition; and which, during a quarter of a century, had been carried on for no object but their aggrandizement—and proceeding from no cause whatever that had justice for its guide. She, whose atrocious conduct had provoked the indignation of millions—she, who in the days of prosperity had trampled upon them without mercy, now escaped without punishment. She came out of the contest equally strong, in point of territory, as when she entered it; for the addition of countries, containing a population of 700,000 souls to her European dominions, may be fairly estimated as equal to the Colonial possessions and advantages which she had lost by the arms of Europe; and which previously, indeed, her mad military system had, by neglecting, almost totally destroyed. France, besides, in the eyes of the present generation, had suffered nothing from war. The horrors of the Revolutionary internal wars were, in a great measure, forgotten by a people whose memories, with regard to such events, are not of the most retentive kind. The desolation which these had occasioned were in a great measure removed; because the wealth of bleeding Europe had enabled them to replace the loss sustained by France, during these tremendous periods of desolation and blood. For nearly 20 years, her immense military establishment, generally speaking, cost France nothing. Her armies, according to the fundamental law of the state, subsisted upon those countries for whose population they were forging chains. During the campaign of 1814, though their capital was occupied by an hostile force, and half their territories by the armies of their foes, still they felt little or none of the miseries of war; at least, none that, by their consequences, were equal to form any lasting impression upon their volatile minds. The strict discipline observed by the invading armies of the allies, enabled France to escape all those terrific scenes of "lamentation, mourning, and woe," inflicted on Eur-

ope by her army. The principal loss which France at this time suffered from the progress of the war, was occasioned by the lawless disposition of those who called themselves their defenders; for any loss that they otherwise sustained was more than made up, by the immense sums of money brought into France by the allied armies, where it was all expended; thereby, enriching those who had covered every country in Europe with poverty and mourning. The vast influx of foreigners, particularly British, all eager to see a people who had so long been the terror of the world, as also to view the vast assemblage of the monuments of art, which their unprincipled rapacity had taken away from every country in continental Europe, brought vast wealth to Paris, that grand centre of iniquity, where they trafficked not only in gold and silver, precious stones, pearls, fine linen, silk, and scarlet, with every other luxury and riches, but "*in the bodies and the souls of men.*"* All these things tended to keep alive that national vanity which had so long annoyed Europe, and made them wholly forget that they were a conquered people, and that the armies which beat them to the ground were still ready, equally able and as willing, to perform that service again.

France, though conquered, was still a powerful and even a wealthy country; but then, her wealth was so situated, that whatever part of it was expended in wars, could no longer be replaced. The mad ambition of her former government had wholly destroyed all internal industry, or foreign commerce; from which sources alone, a nation can derive the wealth necessary to replace the waste of external war; unless they are inclined, and are able to adopt the same plan which France had long done; namely, to take it by force from their industrious neighbours. For this, France still held the same will; but, fortunately, she no longer possessed the same power. Strong as she was, the strength of Europe was still proportionally stronger; and left them no room to hope for a repetition of their robbery on the continent, and of pinioning the nations thereof in their chains. In an evil hour, however,

* Revelations.

for herself, France thought otherwise. She believed that treason had occasioned her fall; and that "*destiny*," which she once had under the controul of her Emperor, had only been let loose from her chains by the former means. She conceived, that by the return of her myriads of prisoners from the different corners of Europe, she would be able, effectually, to put down what she was pleased to call treason; and to bind destiny, or fate, to her chariot wheels again. She calculated, as did all her friends, among whom were the discontented in every country, upon the disunion of that formidable confederacy which had overthrown her military despotism. Her arts were busily employed to sow distrust among them. But though each had, no doubt, his individual interests to attend to in the Congress at Vienna, and which might not altogether square with his neighbour's ideas, still but one sentiment animated the whole, when French audacity and ambition endeavoured, in any shape, to thrust forward their ferocious countenances. Nevertheless, the whole efforts of the French press, that polluted fountain of perjury, irreligion, and treason, was directed with unceasing and insidious aim to accomplish their nefarious designs. By dint of desperate assertions, deep insinuations, and odious falsehoods, which had long been their avocations, and at which the conductors of the Parisian press are certainly great adepts, they endeavoured to re-establish themselves in the good opinion of mankind, which, as a nation, they had so justly lost. By appearing to defend the cause of the weak against the strong, they endeavoured to regain that empire over the public mind in Europe, which their arms could no longer control. But these interests, for which they affected so readily and disinterestedly to stand forward the champions and defenders, it was obvious to the careful observer, were defended no further than it suited the dark designs and ambitious views of French politics. Yet, strange to say, they succeeded in their object to a great degree. By many it was believed, that national morality and justice was to be learned in Paris, and no where else in continental Europe—nay, that honour and truth was more attended to, in all her public conduct, by France, than by Great Britain. So echoed the supporters of French princi-

ples on both sides of the channel; but, fortunately, the body of the European commonwealth remained uncontaminated by such deceitful principles, and refused to be imposed upon by such specious pretences, and miserable shifts. French finesse, and war of words, could no longer succeed in deceiving, in order to enslave Europe.

The king, in an unguarded moment, and long before that revolution took place, which seated him on his throne, had, in a proclamation which he had addressed to the French nation, promised them the redress of several grievances, and the removal of the most oppressive taxes, particularly that tax named the *droits reuines*. But, he was no sooner come to his throne, than he found the wants of the State so pressing, from the profligate expenditure of the former Government, that he perceived it would be impossible to gratify the wishes of the people, in this respect, for some time. This circumstance was eagerly laid hold of by his enemies, in order to irritate the public mind against him; while they must have been conscious, that it was their blame, not his, that he was unable at this time to perform his promise. The greatest retrenchments, were made in the public expenditure, and economy observed in the application of the remainder. Yet here again, the king made numerous and dangerous enemies. The disbanded troops, who neither had employment, nor if they had, would they have condescended to work, murmured against him. The whole host of Douaniers, army contractors, and other beings of that tribe, thrown out of employment by these retrenchments, and the return of peace, eagerly sighed for the return of the golden days of Napoleon, under whom their avarice had full scope. All these men and their numerous dependants, were the mortal enemies of the Bourbons. The king was accused of having violated his promises to the nation, but that was only said by his enemies; and even then, it was mere assertion, without any facts being brought forward to support them. Whatever errors he was guilty of, and it would have been strange if he had committed none, it is certain, that none of them proceeded from an evil intention, or had a dangerous aim in view. The greatest error which he committed, seems to have been in the

unmerited lenity, and forgiveness, which he shewed to those fierce children of the Revolution, whose barbarous dispositions no lenity can soften—no forgiveness reform. Had he, as in justice he was warranted, and as the insulted laws of humanity called loudly upon him to do, punished with proper severity, the principal leaders of that desperate band; and, if he did not take their lives, which, by every law, human and divine, they had so often forfeited; he ought at least to have stripped them of their property, with which, he ought to have rewarded his faithful followers, and paid the pressing demands of the State: then would the throne of Louis remained unshaken, Europe would have enjoyed peace, and England would not have had to weep the untimely end of so many of her bravest sons. In the non-performance of this imperious duty, which human nature demanded at his hand, consisted the greatest and most dangerous error of Louis XVIII. His control of the press was the bugbear of disappointed faction, and a favour unto mankind; even if it had been true to the utmost extent that his power could be exercised over it. When the French people give up inundating the world by doctrines and principles, totally subversive of religious, social, civil, or political life, or understand the just meaning of these things; then, and only then, may they enjoy the unrestained liberty of that useful engine; but, till that is the case, it will only prove a machine to scatter over a terrified world firebrands, arrows, and death. It is not from that source that Europe, or even France herself, is going to derive much information that is to be either useful or advantageous to the general interests of mankind; and, therefore, few can regret that censors superintend its labours—they must be bad indeed, if worse than the writers; and such were most unquestionably more dangerous tools in the hands of their immaculate Napoleon, and his audacious myrmidons, than in those of the mild and inoffensive Louis XVIII. When France shall learn to employ this engine in some other way, than in the support of the votaries of the Goddess of Reason, and, that prince of despots, Bonaparte; then will Europe load with reproach the Sovereign whose arbitrary mandates, deprives them of this invaluable right. Till this becomes the case, even if

they were deprived of pens and ink, there are men in France, who would write treason against social order, in the manner that their countryman Labaume did his Russian Campaign, namely, with burnt sticks taken from the flames, which on frosty nights their incendiary deeds had kindled. *

But the loudest and most dangerous clamour that was raised against the government of Louis, arose from the report, which was industriously spread, that he intended to deprive the purchasers of national domains of their property, and to restore these to the emigrants, to many of whom this property originally and justly belonged. This was, however, by no means the intention of the French government, as its enemies well knew; but it was too powerful an engine to rouse the population against the king, for them to neglect using it. A considerable portion of these domains, or in other words the immoveable property of many worthy men, which was confiscated under the reign of the Guillotine, still remained unsold. These it seemed to be the wish of the government of Louis XVIII. to restore; but which would only have done justice to a few, and to a very few, of his faithful followers. The better plan, therefore, seemed to be, first to dispose of these, then throw them into a general fund, and divide the proceeds equally amongst this unfortunate class of men. This plan, both moderate and equitable, would have been adopted; but here again a more dangerous and formidable enemy arose. To the value of 400 millions of these domains (£17,000,000,) had been set apart by the Imperial government, to reward the army from their proceeds. To take this part, and it seems, that it was now the principle part remaining, made this desperate race still farther his foe. The unfortunate emigrants, therefore, whose fidelity had been tried through twenty-five years of misery, now saw themselves reduced to the most abject and distressing state, in their native country, on the very threshold of those properties once their own, and under the eyes of their sovereign, whose fortunes they had followed through every

* In this manner and with such instruments Monsieur Labaume, assures us he wrote part of his narrative.

vicissitude. It is impossible to conceive a situation more galling and afflicting than this: and it would have been to have supposed these unfortunate men destitute of every feeling, if they were not in such a situation discontented; and their sovereign to have been unworthy his throne, if he had not shewn himself not only most anxious to give them assistance, but to have taken every means, within the compass of his power, to afford them relief. Every office round his person—almost every place of profit in the army, the church, and the state, was occupied by their enemies, and by men wallowing in wealth from the plunder of the properties of these unfortunate men, who, though they had been guilty of no crime, now in vain sought relief, from those who had travelled round the circle of iniquity. The anxiety of the king, therefore, to relieve the wants, and to reward the fidelity of these men, deserved praise and not censure. In every other country but France, their situation would not only have found pity, but obtained redress. But these are virtues which, from woeful examples, and by sad experience, Europe knows were torn up by the Revolutionary school, and never planted in the Imperial academy of France. Its garden required plants of sterner stuff. With Napoleon Bonaparte, or his worthy predecessors, Carnot and Robespierre, it was never accounted a crime to reward their profligate associates, with the property of their foes, nay, sometimes with that of their friends; and why should it have been accounted one in Louis XVIII. even if he intended to do so? Let Cambaceres and Caulincourt tell; whose properties, if every honest man had his own, would be smaller than that of many of the faithful followers of Louis XVIII. It signifies little, to tell us, as has been done, that the character of several of the ancient French nobility, were such, that their degradation was not to be regretted, and that their property became more useful to society, and the state, by passing into other hands. In all countries there are men of this stamp. We need not wander from home for such, though, in truth, nowhere else were such characters so abundant as in France. But because a man is idle, profligate, and worthless, that is not a sufficient reason why he should be deprived of his property; and at any rate it is dan-

gerous to make man, but more especially the mob of mankind, the judge in such cases—they may overthrow, in their frenzy, and for their interests, one evil, and establish in its place a worse, as was the case in France. Such partial evils as those mentioned must be borne, as less than those which their removal, in general, occasions to the community at large.

But let us examine this subject of these national domains a little closer. If Louis XVIII. had seized them, would he have acted unjustly? I am unacquainted with any law that could say he would, it might have been, perhaps it was, considering circumstances, unnecessary and impolitic to take the whole; but, still, was it unjust? Let us remember how these were obtained, and can we say it would have been so? I do not mean to say that every one who has purchased of these national domains should be deprived of them: by no means. Many paid a valuable consideration for them, though the title of those who sold them was bad. But there are many possessed of these, whom every principle of honour, equity, justice, and truth, imperiously demand should be deprived of them; and not only so, but punished for the way they obtained them. I shall grant, the mad regicide government of France were entitled to guillotine the persons, and confiscate the properties of all those who opposed, or even whom they *suspected* opposed their diabolical career; but it never can be allowed that any of their private tools, or any other unprincipled villain, should go and murder his neighbour, merely because that neighbour had property, and seize that for his own use: and that others, pursuing another course to gain the same end, should, by dint of falsehoods, direct the fury of a delirious government to the abodes of innocence and worth, to drive these from their homes, that their persecutors might obtain the goods of these individuals as their rewards. I say it never can be allowed, that such men should be permitted to enjoy their ill gotten gain in peace, or escape with impunity. From every one of these, their wealth should be taken away, and their lives forfeited to those laws which the author of human nature, in every country, has established as its guard. Whoever, from malice or design, "sheddeth

man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is a severe but just law, which man may, but which he ought not to alter. How many such characters as I have here pointed out, are to be found in France, the present possessors of national domains, the profits of which they have applied, and will always apply, to disturb and to enslave Europe? These deserve no mercy. The honour, the safety of mankind, demand justice on their heads. There is another class, and perhaps of a higher rank, whom Europe has an unquestionable right to see brought to justice. These are those men who not only enriched themselves by the plunder of defenceless nations, but who shot, in cold blood, innocent individuals, in Hamburgh, Bremen, Russia, Spain, &c. merely because they would not betray their country, and fall down and worship Napoleon the great, his satellites, or his image. These men also possess national domains in France. From them, and on their heads, the voice of justice demanded, and yet demands, an exact account, a severe retribution. The less, therefore, many of the possessors of these domains say about their claims or their property the better. It must call the attention of Europe to scenes and times where they and their conduct cannot appear to advantage: and, even with regard to many of those who have paid a consideration to the rapacious government, for the properties they now possess, it, perhaps, would not mend things in their favour, to trace out the sources from whence this valuable consideration was derived. It is a bad cause which will not bear examination; which is evidently the case with this. If any one attempted, through the medium of the press, to examine the justice of such claims, "Down with him and the government under which he writes," was the universal cry: but those who debated whether or not they should turn that government off, and confiscate the properties of its friends, were to have full liberty; and it was sacrilege and despotism to snatch the pen from them. Their reasoning and the freedom on this subject were all one way. What they had got by violence, they were determined to keep by force. Their titles, according to their own disciples, are not worth a farthing. They all now tell us that they must have a King or an Emperor, nobles, and properties; and as it was by the laws which decreed the destruction of all these that they now hold the pro-

perties which they possess, so, thereby, they subject themselves, by their own rules, to be deprived of these by a stronger power, whether that power be more just or not.

But whatever were the intentions of Louis on this head, that was a question for him and these people to settle among themselves. As Europe was not bound to support Louis on the French throne, so neither was she bound to guarantee to these men their properties, against the will and the power of the French government. She was only interested so far in this matter; that if these men, and that formidable Jacobinical party in France, should either attempt to destroy, or succeed in overthrowing the government of Louis, and establishing in its stead any one similar to those which had previously existed in France, and which had been proven by experience, to be more or less dangerous to the repose of Europe; that then it became an imperious duty, on her part, to take such measures as would insure her safety from the consequences of such a proceeding.

Much discontent also was created in the public mind in France, but more particularly in Paris, from the example which the King set in following, and the endeavours he made to restore the duties of morality and religion. These were doctrines which had long been exploded by the leading characters in France, and were wholly unknown to the Jacobinical school. The encouragement held out to religion, and the favour shewn to the teachers thereof, procured the King many enemies; and was met by the insinuations of his implacable foes, with the general cry of innovation on their liberties, and the wish to restore the power of the church, such as it was in its darkest and its most arbitrary times. Nothing could be more unjust than this accusation; but the support given to religious pursuits, by the government, was wrested by these factious demagogues to suit their own mischievous designs, for what they most feared was not the return of Roman superstition, tythes, and ignorance; but the fear of being subjected to the duties of morality and the principles of religion at all. Perhaps in no nation that ever existed were these grand features of the human character, and links of rational life, so completely broken and destroyed as these had been, and now were, in modern France. In

every shape these were laughed at, and turned into ridicule by all ranks and degrees of men; but more particularly so by every one connected with the government of France. Under such circumstances, and such a system, it cannot be wondered at that no measures were taken to instruct the youthful mind in sound principles, and the social duties of life. Such proceedings did not suit the views of their tyrannic governors, and would have unfitted the people of France for becoming the tools to execute their lawless projects. In this most essential point, the youth of France were most lamentably deficient. Instead of being taught to reverence and obey their parents, they were torn from them; and from their earliest years taught only the most abject devotion and submission to their governors. Instead of being taught Love to their neighbours, and Fear of their God; they were taught to forget, perhaps deny the latter; and to hate, tyrannize over, and trample upon the former. The little education which their youth received, consisted in being taught to march to the sound of the drum—to obey without reflection the severe command of military discipline—to understand the word of command, which led them to plunder, battles, and blood—to plant cannon—to weild the sabre—to erect fortifications to oppress nations—to extract indigo from woad, and sugar from beet root. Such has been the nature and extent of the knowledge taught during the proudest days of Imperial France. The mind of her youth was thus led astray from every thing that was just, peaceable, or good. Noise, confusion, and violence were the spheres in which they delighted to move, and out of which they were nothing—out of which they were lost and unknown. At Paris, on the return of Bonaparte, the scholars of these schools solicited the Emperor to be allowed to march to their studies at the sound of the drum, and not of the bell. Miserably deficient, however, as they were, in instruction regarding useful knowledge, and the moral duties of man, they were still more so in all that concerned religion. This was first proscribed, and afterwards completely neglected in France. "There are, (said Carnot) two millions of children in France, who require primary education; and yet of these two millions, some are educated very

imperfectly, and others have no education at all."* The total number of children born annually in France is about 900,000; half of these die under five years of age, at which period we shall suppose that the remainder become fit to receive education. Consequently, every child born in France, and surviving from five to ten years of age, receive either a very imperfect education, or no education at all. If this is the case now, how much worse must it have been when education was either altogether proscribed, or only what was most wicked and ruinous bestowed upon the youth of France. What must the present race of men, now moving in the most active scenes of life, in France, be, who were born between 1791 and 1796, when there was no education at all. Severe as is this censure; gloomy as is this picture, still, it is evident, it is not overcharged. Dreadful as is the prospect which the contemplation of this affords unto Europe, still it is but too correct. It is the teachers and the taught of these abominable principles, or those who have received no instruction at all, which Europe has now to encounter; and whose dark designs and dangerous principles she will long be compelled to watch with the eagle's eye, and to guard against with the lion's strength.

In a country thus situate, every tie that had hitherto bound man to man in society, and every political contract, that knit him in bonds of amity with his neighbours, was broken through; not only without shame and remorse, but with open exultation and haughty contempt. In vain will the admirers of French prowess, the advocates of French honour, any more attempt to rob mankind of their senses, by advocating her cause, and proclaiming to the world, that all the wars and miseries which have afflicted Europe, during the last twenty-five years, were not the evil production of French principles, the diabolical works of French ambition. These are wrote in indelible characters throughout Europe; and while the name of France and Napoleon endures—while they are remembered with sorrow, and pronounced with execration, the true sources of the calamities of Europe cannot remain hid—the direful consequences

* Carnot's report to the Emperor, Moniteur, April 29th, 1815.

of French folly and ambition cannot be perverted—cannot be disguised or remain unknown. I shall not attempt to insult the understandings of my readers, or waste their time in wading through the voluminous records of the last twenty-five years, for documents to prove this. Without the fear of contradiction, on any principle of justice or truth, I here venture to state, that every contest which has lately taken place in Europe, has originated solely from French principles and French ambition. In order to justify a declaration of war, her mad rulers began that system of diplomatic imposition, which has continued for twenty-five years. They forged a treaty of Pavia, and distorted that of Pilnitz. Man, at this moment, could not conceive, that any government would so far disgrace itself, as have recourse to such a desperate expedient. Succeeding years, however, saw volumes of such impositions issued by Gallic audacity; and because no one, on the Continent, dared or was allowed to contradict it, therefore such documents were accounted true; as the *interested* testimony of Britain, by a denial, was accounted as only more fully establishing the fact. The treaty of Pilnitz, it is well known, provided for the establishment of the French monarchy, and not as the French demagogues echoed, the dismemberment of France. When France was set in flames from one end to the other, by a set of madmen; because all her neighbours took immediate measures to guard their frontiers, least the flames should enter their states, it was proclaimed, that their object was to attack France, crush liberty, and prevent the dispersion of light. But France did not wait to put their intentions to the proof. *She* first declared war; and what all her supporters, from that period downward, asserted as an incontestible sign, of the real and unjustifiable views of her adversaries, in first declaring war against France, was in this instance, because done by her, accounted an act of justice and necessity. But war she wanted against any one. "War," said Imard, "war which is necessary to complete the Revolution." In that war she attacked and overrun the Netherlands, and then decreed the opening of the Scheldt; though she well knew that Great Britain, as well as Austria, was bound by a treaty to prevent that from taking place; and also that the

immediate interests of Great Britain, imperiously demanded that this should not be the deed of France. This France knew, but she said she did no wrong. On the 19th November 1792, she openly decreed war against all nations, by calling upon all to follow her example, and offering her assistance to do so.—She continued, from her undermining principles and the fury of her arms, to conquer and to add state to state, and to carve out new wars, in order to benefit her great family, and extend her empire. These conquests were carried on in a manner marked with atrocity and injustice, altogether unprecedented and unknown. Wherever their arms overrun or were victorious, those countries were without ceremony incorporated with the French territory, without even admitting the question of compensation from their lawful owners, to come into discussion at all. It was the very Constitution of France to act thus. "*Charged by the Constitution*," said Barthelemy, "with the execution of the Laws, it (the Directory) cannot make or listen to any proposal, that may be contrary to them. The Constitutional Act does not permit it to *consent to any alienation* of that, which according to the *existing* laws, constitutes the territory of the Republic—but the countries occupied by the French armies, and not *united*, may form the subject of negociations." * Such were the Constitutional Laws of France; yet, when necessity drove other nations to follow a similar course, in order to counteract her views; when Britain ceded Guadaloupe to Sweden, France immediately came forward and declared it unjust; and passed a decree, denouncing all the inhabitants of that Colony as traitors, who should take the oath of allegiance to Sweden; upon the principle that she had not ceded it by treaty, and had not yielded her right to it. How different was her conduct, when it suited her own interests?—She united, without a treaty, all the Netherlands to France; because the Rhine was the only boundary worthy of being the natural limits of the great nation! She added Savoy, because the Alps were another natural boundary; and when possessed of it, she added Italy, because she had made good roads, and

* Barthelemy's letter to Mr. Wickham, March 26th, 1796.

rendered the communications easy. "The communication by land," said St. Jean de Angley, "now, that neither the Alps nor the Appenines oppose it, is as easy as from Leghorn to Paris, or from Paris to Nice. It has been the policy of the European states, to subdue the most distant countries, in order to obtain new commercial and maritime resources. Why then should we neglect those resources, and acquisitions, which are so valuable to us. The territory of the Medicis, the countries of the sciences and the arts, must form an immediate part of the French empire." * "Holland was united," because she "*sunk under her contributions, and could no longer pay them;*" and because she could not defend herself; and because it was just that "she ought to be associated in our blessings, as she has been associated in our calamities." † Spain was united, because her institutions wanted renovation—and the mouths of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, in order to secure the execution of the Continental system: and lastly, the "*confines of Asia,*" were threatened by the "*Imperial thunder,*" in order to prevent "*British or denationalized flags*" from having any communication with the Eastern part of Europe. Yet these are but part of her ways. The word of France was the law—her principles, which were formed to subvert social order, were proclaimed as those only which were henceforward to guide and govern Europe. Nations who, callous to their own honour, and deceived by French promises, surrendered their rights, and embraced them as deliverers, were by this condescension and baseness entitled to no favour. They, as well as all others, were first robbed of what they possessed, and then insulted with the taunt that they could no longer defend themselves; and therefore, to secure their liberties, and their independence, it became necessary for the Great Nation to take them under her immediate protection, by incorporating their territories with hers. In this manner did the French nation, by whomsoever governed, proceed with regard to every country in Europe. Every promise that France gave she has openly and shamelessly

* Senatus Consultum, May 24th, 1808.

† Champagny's Report to the Emperor, July 9th, 1810.

violated.—Every treaty that she has made, during the last twenty-five years, even when these were dictated by her unfeeling arm, at the point of the bayonet, have all been broken by her. Nor was it all, that these were broken; but the breach was uniformly accompanied by the blackest perfidy and deepest guilt. Promises were made for the purpose of being violated. Treaties were entered into whose sole object was to disarm. Oaths were deliberately taken with the express intention of being broken. Interest and convenience, were the only deities which France owned—their laws, the only rule of her conduct. The consequences were fatal to the liberties of the world. Continental Europe was trampled under foot, by a fierce military banditti, whose glory consisted in being most conspicuous in ferocity and crime. To their power and insolence, there seemed no limits—their strength, for the moment, appalled human might. But resistance still remained. Guided by an arm unseen, the stone was raised from the side of the mountain, which was to dash to atoms this terrible image. The command was irresistible—its career rapid as the lightning's flight. British valour and Russian patriotism, which in their mad flights of success, had been treated with contempt, tore his boasted laurels from the tyrant's brows. On the banks of the Dnieper and the Berezina, the breath of the Almighty, withered his strength. Encouraged by His assistance, Europe burst her fetters—guided by his Spirit, on the bloody plains of Leipsic, she crushed beneath her feet, the collected energies of French ambition. With the eagle's speed and the lion's strength, her indignant millions, planted their victorious banners upon those walls, from whence had issued all their wrongs—all their griefs. Dreadful retribution was within the reach of their swords; France and Paris lay beneath their feet, and completely within their power. France knew it—she trembled at her situation—she tried to escape—she denounced her Emperor—recalled her king—requested peace from offended nations, and the sacred name of Jehovah affixed to a solemn treaty, disarmed the strong—the just resentment of Europe. She believed—and France escaped. But France soon proved herself ungrateful, and soon treated the favour that was shewn her,

with contempt and scorn. She openly boasted that the conduct of Europe to her, proceeded from fear, not from mercy. She ridiculed the dangers which she had run—she again provoked her fate.

In the meantime the congress of Vienna continued their labours. Faction and discontent, in every country, were on the alert, to misrepresent their intentions; and nowhere was this more prevalent than in England and in France. But the views of the propagators of these calumnies, in the two countries were different. In the one, its only object was to vilify or displace a ministry, though this might be affected by sacrificing the repose of Europe. In the other, it was done with the view of establishing the French character, and French interest, at the expense of every other nation. It would be impossible, and is considered altogether unnecessary to repeat the numerous falsehoods, propagated concerning this august assembly. At one time Alexander laid his hand on his sword—at another, Austria. England was now duped, and from the saviour had become at one time the enemy, at another the derision, of the Continent. At one time Poland was in a state of agitation—at another, Italy was in flames. Here Turkey was intending to march against Russia, Denmark was preparing to crush the head of Sweden, Bavaria was afraid of Austria, Saxony was about to rise in rebellion, and Belgium could only live happy under the French sceptre, and all ended in holding up France as the pattern of justice, and the benefactor of the human race. Thus did the idle and discontented in France, endeavour to alarm and confuse Europe, while they were carrying on their dark and diabolical designs, against her future peace and happiness. To do them justice, however, it must be confessed, that they had powerful auxiliaries on this side of the water. Their most alarming reports, were etched out on this side the channel, and cheerfully extended by French ingenuity, who laughed at the ignorance of those to whose opinions they submissively seemed to bow, and whose principles they appeared eager to imbibe. In the midst of all this torrent of falsehood and abuse, the Congress continued their deliberations. Their labours were fast approaching to a close,

and that in a manner, which was well understood, by those who wished to understand the subject, would give general satisfaction to Europe. To rebuild the edifice of European policy, which French tyranny and ambition had overthrown, was no such easy task. To reconcile, and at the same time secure, the interests of all, was a most arduous undertaking. To have restored Europe, to the same state, as when France began her system of oppression and aggression, would have been the height of folly, and would have thrown away the labour and experience of twenty-years, in order to pave the way for the recurrence of the same evils from the same engines, *viz.* French power and ambition. The great powers of Europe, were too wise not to perceive this. Some interests must suffer; and therefore, the most guilty were singled out. Denmark, Saxony, and Italy, which clung to the fortunes of Bonaparte, and the interests of France, as long as they could; were pitched upon to encrease the territories of the neighbouring States. To Prussia, who gave up a considerable portion of her territory to add to the Duchy of Warsaw, a considerable portion of the territory of Saxony, was bestowed; and, to increase her power in proportion to that of her neighbours, she acquired a considerable accession of territory, on the left bank of the Rhine, which brought her into immediate contact with France. To Austria, who had so often contended, without success, against French ambition, all the Venetian States, were given, as also her old possessions in Italy; and in return she ceded some parts of her territories to Bavaria, and gave up all her claims upon Belgium, which was annexed to Holland, and now forms with the former the kingdom of the Netherlands. To strengthen the kingdom of Piedmont against French power, Genoa with its territories was added to the former state. Several other arrangements were made amongst the minor states of Germany, The principle of which, related to the strengthening of Bavaria, and the kingdom of Hanover. The friends of French politics cried out loudly against the arrangement; and every species of abuse and reproach, were heaped upon the heads of the allied Sovereigns, and their ministers assembled in Congress, in thus bartering away, as these factious demagogues called it, the in-

dependence of thousands of people, as if they had been so many cattle. These men forgot, that cession of territory, had in every age of the world, been necessary from one nation to another, and that those cessions had always been regulated with regard to the wealth, riches, and population of the parts so ceded or exchanged. There was nothing uncommon—nothing oppressive in all this. Nevertheless, the conduct of the allies, was described as the most odious and unjust; and, even that of Napoleon was considered mild and merciful, when compared to what theirs had been. Such were the broad assertions and accusations, of a party in Britain. Those men, could not possibly see the difference between the allies regulating the power of each state, so as that it might never gain a decided preponderance, over its neighbour; and the conduct of Napoleon, who wanted to overthrow the whole, and swallow them up, in the dreadful vortex of French rapacity and ambition. But in the midst of their mournful lamentations, for the fate of those who were justly suffering for their pertinacious adherence to French power, that great dragon which swallowed up individual and national liberty, not one sigh escaped their lips, for the fate of 700,000 inhabitants, once the subjects of other states, but which the treaty of Paris annexed unto France. No, these were added to the great nation, where freedom and happiness only could dwell, therefore, their fate was happy, their annexation an act of political sagacity, of the most beneficial kind. So argued French policy, and the men who had opposed those principles which had rescued Europe from French tyranny, against the proceedings of these men, whose judgment was now directed to establish that equilibrium, in the political balance of Europe, which might for a long time to come, preserve her from the same dreadful scourge. Other changes took place in several parts of Europe, particularly with regard to the kingdom of Naples, but which will with more propriety be noticed in another place.

No sooner were the immense hosts of Europe withdrawn beyond the French frontiers, and the troops of each nation,

marching rapidly on their return to their respective countries, to be disbanded, when the French nation, freed from the fear which their presence inspired, and satisfied with the novelty of the scene, which is no small object in the calculation of most of the inhabitants of France, than they began to speak out, and the same overbearing spirit of domineering tyranny began to shew itself in unequivocal terms. So long as the allied Sovereigns remained in France, and as long as the shows and rejoicings for the return of the King lasted, so long the Parisians remained perfectly satisfied, and thought of nothing else. But no sooner had they withdrawn, and the dancing, singing, and swearing, attendant upon the formation of a new Constitution, was gone, than they became dissatisfied for want of some bustle and confusion to occupy their minds. During the reign of tyranny, anarchy, republicanism, and that of Bonaparte, the people of France were never without some magnificent and important spectacle, with which to gratify their curiosity, their thoughtlessness, and their vanity. Some of these were, indeed, not of the most pleasant kind; but while such continued to be the rage, and "*the order of the day*," they served to engross their attention as much as any other. But, with the return of the King, all these were gone. For some time no open machinations, plots, nor conspiracies agitated the capital, and threatened it with pillage and blood—no bustle of drawing conscriptions, the march of vast armies, with all their weapons of destruction, to attack defenceless nations; and no accounts of brilliant victories and vast contributions gladdened their souls, and occupied their time. All were fled; and even Sunday was, in some degree, become, under the government of the King, a day of repose. Under a system and state so totally different from what they had been accustomed to, France became discontented at they knew not what. A few months of peace disgusted them with their situation. They could not betake themselves to any peaceful and industrious mode of life. They wanted war, and cared very little who was their Sovereign, providing he would indulge them in that propensity. The King, and his government, however, leaned to peace. Therefore was he despised; not because he was Louis XVIII. and

violating the constitution; but because he was not like Bonaparte, who never troubled his head about the constitution of France, but who occupied their attention in making and unmaking constitutions for their neighbours, while he gave them none at all for themselves. Yet this kind of employment completely absorbed their thoughts, and occupied their time, and pleased them better than if they had been attending to their own.

The government of Louis XVIII. under these circumstances, soon began to be looked upon with indifference, and he to be accused of neglecting the honour and the glory of the nation. A parcel of idle douaniers, intendants, and inspectors, and other reptiles of that class, who had been driven from their pleasant employment of plundering foreign countries, joined the disbanded military in their cry against the government, and their desire of revenge upon the nations of Europe. The capture of their capital—the violation of their sacred territory, wounded their pride. To lessen the stain, however, the army openly imputed all this to the treachery of some of the leading officers, and members of government, to their late Emperor. They cherished this idea till they believed that this alone was the cause of their discomfiture; and, under this impression, they were anxious again to rush into combat against the nations of Europe. The friends of Bonaparte fanned this dangerous flame of vanity and discontent; and, under the mask of supporting the national glory and invincibility of France, two things which completely run away with the understandings of Frenchmen, they succeeded in blinding the eyes of the government to their real views. The old Jacobinical party, who were accustomed to have a constitution annually, and who conceived the present had lasted long enough, now raised the cry that it was in danger; that the King had violated his word to the nation, and that he intended to erect a despotic government. Never since the cruel epoch of 1793, did the provinces of France present a more revolutionary aspect than they did at this moment. Never did the multitude, the eternal sport of factions, the sanguinary instruments of all the chiefs of revolt and anarchy, display a more eager disposition to insurrection and violence. Never was the poison of calumny infused with greater

care, or the fire of discord fed with more zeal and perseverance. It would be impossible to tell to what extent the detestable agents of Imperial tyranny had succeeded, in corrupting and perverting, and poisoning the public mind. All the artifices of tumult and discord, were set in motion by those who, for the last twenty-five years, united in alliance, engaged in conspiracies and revolt, had never surrendered the hope of re-inflicting upon that unhappy country the scourges of revolution. Every city, every town, had its committee charged with the office of calumniating the government, and of spreading among the people alarms, fitted to excite insurrection. They never ceased to terrify the nation with the re-establishment of seignorial rights, and all the evils of feudal servitude. They pointed out in every priest, in every noble, in every citizen of higher rank, an irreconcileable enemy. In vain the edicts of the King, his paternal bounty, and all the acts of his government, gave the lie to these impostures. Advantage was taken of imprudent writings, in the public prints, against those who had acquired national property, and the indiscreet conversations of some bigotted votaries of the old *regime*, to kindle a flame in the public mind. But these things were not the work of the King's followers. In France they have a system, different from all the rest of mankind, either in good or evil. When affecting to be your friend, they are your greatest enemy; and under that mask they do the greatest injury. Most of these writings we have alluded to, were the works of the Jacobins, who apparently became royalists, or had connexion with those that appeared so, that they might thus publish these writings and conversations, as if done by the King's immediate friends, in order that these things might spread more rapidly, and more deeply inflame the public mind. These were more dangerous enemies than even the stern opponents of the King, who despised him; but yet, confident of their own strength, disdained to assume another character, under which they might the more effectually annoy him. Foremost in the ranks of those dangerous and open declaimers was Carnot, one of those turbulent and inflexible characters produced by the revolution, whom no experience could convince of error, nor misfortunes,

nor failures, drive him from his visionary schemes. To this man, France and Europe owes almost all, if not all, the miseries and horrors of the last twenty-five years. Intent upon trying his theories in France, and of establishing what he called liberty, before the nation was fit to enjoy it, or could perceive what it meant, he succeeded in overthrowing the Royal Government and the ameliorated constitution of France; and under the pretence of preserving that established in its place from the attacks of foreigners, he procured a general rising amongst the French people, whose energies he quickly turned to the more desirable object of foreign conquest. Secure, as he thought, in his Golden system of Liberty and Equality, he never reflected that liberty cannot exist in a nation purely military; and he soon perceived, whatever were his intentions, that what he had done, was the road, in the first place, to the most hideous anarchy, and next, to the most dreadful despotism. To him, therefore, more than any one else, is France and Europe indebted for the miseries which they have endured. He has been characterised and eulogised as the upright and uncorrupted friend of liberty. It may be that he is so—what his real intentions are, mankind cannot judge; but the consequences of his actions and his conduct they can appreciate and understand. It can never be forgotten that it was him that established the Conscription laws in France, whose consequences have been fatal to France and to Europe. He planned the early wars of French aggression; he organised the regular system of French plunder, by their armies, in the conquered countries; and he was minister at war when all these horrible scenes of shooting, drowning, and massacring the loyalists was carried on in France, by the French army, whose chiefs he appointed, and whose orders they all were bound to obey. Of his so much talked of consistency we shall by and by have occasion to speak at greater length. Here, it may be sufficient to observe, that he fought for liberty, supported Bonaparte, abetted treason—but all for the honour of France.

This man, with his desperate adherents, still too numerous in that country, and who had risen to rank, wealth, and notice, from their implacable animosity to the legitimate Sovereign of

France, could not be easy to see a brother of that Sovereign which he was one of the principal instruments in bringing to the scaffold, most justly called by the French nation, and the unanimous voice of Europe, to the throne of France. It filled him and them with rage and anguish. They wanted a change, whatever the consequences might be. Under a legitimate King and a peaceable government, these men sunk into contempt and insignificance. This they could not bear. With all their professions about liberty, they were the most merciless despots that ever lived. They could brook no rival in their sway. A change, therefore, they were resolved on. But how to accomplish it was another question. They dreaded the army, because they were the blind instruments of Bonaparte's despotism. Yet, without its assistance, they were aware they could do nothing. The army hated them, at least its leaders did; but both were discontented with the present state of affairs; and each, to accomplish his own ends, resolved to coalesce with the other. The military leaders were aware that the Bourbons had many friends in France. They perceived, that without the assistance of a powerful party, possessing property, they could never attempt to overawe them, and re-organize a military system, which should again trample upon Europe. The old republican party, however, they were well aware, were both numerous and wealthy. Two-thirds of the land in France was, perhaps, in their possession. All the lands which formerly belonged to the church, the ancient domains of the Crown, and the vast and extensive estates of the old French nobility, and other wealthy individuals in France, had been seized, sold, or divided, and were now occupied by an infinite number of small settlers, formerly servants and vassals upon these domains, whose interest it was to preserve these properties, and for which purpose they were likely to exert themselves to the utmost to keep down civil commotions, in which they might have lost these properties, or their lives; thereby, as the military calculated, leaving the energies of France under their control, to be turned once more against the liberties of Europe. Many of these proprietors, however, though they could have no affection for the Bourbons, yet had just as little for the other dynasty, and only wanted to

enjoy their property in quietness and peace; and on this account would, perhaps, have paid no attention to the instigations to rebellion against the Bourbons, had not the wicked insinuations been spread amongst them, that the new government were secretly taking measures to strip the whole of the new proprietors of their properties. This report had a powerful effect, and proved a terrible engine in the hands of those who were busy plotting the overthrow of the Bourbon government.

Their plans, however, could not have succeeded, if the whole offices under the government, at least, nearly the whole, civil and military, had not been placed by the King in the hands of his most determined enemies. Louis XVIII. was a mild and a merciful sovereign. Misfortunes had shaken his mind. Religion had softened his temper to forgiveness of injuries, and disarmed his soul from harbouring resentment against any. In his lenity as a man, he forgot the duties of a sovereign. He wanted the firmness and determined resolution necessary to control the turbulent and unprincipled nation he was now appointed to govern. Therefore they treated him with disrespect, and planned his ruin. His ministers, with the exception of Talleyrand, were still more unfit for their situation. They were unacquainted with the nation, and the nation with them. Talleyrand, who is perhaps better acquainted with the situation of France than any other statesman in it, was absent attending the Congress at Vienna, while his colleagues were suffering themselves to be duped, and their government undermined, without their being aware of any evil design. Removed for 25 years from his native land, the King remembered only what it was. Accustomed during that period, but chiefly during the time he resided in England, to associate, with plain dealing, honour, and worth, he was above suspicion. He was not aware of the dreadful change effected on the minds of his countrymen, by the sanguinary revolution; nor believed that the deepest ingratitude and blackest perfidy could lurk under the most pleasing smiles, the strongest protestations, and the readiest oaths. He believed, and was deceived; and had it not

been, that his enemies, in this instance, were also the general enemies of Europe, he would have been undone.

In turning our eyes to the rest of the continent of Europe, we behold, at this moment, as it were, one vast camp, not as was wickedly insinuated, for the purpose of gratifying the ambition of any one nation, but arising from the unfortunate situation and deplorable condition to which the ambition of France had reduced them. Her arbitrary and lawless conduct had deprived every individual nation of its wealth; and not only so, but in her inveterate hostility against England, and lust of universal sway, had also by her distracted measures, put it out of the power of industry to replace what was lost. In a few words, she left them nothing but despair and vengeance—nothing, but from direful necessity to become wholly a military people. The consequences of the iniquitous proceedings of France had thus, in a great measure, returned on her own head; and while her military strength was broken, and energy shattered, that of Europe united too in a vast body against their former oppressors, was only beginning to raise its head and collect its strength. Formidable as these masses were, from their numbers, they were still more so from the spirit which animated them. It was called forth by general approbation, in a cause the most just. It proceeded from the fatal experience of individual oppression and national dishonour, which each had suffered, and all had endured. The feelings thus occasioned were deeply rooted in every bosom: for, from the Rhine to the Don—from the Adriatic to the Thames—and from the Pyrenees to the straits of Gibraltar, a general sentiment of indignation was felt against France. It was part of the French system, to raise to wealth and honours, at the expense of honour and worth, the wretches who betrayed their country, and who joined the hordes who oppressed it. These men, while they deeply regretted the fall of their former friends, called loudly out for a return of those times when only crime could become conspicuous, and baseness meet with reward. These were most numerous in Belgium, the German States, Italy, and other countries around the frontiers of France, where her influence had been greatest, but gradually diminished in numbers in the countries more distant

from her boundaries. The general voice of Europe, however, was against them; and those seditious and pernicious doctrines, writings, and principles, which had formerly proved so destructive to the moral and political fabric of Europe, were now generally understood, justly appreciated, and treated with indignation or scorn. These had lost their poison, and could deprive the people of Europe of their senses no more.

Such was the situation of France and of Europe, when the attention of the world, was called forth by the appearance upon the political theatre, of her former scourge and oppressor. Napoleon Bonaparte left his abode, in the island where mistaken lenity had placed him, and landed in France, with arms in his hand. With the rapidity of lightning, the intelligence flew throughout Europe. Her most distant borders felt the shock; and the world heard of his appearance with astonishment and dismay. Mankind stood appalled at the alarming intelligence, not indeed, proceeding so much from the name and fear of Bonaparte, as at the certain idea, of the fresh woes and miseries, which his arrival would bring upon the human race. They saw, in imagination, the restless spirit and ambition of France, which they had so lately put down, again called forth, furious for battle, and eager for blood. His arrival was beheld, as the approach of the demon of war, confusion and destruction. In truth, he brought them all in his train. This extraordinary man, left Elba with about 900 men of his guards, who had accompanied him in his exile. On the 20th February, under pretence of detecting some smugglers, he laid an embargo on all the vessels then in the island; and on the afternoon of the 26th, at five o'clock, he embarked with 400 men of his guards, on board of a brig of 24 guns. Three other vessels were at the same time seized, and received the remainder of his band amounting to 500 men. With these he set sail from his narrow kingdom; and after various delays from calms and contrary winds, and having passed some French and British ships of war, without being suspected or molested by any of them; he, at three o'clock on the morning of the 1st March, with this squadron entered the bay of Juan, and landed in the Gulph of Napaul, not far from Antibes, in the depart-

ment of the Var, and near the Italian frontier. Early in the morning, Bonaparte caused an officer, with 25 men, to land before the rest, as he said to secure the shore battery, if there was any at that point, but more probably to surprise Antibes, which the officer according to Bonaparte's account, attempted of his own accord, but in which he failed, and was with all his party taken prisoners, by the officer who commanded for the king. * This was all, however, that this officer did. He took no measures to prevent Bonaparte's landing, who effected that business at five o'clock, on the afternoon. No sooner had Napoleon reached the shore, than raising himself, and standing erect, he stamped with his foot on the ground, exclaiming, "I am now above the power of the Congress." How far this arrogance and self-confidence was correct, a short period will shew us.

Having thus secured his landing, Bonaparte gave himself no further trouble about the vessels which conveyed him.—He had more important objects to attend to. The men *bivouacked* on the beach till the moon arose, when about eleven o'clock at night, they commenced their movement in advance. Bertrand and Drouet were the principal persons of note with them besides Bonaparte, who "put himself, at the head of this handful of brave men, (his own words,) to the fate of whom, such mighty destinies were attached." † With these he marched forward. He took the road to Cannes, from thence to Grasse, and on the evening of the 2d he reached the village of Cerenou, having performed a march of 20 leagues, in that short period. At Cannes he was received with that satisfaction, which in his words "were the first presage of the success of the enterprise." ‡ On the 4th he reached Digne. On the 5th general Cambrone obtained possession of the bridge and fortress of Sisteron, and Bonaparte slept at Gap; every where welcomed by the people of the surrounding country: at least, such were his accounts of their disposition. On the 6th Bonaparte left Gap, after having circulated a vast number of pro-

* Official account of Bonaparte's operations, Moniteur, Paris, March 22d, 1815.

† Do. do. ‡ Do. do.

clamations to the inhabitants of Dauphiny, and the French nation, which we shall presently have occasion to notice more at length. From Gap he proceeded to Grenoble, where a considerable force was assembled, and a large depot of military stores established, under the command of general Marchand. Arrived near the place, the troops under Bonaparte met the advance of a force, which had been sent from that fortress to oppose his march. At the appearance of the Emperor, these men, no doubt prepared before hand, hoisted the tri-coloured cockade, and joined his ranks. It was boasted, that in this instance, Bonaparte laid bare his bosom, and marching directly upon these battalions, exclaimed, in allusion to the proclamation of Augereau, "Soldiers, it has been said I am a coward—but here is my heart open to your arms, feel if it fears." This, however, is no doubt in the usual French style of imposition and bombast, and at all events, it was a very safe experiment, in order to prove his courage, to march with his breast uncovered, against men he was before-hand assured would do him no injury; and who, while they had a white cockade on the outside of their caps, had either a tri-coloured one in the inside of it, or at the bottom of their knapsacks. According to his own narrative, it was towards a battalion of the 5th regiment, that he thus marched; and having caused himself to be recognised, he told them "that the first soldier, who chose to kill the Emperor might do so," to which they replied with shouts of "*Vive le Empereur.*" * His guard and these traitors, immediately embraced, and the Emperor haranguing them, informed them, that he came to deliver them from the tyranny and illegitimate throne of the Bourbons, whose interests and pursuits, were contrary to the interests of the nation, and who wished to restore tythes and feudal rights, and other grievances, from which the blessed revolution had delivered their "*Fathers.*" "Is not this true," said he, "*Peasants?* Yes, Sire," said they unanimously, "They wished to tie us to the soil—you are come like the angel of the Lord to deliver us!!" †

Continuing his advance, with this augmented force Bona-

* Official accounts of Bonaparte's operations, Moniteur, Paris, March 22d. 1814.

† Do. do.

parte approached Grenoble. That place, however, had in the meantime become a scene of treachery and perfidy.—"Colonel Labedoyere," said the tyrant, "profoundly afflicted by the dishonour which overspread France, and determined by the *most noble sentiments*, had separated himself from the garrison of Grenoble, and was coming with his regiment, at quick march to meet the Emperor." * As there is another tribunal, and other principles than those of the Emperor, by which Colonel Labedoyere's conduct must be tried; it is here only necessary to state this matter in its proper light. That infamous traitor, with his own hand, wounded General Marchand; and, in defiance of the threats and entreaties of the Commander Danvillieres, carried off his regiment to join his former master, with whom he knew, such "noble sentiments," were the only road to favour and preferment. With this additional force, Bonaparte, at eleven o'clock at night entered Grenoble; where the rest of the garrison, amounting in all to 6000 men, together with all the national guards, and the people, received them with unbounded acclamations, and cries from the soldiery of "down with the Bourbons, down with the enemies of the people; live the Emperor, and a government of our own choice. In the twinkling of an eye, these 6,000 men were soon decorated *with the national cockade*, and each of them, with an old and worn out one; for upon laying aside the cockade tri-colour, they had concealed it at the bottom of their knapsacks. *Not one was purchased at Grenoble.* It is the same, said they, as they passed the Emperor—it is the same that we bore at Lodi. This, said others, is the very same one which we wore at Marengo!" †. In this relation of treason and vanity, we have a convincing proof, of the preconcerted plan of the Emperor's march, and also with whom it was concerted. In the "twinkling of an eye," these national cockades, could not be procured; and the reader will observe, that they had others besides the "old worn out ones." Whether these were purchased in Grenoble or not, was not of material importance,

* Official account of Bonaparte's operations, Moniteur, Paris, March 22d, 1815.

† Do. do.

and was perhaps as correct, as that many of these had seen the bridge of Lodi, and the plains of Marengo. Nō; these lay bleached on the fields of Borodino, and were forever covered by the waters of the Berezina, the Tormes, the Zadora, and the Elster.

Meanwhile, the landing of Bonaparte, soon became known at Paris. By means of telegraphic conveyances, intelligence between the chief cities and ports of that kingdom, is conveyed with great rapidity. These were instantly put in motion, and the news spread with the speed of lightning. The directors of these machines, and the prefects and commandants of the different places, while they appeared to be alert in the service of the King, had an opportunity of serving the cause of Bonaparte, in the most effectual manner, by circulating the intelligence. On the evening of the 5th the accounts reached Paris, but it was not generally known till next day, when it produced the greatest sensation. The king instantly issued an order convoking the Legislature, and addressed a proclamation to the French nation, denouncing Bonaparte as a rebel and a traitor, and calling upon all to aid in seizing and delivering him up to the legal tribunals. This proclamation, however, had little effect. From Paris the intelligence was quickly transmitted to all the departments, the principal sea-ports, fortifications, and armies. Messengers and couriers were dispatched, in all directions, to Britain, to Vienna, to Madrid, to Copenhagen, and Stockholm, with the alarming news.—Troops were directed to march from every place towards the line of his advance. Monsieur and Macdonald, set out for Lyons; and Ney to Besancon, to collect a force, with which he was to march on the former place. Soult, who at that time held the important office of minister at war, appeared to act with spirit and energy. "Soldiers," said he, in an order of the day to the army, "that man, who but a short time since, before the eyes of all Europe, abdicated his usurped authority, of which he has made so fatal a use, Bonaparte, has landed upon the French soil, which he ought never to have revisited. What does he want? Civil war. What does he seek? Traitors! Where will he find them? Will it be among the Soldiers he

has deceived and sacrificed, so often disappointing their valour? Bonaparte must estimate us *low indeed*, to think that we can abandon a legitimate Sovereign, to share the fate of a man, who is only an adventurer. The French army is the noblest in Europe, it will also be the most faithful. Let us rally round the banners of the lily, at the voice of the father of the people, the true heir of the virtues of the Great Henry." * All the persons in authority, pursued a similar line of conduct. The national guards of Paris, were called into active duty, and Colonel Desolles their commanding officer, thus addressed them, "The man appears," said he, "who destroyed his own institutions, and under pretence of a regular Government, exercised the most absolute power. He sacrificed the riches, the industry, and the commerce of France, to the desire of extending his dominions beyond all limits, and of destroying the dynasties of Europe, to establish his own family: that man who, to sum up all in a word, comes now to give the world, a new and a terrible example of the abuse of power and fortune, whose ambition is unbounded, passions unbridled, and talents unaccompanied by virtue—he returns when France was beginning to breathe—at such a time he returns, and the confiscation, the Continental blockade, interminable war, arbitrary power, and public shame, are in his rear, while his van is led on by civil war and revenge." † Nothing could be more just and correct, than these appeals, which were echoed by the Legislature and all the public bodies in the capital.

Nor were the provinces behind in their professions of loyalty. They even appeared to exceed them. "Leaving Elba," said Count Maison, "Napoleon Bonaparte has dared to set his foot on the soil of France, in the hope of dividing us, and lighting up a civil war, to accomplish the object of his vengeance; there is not one of us, but is animated with the deepest indignation. It is not enough, that the delirium of his ambition, has dragged us to all parts of Europe, has roused every nation against us, *has lost us provinces, that French va-*

* Soult's order of the day, March 9th, 1815.

† Desolles's address to the national guards of Paris, March 9th.

tour had gained before he was known in our ranks, and at length opened the kingdom, and even the capital itself to strangers. Now he wishes to arm Frenchmen against Frenchmen, to disturb our internal tranquility, to destroy all our hopes; and to snatch at once from us, the liberty and the constitution, which *Louis le Desire* has given us. No, Soldiers, no; we will not suffer it; our oaths, and our honours, are sacred pledges, and we will all die, if it be necessary for our King and our country. *Vive le Roi!*" * "If the enemies of the country," said Oudinot, "have dared to found their hopes, on the dissensions which they endeavour to create; there is not one of us but is ready to shed our blood, in order to counteract their criminal intentions, and to support the honour of a throne, on which, henceforward, all our hopes rests." † "The appearance," said Dumounceau, "of Napoleon Bonaparte, on one of the points of the French territory, cannot fail to excite indignation, in whoever loves his country and his Sovereign. The army, in particular, shall not have made in vain an oath of fidelity to *Louis le Desire*. I believe I may answer for the troops in the 2d military division." ‡ Addressing the King, Jourdan proceeded: "France, happy under the paternal government of your Majesty, *free* by a constitution, she possesses through your wisdom, repells from her bosom the man under whose despotism she has so long groaned. If in all circumstances the French Soldiers have been models of honour, how pleasing it will now be to them, to fulfil the duties which honour imposes on them. Yes, Sire, we are prepared to shed our blood, for the defence of the throne and the country." § From every other quarter, the same sentiments flew to Paris; from all the towns on the coast, from Bourdeaux, Thoulouse, and other places. Massena, who commanded at Marseilles and Toulon, directed General Miollis to proceed from the latter place with a considerable body of troops towards Aix, and from thence to advance up the Rhone, to meet Bonaparte's

* Count Maison's order of the day to the 11th military division, March 9th, 1815.

† Oudinot's address to the King, for the 3d and 10th military divisions, March 10th.

‡ Dumounceau's address to the King, for the 2d military division, March 9th.

§ Jourdan's address to the King from Rouen.

route. After taking great merit to himself, for his activity, he thus addressed the Marsellois. "Inhabitants of Marseilles, you may reckon upon my zeal and my devotedness. I have sworn fidelity to my legitimate King, and I will never deviate from the path of honour. I am ready to shed all my blood in the support of his throne."* Subsequent to this, he continued the same strain. "You will constantly," said he to them, "reject the perfidious manœuvres of some agitators, whose insinuations tend to disturb the harmony which exists between the brave national guards and the troops of the line. Their wishes will be deceived; nothing can disunite us; the citizen and the soldier will have but one sentiment, but one cry; to defend, at the peril of our lives, the throne of our good King, Louis XVIII.—*Vive le Roi.*"†

I conceive it quite unnecessary to quote more of these documents, in order to shew the well grounded hope which Louis XVIII. and Europe had, that the career of Bonaparte would have been short. I have also dwelt longer upon, and have been more particular, with regard to these productions, than perhaps they deserve, in order that I might place in the strongest point of view, the conduct of the French Marshals and the army. From the different garrisons, the King daily received accounts that the troops had taken a fresh oath of fidelity, and particularly from the strong and important fortress of Lisle, where Mortier held the chief command. Some officers, indeed, in this place, openly avowed their intentions of espousing the cause of Bonaparte, the moment they heard of his landing; amongst which numbers was the Count d'Erlon, Generals Excellmans, and the two Lallemands. The former of these was put under arrest; but the others escaped with a body of cavalry, and other troops, with which they pushed on to surprise the military depot of La Fere, and there assembling more troops, and receiving a supply of arms, they intended to push on to Paris. At La Fere, however, they failed in their object, through the resolution of the commanding officer of the place. Two regiments of troops also, which were with them,

* Massena's address to the Marsellois, March 9th, † Do. do. March 15th.

there learning what their real intentions were, refused any longer to obey them. These, however, suffered their leaders to escape. Excellmans, formerly tried for treason and acquitted, was soon after taken again; but the two Lallemands succeeded in effecting their escape, with a small body of cavalry, and joined Bonaparte. In the meantime, however, it could not be concealed that the arrival of their former leader gave general satisfaction among the unprincipled soldiery; who, in almost every place, shewed this satisfaction in the most unequivocal manner: and amongst the old revolutionists, a savage joy was boldly expressed at the appearance of this old demon of discord and confusion amongst them. Many also of Bonaparte's former particular friends were now making their appearance in various parts of France, but particularly in Paris.

The Duke and Duchess of Angouleme, who had shortly before gone upon a tour to the South of France, were at this time at Bourdeaux, where, as well as in every other part of their route, they had been received with universal joy and acclamation. Upon hearing of the landing of Napoleon, the Duke received orders from the King to repair to Nismes, to assemble troops, and to assume the command in that quarter. Leaving the Duchess at Bourdeaux, he proceeded with the utmost dispatch to his destination, in which situation we must leave him for a moment. In the meantime, Monsieur and Marshal Macdonald arrived at Lyons on the 8th, where they were welcomed by the inhabitants with great satisfaction, and who shewed the greatest willingness to defend the place. The troops also, had as yet shewn no other disposition; but there was a great want of all military stores of every description. This, no doubt, was the work of the conspirators, to prevent any opposition which might otherwise have been organised amongst such a population, many of whom were, unquestionably, adherents of the legitimate family.

From Grenoble, Bonaparte continued his advance, and on the 9th he reached Burgoign, a town about five posts from Lyons, where he halted for the night. The crowds and enthusiasm which collected around him, according to his accounts, rapidly increased. They were prepared before-hand for his

arrival, and, consequently, were eager to shew their sentiments on the occasion. "For a long time we have expected you," said these brave people to the Emperor. "Behold you are at length arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the Noblesse, from the pretensions of priests, and from the disgrace of a foreign yoke."* From Burgoign, Bonaparte next day advanced on Lyons, "surrounded by a crowd of peasants, singing songs expressive of all the nobleness of feeling of the brave Dauphinois."† To these marks of satisfaction and "*feeling*," the Emperor could do nothing less than make a suitable return. It brought to his recollection the tales of other times, when all were equal, and when they and him had sworn to annihilate Emperors and Kings. "Ah!" said he, "I recognize here *the sentiments which, twenty years ago*, made me salute France as the Great Nation. Yes, you are still the Great Nation, and you will always be so."‡ Thus situated, and with these feelings, he arrived before Lyons. The roads to the suburbs, on the left bank of the Rhone, had been barricaded with beams and trees, and two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were in the place. To these were joined a considerable number of the national guards, all under the command of Monsieur and Macdonald. These latter endeavoured to animate and encourage the troops, but in vain. The "Prince," said Bonaparte, "went through all the ranks, but he found them *frozen*:"§ a terrible state; in which men become incapable of any resistance, and which the Russian campaign had taught Frenchmen the meaning of. Here, indeed, they were morally frozen, and remained deaf to every sentiment of honour and worth. Least he should, however, meet with resistance in the city, Bonaparte had directed Bertrand to collect boats at Mirbel, and during the night, to pass the river, and marching upon Moulins and Macon, to cut off the retreat of the Prince, when he should be forced to abandon the city, as Bonaparte was certain he would. As he advanced, however, he soon learned that his friends had completely opened the way for him, and that no resistance would take place; wherefore, this

* Official Journal, Moniteur, March 22d, 1815. † Do. do. do.
‡ Do. do. do. § Bonaparte's Journal, du Rhone, Lyons, March 11th.

movement was countermanded. Macdonald appeared on the bridge la Guillotierre, with two battalions of troops, where they met the advance of Bonaparte's army, preceded by some of the inhabitants of the Fauxbourg Guillotierre, shouting, "*Vive le Empereur.*" The troops commanded by Macdonald were ready to join him. "*It was known,*" said Bonaparte, "*that all the soldiers were only waiting for their brothers in arms to embrace them, and for the Emperor, to salute him again in the support of the country.*"* Accordingly they instantly joined the adherents of Bonaparte, whose friends in the city, seeing that all the military were their friends, openly avowed their sentiments in the most exulting manner. Macdonald hastily withdrew; and with the Governor, Count de Damas, and the Prefect, Count de Chabrol, retired to Clermont. Monsieur followed their example, and set out to Paris, to lay the afflicting intelligence before the King, after having, by telegraph, communicated the tremendous fact. Bonaparte, from this moment, advanced without any dread of opposition. The beams and trees intended to obstruct his passage, were thrown into the Rhone; and about nine in the evening, accompanied by 20,000 spectators, engaged in their dear employment of shouting, "*Vive le Empereur,*" he entered Lyons. He passed through the suburb la Guillotierre, "*always distinguished* for its attachment to the country."†

Bonaparte had no sooner entered Lyons, than he commenced his darling work of arbitrary decrees, proscriptions, and sequestrations. In a multitude of decrees there issued by him, he undid every thing which the legitimate government had done. He decreed the sequestration of all the property belonging to the Bourbons, or their adherents; and directed that every emigrant returned to France, except those which he had previously pardoned and permitted, should be compelled to leave France within fifteen days; and, that if found within the French territory after the expiry of that period, they should be tried by the arbitrary and sanguinary laws decreed by the Na-

* Bonaparte's Journal du Rhone, Lyons, March 11th, 1815.

† Do. do. do. This was the place where the guillotine did such fearful execution during the revolution.

tional Assemblies, during the most ferocious times of the revolution. The Imperial guards, that tremendous engine of his power, were to be re-established in all their splendour. By his single act, he decreed the dissolution of the Legislative bodies, consisting of the Houses of Peers and Deputies. The spirit of these decrees clearly demonstrated the violent source from whence they sprung. The former shewed that the revolutionary venom was not eradicated; the latter, that Napoleon could never change. All his proclamations at this time run Emperor, &c. &c. His ambition and his intentions were as much as ever unlimited and despotic. Here also, he decreed the assembling of another Legislature, to collect at Paris during the month of May, in order that they might "take such measures," said he, "as may be convenient to correct and modify our constitutions, conformably to the interests and the will of the nation; and at the same time to assist at the coronation of the Empress, our very dear and well beloved wife, and of our dear and well beloved son." * Many other decrees were issued at the same time, no doubt, prepared before-hand for the purpose.

The entrance of Bonaparte into Lyons, excited astonishment in the minds of all, and spread alarm amongst the supporters of the Bourbon government. The insolence of their enemies increased in proportion. It was now evident that the system of treachery had the most extensive ramifications; but in what direction its roots spread, or who were concerned therein, no one seemed to know. It was, however, evident that the troops could nowhere be depended upon; and, accordingly, instead of drawing these to oppose him, in the line of his intended route to Paris, directions were given to withdraw them from the route by which it was supposed he would advance. The defence of the capital, and of the King, was determined to be confided to the National guards of Paris, and the troops there assembled, which were supposed to be better affected. This army was to be stationed between Melun and Fontainbleau, and was calculated to amount to 30,000 men or upwards. The command was given to Macdonald, who had arrived in Paris. Great hopes were

* Decree, Lyons, March 13th, 1815.

entertained of what this army would accomplish; and also of what Ney would be able to perform with the troops from Besancon, amounting to 14,000 men, with whom he had reached Lons le Saulnier on the 11th. From other places, satisfactory accounts continued to be received. Massena continued to hold out professions of fidelity; and the country in Bonaparte's rear was described as hostile to him. In the meantime, however, the utmost alarm prevailed in Paris. The enemies of the King became more daring, while the sentiments of the Legislative bodies, and the mass of the population, whenever the King appeared amongst them, expressed the greatest regard to his person and devotion to his cause. Foreigners, however, of which there were, at that time, a vast number in Paris, particularly British, began to leave that unsteady capital. They hastened home in crowds, many pressing on foot, and through the Netherlands, when no communication could be had by Calais. Many who had gone to settle in France, and follow the peaceable pursuits of commerce, left it, and all foreigners prepared to leave that unfortunate country. As Bonaparte advanced, every thing that was peaceable abandoned the territory of France. Peace and industry fled from her hated shores. The inhabitants saw it, not only without a murmur, but in many places with exultation. They had, indeed, been too long accustomed to a contrary manner of life, to pay much attention to events which would have covered any other nation with the deepest sorrow and shame. At this time, Soult was dismissed from his situation of minister at war, and the Duke of Feltre (Clarke) appointed in his place. It was supposed that Soult had been detected in some treasonable correspondence, of which there, indeed, seems to be little doubt; but his appearance, on the following day, at the King's levee, while it shewed the consummate audacity of the one, and the weakness of the other, staggered the belief of many that there could be any thing criminal in his conduct. But they order these things differently in France. The King, at this moment, was beset with enemies, all of whom wore the appearance of friends. The telegraph, though under the immediate control of government, was found to be employed in carrying on a correspondence with distant

parts of the country, in a cypher unknown to them. A guard was placed over it, but it was then too late to prevent the mischief occasioned by its facility of conveyance. All France already knew of the arrival and advance of Bonaparte. His friends and supporters were every where on the alert, and every where understood what the motions of each other were, and what they were determined to do.

From Lyons, Bonaparte commenced his march on the 13th, towards Paris From this point, it was evident, his greatest expectations arose; and the greatest exertions therefore were made to reach it. In Paris was placed the centre of the great machine, which had brought back Bonaparte from Elba, and which was to establish him on the throne of France, and secure it to his dynasty. Every thing seemed as secure, as treason unexampled, and a combination formidable from numbers, could make it. His force was augmented by the defection of the troops at Lyons, at the head of which was General Brayer; and he had, by means of his usual mode of proceeding, contributions and requisitions, obtained supplies and pay for his army. Under the former head, he levied 1,500,000 francs, which seems to have been peculiarly gratifying to the inhabitants of Lyons, as their enthusiasm and love for the Emperor "affected him so much, that he could not express what he felt, except by saying, people of Lyons, I love you."* "You have always been in the first rank in my affections, on the throne or in exile; you have still maintained the same sentiments. In moments more tranquil, I will return to occupy myself with your wants, and the prosperity of your manufactures, and your city."† Proceeding from Lyons, the Emperor took the road up the Saone, and at three in the afternoon of the 13th, he reached Villefranche, a place containing about 4000 inhabitants; but at that time, according to his accounts 60,000. In fact, revolutionary movements had taken place in this part of the country; the inhabitants of surrounding districts, and towns in advance on the Paris road, flocked to behold their idol. All these places had been famed, and were notorious for the violence of their pro-

* Official Journal, Moniteur, March 22d, 1815.

† Bonaparte's proclamation, Lyons, March 13th.

ceedings, and the brutality of their conduct during the sanguinary revolution; and these were its votaries who now flocked round this torch of discord, and beacon of blood. The same night Bonaparte entered Macon, which he immediately catechised for allowing the Austrians to enter it so easily, during the preceding year. The reply was quite ready: "Sire," said they, "why did you appoint a bad Mayor?"* This Scotch answer pleased the Emperor. From thence, he proceeded to Tournus, where he "had only praises to bestow upon the inhabitants, for their excellent conduct and patriotism;"† and which continued to be the same at Chalons Sur Saone, and St. Jean de Lone. At Chalons, he met a deputation from Dijon, the people of which had risen against the legitimate government, and expelled the Prefect and the Mayor of the place. This gave the Emperor great pleasure; and on them also he consequently bestowed praise.

From Chalons, Bonaparte proceeded to Autun; and, on the 16th, to Avallon, where he slept. Every where, said he, meeting with the same sentiments which animated the inhabitants of the mountains of Dauphiny. He removed all the obnoxious authorities, and appointed in their places those on whom he could depend. Amongst those whom his Imperial displeasure marked out, was a "*Coxcomb Sub-prefect of Saumur*," for having, the preceding year, been harsh to the inhabitants of Chiffey, for opposing the enemies of their country, viz. the Bourbons. Him he ordered to be arrested, and to be committed to Prison at Avallon. On the 17th, the Emperor reached Auxerre; where Bertrand gave orders to collect boats to embark the army, "already strong, with four divisions; and to transport it the same evening to Fossard, so as to be able to reach Fontainbleau by one o'clock in the morning."‡ In order to discourage the friends of Louis, and encourage those of Bonaparte, the agents of the latter scattered over the country, in all directions, took special care to spread the most alarming reports concerning the enthusiasm of the people in his favour, and of the prodigious augmentation of his army. This was part of his sys-

* Official Journal, Moniteur. † Do. do. ‡ Do. do.

tem, which was as necessary to his power as its existence, and which had so long alarmed and confounded Europe. The facts in this case, however, though very much exaggerated, were too serious not to create the greatest uneasiness and anxiety to the party attached to the legitimate government. But they were taken completely by surprise, and were altogether unprepared; and what was worse, without either authority, or even property, to the extent that could at all make their voice, influence, or their exertions be heard or attended with any effect.

As in the road by which Bonaparte had to advance from Lyons to Auxerre, it was certain there were no number of troops of consequence, which, by deserting the cause of the King, could increase the strength of the usurper, except those under Ney, so, it was obvious, that his army could not be materially augmented in strength. Considerable hopes were, therefore, still entertained, that upon his advance nearer the capital, where a numerous army was assembling to oppose him, that this enterprize would still prove abortive. Much dependence was placed upon Ney, who had a force under him of 14 or 15,000 veteran troops, and who was advancing on his flank and on his rear. This hope was, however, quickly dissipated. Ney adopted a different line of conduct. Instead of advancing and intercepting Bonaparte's route, he remained at Lons le Saulnier, from the 11th to the 14th, with a force much superior to his, leaving the road quite open; and on the following day, he abandoned the cause of Louis XVIII. and directed his army to march and join the standards of Napoleon, which he immediately did, and which he effected, at Auxerre, on the 18th, before his master left that place. The conduct of this man was odious and base in the extreme. No language is capable of expressing its iniquity. His name, for infamy, has become proverbial over Europe. Before leaving Paris, as we have already noticed, he gave the King the strongest assurances of his affection and fidelity. In a tone of energy and affection he kissed the King's hand, and told him, that "if he should subdue the enemy of the King, and of France, he would bring him prisoner in an iron cage to Paris."* After assuming

* Official statement of occurrences by the King.

the command, he continued to reiterate his professions of fidelity, and to assure his sovereign of the loyalty of the troops under his orders. But his kiss was treason, and his smile murder. "Officers, subalterns, and soldiers!" said he, "the cause of the Bourbons is lost for ever! the legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted, re-ascends the throne: it is to the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, that it belongs to rule over our fine country! Liberty at length triumphs; and Napoleon, our august Emperor, will establish it for ever. Henceforth, let his fine cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen—Soldiers, I have often led you to victory; now I wish to lead you to that immortal phalanx which the Emperor Napoleon conducts to Paris, and which will be there in a few days; and there our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive le Empereur.*"* Proud promises—vain expectations—The hours of French treason and rebellion were numbered—It was reserved for an unconquered arm, and for an *untarnished* honour, on a fatal field, to wipe out this disgraceful stain from the history of Europe.

If perplexity and fear overspread the councils of the King of France, at this unexpected and disastrous intelligence, one general burst of detestation and indignation met it from every corner in Europe. But one resource was now left to save the capital, and the regal authority; and that was from the efforts of the army assembled in front of Melun, under the command of Macdonald and Monsieur. This army was composed of the troops in the first military division, the garrison and the national guards of Paris; and was variously estimated at from 30 to 100,000 men. It certainly exceeded the former number. It was not in this point, however, that it was deficient. It wanted a proper spirit. It was obvious that the troops were little to be depended upon; therefore they were mixed with the national guards of Paris, who, it was supposed were animated with better feelings, and which might thereby keep the others to their duty. Vain expectation. The national guards of Paris had long been used to wallow in the midst of debauchery

* Ney's proclamation to his army, Lons le Saulnier, March 15th, 1815.

and riches, collected by the concentration of the plunder of Europe, to their haughty capital; and, therefore, could not cordially hate the man whose ambition had so long continued to feed their enjoyment. Their morals were corrupted—their bodies enervated; and though they marched from Paris at the sound of martial music, shouting, *Vive le Roi*, they had not yet come to danger in the cannon's mouth. When that moment arrived, it tried the virtuous mettle of the "*lads of Paris.*" Surrounded with enemies, menaced with dangers, and bending under bodily infirmities, the King yet continued firm in this emergency. Though advised by his most faithful adherents to retire in time from this scene of danger: "Can I better terminate my career, at 60 years of age," said he, "than by ending my life in defence of my people." His people were a worthless and a faithless race, and did not deserve such a sacrifice. He abode with them, however, to the last moment. He threw himself upon the protection of his legislature. The war was declared national, and his cause the cause of all Frenchmen. Addresses continued to pour in from the different departments, expressive of their fidelity and attachment. Whenever he appeared in Paris, he was welcomed with shouts of "*Vive le Roi*," and on the 16th March, in the chambers of the legislative bodies, the universal cry was, "long live the King! the King in life and death." But, alas! these were mere words, and would not stop the career of Bonaparte. These were Parisian praises, and went for little. These were shared by any thing might be considered uppermost in Paris, whether it was the voice of liberty or terror—Robespierre, the Guillotine, or the Goddess of Reason. Many, no doubt, hated Bonaparte. But would they support the one or oppose the other? No! unless words and tongues would do it. Immorality and debauchery had corrupted and enervated their feelings and their faculties—tyranny and anarchy had debased them. The virtuous Louis was destined to feel this. The turn of his successor, who had once felt, but was yet to feel this more bitterly, was rapidly circling round in the wheel of fortune.

From Auxerre, Bonaparte advanced to Melun. The army, at this place, was drawn up to oppose his progress. He ad-

vanced with his force to meet it. The ground towards Melun, from the Southward, is a continued declivity, so that either party could behold, from a considerable distance, the motions and movements of their opponents. Silence and uncertainty reigned in the royal ranks, except when interrupted by the favourite airs of *Henry quatre* and *la belle Gabrielle*, played to animate the soldiery. These, however, had too long been unaccustomed to loyalty, for such music to make any impression on their obdurate bosoms. Many of them had actually put wet tobacco into their musquets, that, if obliged to use them, they should do no execution. Bonaparte advanced with confidence. He directed his troops to throw down their arms when they came in contact with their old comrades. The manœuvre took—the troops ran to meet each other, as friends. Bonaparte's carriage, in which was himself, Bertrand, and Drouet, advanced to the front of the royal army. "*Napoleon!—Napoleon le Grande,*" burst from the mouths of the soldiery—The national guards joined in the exclamation—The royalist army became a scene of confusion—all discipline was forgotten—every command was disobeyed—not a shot was fired. Macdonald and some other officers escaped—no person troubled them—the whole army shouted *Vive le Empereur*——the white flag was thrown aside—the tri-coloured raised in its place; the army became the followers and supporters of Bonaparte; and thus ended the farce of Parisian loyalty and affection. The conduct of Macdonald, in this instance, was most extraordinary and suspicious. He seems to have made no efforts whatever to prevent the contagion of disloyalty spreading amongst the troops—no speeches to animate their courage—no attempts to risque his life in recalling them to their duty, or endeavouring to arrest the bold career of the usurper. No! in behalf of Napoleon alone, it appears, these men could only be brought to brave danger; and their escape at this moment was, no doubt, connived at, in order that they might yet benefit the cause of their former master, by blinding loyalty, with professions of attachment, and deceiving it by arrangements they never meant to follow up.

The account of the defection of the army, which was appointed to cover Paris, quickly reached that city. No hope remained of

any further defence for the capital. The King, therefore, found himself under the painful necessity, of abandoning that nest of corruption and evil. He issued a decree, dissolving the Legislature, and ordering another to meet at such other place, as he might afterwards point out. He informed them, that he left Paris, for the moment, to proceed to a safer place, to collect forces to oppose the career of rebellion, and to regulate the affairs of his distracted kingdom. The Duke de Bourbon had been dispatched to La Vendee, to arm the western departments; and powers had been transmitted to the Duke de Angouleme, to arm those of the South, making Thoulouse the seat of government. The king himself proceeded to the northern departments. On the 19th, at midnight he quitted the Thuilleries, and immediately afterwards, was followed by his household troops, the only force which had remained faithful to him, and now commanded by Monsieur and the Duke de Berri. On the afternoon the King reached Abbeville, where he was next day joined by Marshal Macdonald, who advised him to proceed still nearer to the frontiers. They accordingly set out for Lille, where they arrived next day, and which they entered amidst the acclamations of the national guards, and of the remainder of the inhabitants. Indeed, along the road, the King was received with every mark of respect; and the troops which he met, saluted him with the cries of *Vive le Roi*, while they were marching to join Bonaparte. In Lille, the King might have found a safe asylum, and a rallying point on French ground, for his friends; but Mortier, who commanded in that place, took special care, to have the garrison *recalled*, and would not allow the works to be occupied by the faithful friends of his Sovereign. Yet this man also professed his loyalty and attachment. It was like most of the other French loyalty; at this moment it had only its own interest and safety in view, but more readily looked to the cause of injustice and ambition, than to the other side of the question. The consequence was, the King was soon obliged to abandon Lille. The inhabitants continued firm in their attachment, but the furious garrison, threatened all with destruction, if the King was allowed to remain. On the 23d, therefore, this unfortunate Sovereign left Lille. Mortier escorted him to the foot of the glacis—and

Macdonald to Menin, where these personages left him to make their peace with Napoleon, though, the king seemed to think they were, to the last, most cordially his friends. They took, however, a strange way of shewing it. The king proceeded to Ostend, where he took up his abode for some time. His unfortunate household troops, upon arriving at Lille, found their Sovereign was gone, and that place shut against them. They, therefore, took the nearest road to the frontiers; but they were afterwards surprised on their march, and forced to disperse, many of them returning to their homes, and but few reaching the Netherlands in safety. Marmont, Berthier, Clarke, and Victor, remained faithful to the King, and accompanied him in his exile—all the rest, as we shall presently see, pursued a different course. Clarke, who was minister at war, proceeded from Paris to London, in order to lay the situation of affairs before the British Government; having done which, he rejoined his Sovereign at Ostend, from whence they soon after removed to Brussels, where the palace of Laecken was prepared for the reception and asylum of the Royal fugitives and their attendants.

But to return to Napoleon. From the scene of the junction of the army, destined to oppose his march to Paris, with that under his command, he appears to have gone to Fontainbleau; for the Journal of his operations says, that he reached Fontainbleau at four o'clock, on the morning of the 20th. He had declared. That as this palace was the last, which beheld his downfall and degradation, so it should be the first he would revisit in his success. Here, on the same morning, he learned that the king had left Paris; and accordingly he lost no time in proceeding to occupy his place. The flight of a legitimate Sovereign, and the arrival of a fortunate Usurper, within 24 hours would, he was certain, occupy the whole attention and utmost stretch of Parisian curiosity and versatility; and he was therefore, resolved to gratify them if possible. He, therefore, marched forward. On the morning of the 20th, the King's departure was known in Paris, and during the day preparations were made to receive their beloved Emperor. The Paris Journals whose columns of that morning were crowded with

addresses of loyalty and attachment to the King, and writings in his cause, now came under different Editors. " The capital," said the Moniteur the following morning, and which paper, had long been the terrible organ of the tyrant's power, " awaits with impatience the arrival of his Majesty the Emperor. The tri-coloured standard is again hoisted on the Dome of the Thuilleries, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude. About four in the afternoon an officer appeared in the court of the Thuilleries, with the portraits of her Majesty the Empress, and the King of Rome. The crowd which covered the place de Carousal, and the court of the palace, testified their joy with inexpressible transports."* Welcome chains and slavery, war, conscriptions, requisitions, contributions, &c. the inhabitants of Paris, were intoxicated at the blessed idea. They hurried in crowds to meet their Emperor, or an Emperor—it was too good a sight to let slip, and one that they might not see every day, so they were determined to make the best use of it. The day, however, passed away; and, notwithstanding the speed and the good will of the Emperor, and his anxiety to enter his good city of Paris, he did not reach it till night had covered the world with her sable mantle. At nine o'clock in the evening, and under the clouds of night, he entered the palace of the Thuilleries, and took up his abode in his former quarters. The national guards on duty shouted " *Vive le Empereur*," which lulled the Emperor to sleep. They had shouted " *Vive le Roi*," on the evening before, and had passed a melancholy day, without the opportunity of crying any thing. " Thus terminated," said the Moniteur, " without shedding a drop of blood, without finding any obstacle, this *legitimate enterprize*, which has re-established the nation in its rights, *in its glory*, and has effaced the stain which treason, and the presence of the foreigner, had spread over the capital; thus is verified that passage of the address of the Emperor to the soldiers:—that the eagle, with the national colours, should fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of the Notre Dame."† Thus continued the same paper, " the Emperor has wrote the

* Moniteur, Paris, March 22d, 1815. † Do. do.

finest page of history," it finished, the first page of an eventful sheet—the others were to be filled up with equal rapidity.

Thus, indeed, so far proceeded, but not ended this daring and astonishing enterprize. " All went on at the Thuilleries," said the Moniteur, " as if the Emperor had only been absent on an excursion of pleasure. So they soon felt. Next day he began his usual employment of reviewing troops, to shew the inhabitants of Paris that he had that, which would not only cry *Vive le Empereur*, but force them who were disinclined thereto to do the same. His friends and associates, now shewed their faces, Carnot, Fouche, Davoust, Cambaceres, St. Jean de Angley, Vandamme, &c. &c. appeared upon the stage which Europe had the best reason to suppose they had quitted forever. Carnot was advanced to the rank of Count, and intrusted with the office of Minister of the Interior. Davoust was appointed to the office of Minister at War. Caulincourt to the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs. Bassano, Dufremont, Boulay, and St. Jean de Angley, were appointed to get up a Council of State; Fouche became Minister of Police; the Lallemands, Excellmans, &c. &c. were rewarded and entrusted with important commands. Cambaceres was made Minister of Justice, the Duke of Gaeta Minister of Finances, Count Mollien, Minister of the Imperial Treasury, Rovigo principal inspector of the Gen-de-armarie, &c. All these men were notorious revolutionists, had cut a conspicuous figure, and lent a willing hand in all its most atrocious scenes. Orders were transmitted by telegraph to arrest the King at Lille, but Mortier suffered him to escape; probably because neither he nor his master, durst attempt a measure that would have made nothing in their favour in France, at least amongst a vast number of people, and because it would have awakened to a greater sense of danger, the Sovereigns and people of Europe, whom, at the present moment, it was their business not to provoke to the utmost —therefore this affected moderation in allowing Louis to escape. Under the direction of the above named men, and their adherents, France was to be delivered from all the evils and all the grievances, brought upon her by the Bourbons, one of which was the observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest. The

Revolutionary Junta, as they had done before, quickly freed them from this, and thereby insured the gratitude of the Parisians. "All the merchants," said the Moniteur, "rejoice that they are no longer obliged to shut their shops on Sundays. Trade will no longer be shackled: and the workman, who has no other day but this to make his little purchases, will no longer be obliged to sacrifice a part of his time, devoted to labour, for this purpose." * What a blessed Revolution!—what a great deliverance!—but how feeble were the ties which here bound the receiver of such grateful gifts to the giver of them. It was the interest of the most immoral people in Europe.

Such were the first blessings and favours of Napoleon's second reign, and such the joy and gratitude of the inhabitants of Paris, in particular, at the receiving the same. The latter fact is an important circumstance, and deserves serious consideration, as it marks the character of the nation, at least, that part of it which had so long troubled Europe, and which was now again to extend its sway over France. It designates them as a set of men divested of those principles, which had hitherto guided and governed mankind; and who regarded not, those ties which had hitherto been the bonds of amity between civilized nations. It marked them, as a people whose conduct could only be guided by their interest and their power. But if the feelings of the people of Paris, were so much gratified by the return of those principles, and that Government, which Europe had so much cause to dread, their vain and giddy senses were also gratified by a return of those shews of military parade and bustle, which had so often been the harbingers of wo to Europe, and tended to divert their minds in the midst of their own misfortunes. These things again became the order of the day. It pleased their volatile dispositions; and while it shewed them resistance was vain, it saved them the trouble of thinking, if they ever wished to consider, seriously, where the means might be found to free themselves of the system. They order these things with great effect in France. At this moment it was the first employment of the Emperor. Scarcely

* Moniteur, Paris, March 23d, 1815.

had sleep fled from his eyelids, than the first time his footsteps crossed the threshold of his palace, after his return, he was engaged in this delightful employment. "On the 21st at one o'clock, the Emperor reviewed all the troops composing the army of Paris. The *whole* capital was witness of the feelings of enthusiasm and attachment, which animated these brave soldiers. All had reconquered their country! all were relieved from oppression!" * While thus engaged in gratifying Parisian vanity, and in overawing Parisian disaffection, the Emperor, no doubt, considered himself as great as ever; and accordingly, without much hesitation, he boldly threw down the guantlet of defiance to Europe. "Soldiers," said he, "the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate. The imperial throne can alone guarantee the rights of the people, and *especially the first* of our interests, that of *our glory*. Soldiers, we will march to chase from our territories, those Princes, the auxiliary of the foreigner; the nation will not only second our wishes, but follow our impulse. We will not interfere in the affairs of foreign nations, *but wo to them that shall interfere with ours.*" † This speech was received with unbounded acclamations, and oaths, to defend the national colours, in such a manner that "*traitors, and those who should wish to invade our territories, can never support the sight of them.*"‡ The plain meaning of all this French rhapsody, when turned into sober English, was neither more nor less than, I know I have broken the treaty which I have made with Europe—I am certain she will march against me—but I now set her at defiance—The French army swears to regain its glory, and to support me—therefore, wo to them who shall dare to call us to an account for what we have done.—Such, in reality, were his sentiments; and such, no doubt, were the feelings which he wished to scatter over Europe. Europe, however, took up the matter very differently; and to that subject it is now time to call the attention of the reader.

Leaving the tyrant in midst of his creatures, to be their head or their tail, as circumstances turned up; let us turn our attention to the effect which his arrival in France, and his enthrone-

* Official Journal, March 22d, 1815. † Do. do. ‡ Do. do.

ment once more in Paris, produced on the minds of the nations of Europe.

Napoleon!—Napoleon le Grand! proclaimed the servile press of Paris. Napoleon!—Napoleon le Grand! echoed his former friends, advocates, and admirers throughout Europe; and particularly in Britain. It was life from the dead—Is the hero returned?—can we believe it?—Yes, certainly—then wo to the Congress, and its imbecile members.—Napoleon is awaked more powerful than ever—he will subjugate Europe in a campaign—he will walk over the course; and the French eagle's will soon wave over the spires of the Kremlin—perhaps the tower of London—while the whole of this springs from our corrupted system and the incapacity and folly of the British ministry. Such were the discordant notes with which the feelings of Europe were, for a while, again doomed to be annoyed, through the medium of part of the free press of Britain. Congress, American treaties, which dishonoured the nation, Saxony, Genoa, and even Ferdinand, were all forgotten for the moment. Bonaparte afforded better materials; and that much injured country, France, free and happy when under his sway, now called forth all their powers, engrossed all their understanding and all their humanity. Nothing else was thought of—nothing else talked of. Napoleon—Napoleon le Grand, became the topic of the Senate and of the alehouse; of the warrior, who trembled at nothing, and the nervous female, who trembled at every thing.

The account of his arrival in France spread with the rapidity of lightning through every land. Europe beheld in it the approach of fresh misery and confusion. She was well aware, that for her there was neither peace nor security while he remained in France. The moment that the intelligence of his landing reached Paris, messengers, as has been noticed, were dispatched in all directions. The regular intercourse with France was very soon suspended from all countries; and that ill fated kingdom became almost totally isolated from the rest of the world. Mankind, in every country, seemed eager to shun all kind of intercourse with them, as if they had been infected with the pestilence, or labouring under insanity. The accounts of his escape reached the Congress with great rapidity. Mr.

Grattan, son of the celebrated Irish member of that name, happened to be in Elba at the time. He immediately proceeded to Florence, and communicated the fact to Lord Burghersh, who, without delay, transmitted it to the Duke of Wellington, the British Plenipotentiary at Vienna. The intelligence reached Vienna on the 7th. The bare fact was sufficient to dispel the pleasing hopes of tranquility to Europe. The voice of the trumpet again called upon her population to arms; and while the terrible blast swept along the bosom of the Danube, it filled with fear the banks of the Rhine, and echoed along the waves of the Wolga. The magazines of war were again opened. The Austrian troops, dispersing over the empire, in order to be disbanded, were again collected, and marched off with the utmost speed to Italy, and to the Rhine. The Russian armies marching through Poland to their homes, were commanded to halt, and prepare to turn their faces once more to Paris. The Prussian armies were directed to press forward to the Netherlands. Those which were there stationed, and all those in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, were ordered to cross that river, and to take their station from Luxemburgh to Namur, along the French frontier. The British, Hanoverian, and Belgian troops, stationed in Belgium, were directed to assemble on the frontiers of France, from Namur to Ostend. All the fortresses along this line were begun to be put in a state of defence. The troops of Bavaria, and those of the other inferior German powers, were commanded to line the French boundary, from Thionville to Basle; while the Piedmontese occupied the passes of the Alps, and an English force took possession of Monaco, on the Mediterranean, at the extremity of the maritime Alps, and near the French boundary on that side. Battalion after battalion, and army succeeding army, were put in motion, and ordered to press forward to this immense line from every part of Europe. In Britain, the greatest activity was displayed. The navy was augmented, and a powerful fleet dispatched to the Mediterranean; and another got ready to resume its station, off Brest. Re-enforcements of troops, and military stores of all descriptions, were forwarded every day to the Netherlands. A message from the Prince Regent, to both Houses of Parliament,

calling upon the legislature to take such measures as they in their wisdom might conceive necessary for the exigency of the moment, was cheerfully answered; and without a dissentient voice, these bodies authorised the executive government to take every measure to support the national honour, and the national security. Some cavilling was made by the leading members of opposition, in cautioning government not to interfere with the internal affairs of France; but as this was distinctly disclaimed, on the part of the ministers, so none could attempt to deny that the moment required that the strength of Great Britain should be prepared to watch the progress of the fresh alarms and commotions which had burst upon Europe. The nation at large eagerly seconded their representatives, and the views of the executive government. Some few there were who chose a different and a more ignoble course, from motives which they only could judge of; but of their conduct and arguments we shall have occasion to say more in the sequel. At this moment, their weak cavillings or mischievous advices were drowned amidst the better feelings of our nature, which were called forth into action throughout Europe.

Fortunately for Europe, none of the nations in it had yet had time to disarm their former military array. The consequences of which was, that the former mighty coalition, in all its parts, not only remained unbroken, but was strengthened by the better organization of the resources of all that part of Germany from the Elbe to the Rhine, and from the frontiers of Switzerland, northward to the German Ocean; and in Italy, along the whole course of the Po, and throughout Piedmont, down to the Mediterranean. Throughout the vast extent of Europe, and amongst her numerous population, every nation and every individual had equally suffered from the galling effects of French tyranny, and the grinding spirit of French ambition. With an ardour, which such wrongs as they had suffered could only call forth and sustain; they had marched to the combat, and in defiance of all opposition from the talents, and utmost efforts of the Great nation, planted their victorious banners on the turrets of Paris. But their oppressors had, nevertheless, suffered nothing; certainly little in comparison of what they

had done. The cunning submission of the satellites of French tyranny, disarmed the resentment of the Sovereigns of Europe, and enabled their foes to escape the fate which their odious conduct so richly merited. The people of Europe acquiesced, but they were not satisfied—They left France with anger and disdain—They left her, but with a wish that she had given them a better opportunity to have returned the chalice of severer retribution to her unhallowed lips. Nor, indeed, was it possible that the nations of Europe could feel otherwise. With such feelings did the armies of the allies turn their faces to revisit their respective homes—to behold those lands which French tyranny had covered with desolation—those once happy families which her injustice had reduced to want and misery, and those friends which her boundless ambition had filled with lamentation and covered with mourning. No wonder, therefore, when we consider this subject, that the indignant sons of the Danube, of the Oder, and of the Moskwa, when re-crossing the iron barrier of the Rhine, and leaving untouched and uninjured that land which had occasioned all these losses and sorrows, should, at that moment, turn back with a frown of indignation, and while their hands, in the spirit of sorrow and of anger, grasped their swords,

"While, half unsheath'd, appear'd each glitt'ring blade;"

no wonder that they should exclaim, "we now know the road to Paris!"* If France had forgot this, the nations of Europe had not. There was perhaps nothing that they wished more —nothing that they desired so much as any reason given on her part, which should recal them to her territories again. The return of Bonaparte, which they could scarcely have expected, and at any rate sooner than they could possibly have anticipated, gave them the opportunity so much desired. His arrival filled them with different feelings than those of terror and alarm. France and her admirers wanted to make a mighty and terrific subject of it. The nations of Europe knew the affair

* So exclaimed Platoff when he re-crossed that stream.

was serious, but not beyond their strength. "The thing is only a trifle," said Alexander, "if we do not make a trifle of it." Europe did not make a trifle of it. With her there was no hesitation—no doubts—no fears. Napoleon Bonaparte had broken the treaty which France had made with him, and for him. France supported his cause, and hailed him as her deliverer. To Europe, the intention and the consequences of all this were quite obvious; she wanted no supernatural wisdom to inform her what the consequences would be, were he not put down, and France punished. In answer to French audacity and Gallic sophistry, her children, to a man, laid their hands on their swords. The command, therefore, which directed the formidable armies of Europe to return to combat their former oppressors, was received with satisfaction—the troops marched with enthusiasm—the people of every country seconded, with alacrity, the efforts of their government, and gave their protectors, and those about to avenge their wrongs, every assistance. All the magazines, and the implements of war, were carried forward with a readiness and celerity hitherto unknown. Throughout Germany, but particularly in the Prussian States, this was most remarkable. The peasants transported the troops and their baggage with the utmost expedition; and without fee or reward. All were eager, because all were interested. France and her admirers endeavoured to turn this spirit which they dreaded into ridicule, or to doubt its extent. In a short time, they were destined more fully to appreciate its strength.

While this formidable spirit appeared, as the intelligence spread over Europe, her Sovereigns and ministers assembled in Congress, at Vienna, took an immediate and determined line of conduct on the subject, and such as cut short all doubts or quibbles about what the conduct of any one of them would be upon this emergency. They issued, on the 13th of March, a solemn declaration, addressed to the world, in which they most justly designated Bonaparte as the enemy of the human race; and declared that his breaches of faith had been so frequent, so odious, and so flagrant, that it was impossible to conclude either peace or truce with him. As the great enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he was pointed out by his last breach of

faith, to have forfeited every claim by which he was entitled to live; and, by the unanimous decision of civilized Europe, was declared to be placed without the pale of civilized society. But the powers did not stop here; they bound themselves in the most public and solemn manner to act in concert with all their means, till this fresh mischief was removed from the world. The language of this important document was well adapted to the subject. It was so plain and so determined, that no understanding, but such as were led away by prejudice or interest, could misunderstand or blame it. "By thus breaking the convention which has established him in Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently decree, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and, that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquility of the world, he has made himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that they are firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, of 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, *and those which they have resolved on,* or shall hereafter resolve on. To complete and consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their forces; and, in the event of any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against *all those who shall endeavour to compromise it.*"* To this declaration circulated throughout Europe, the names of the ministers of all the leading powers were affixed; and foremost amongst those who signed it, on the part of Great Britain, was the name of the Duke of Wellington.

This declaration, the most important ever heard of in Eur-

* Official declaration, Vienna, 13th March, 1815.

ope, whether we consider the reason why it was isued, the manner in which it was done, or the object against which it was directed, had a mighty influence on the public mind. It produced a strong sensation throughout France, and the rest of the continent. At this time the allied powers neither knew, nor could possibly anticipate the successful issue of Bonaparte's daring enterprize. The results of that enterprize, however, neither altered the justness of its principles, nor the correctness of its reasoning, though the contrary was industriously endeavoured to be impressed on the public mind. In France, it was long before they could bear to notice this document; but in Britain, as might have been expected, a dreadful outcry was raised against it. Every epithet of reproach that language could command, was poured forth against the principles and authors of this paper. It was at the same time haughtily predicted, that it had secured the throne of France to Bonaparte, beyond all possibility of doubt; and that it would endear him the more to the French people, because he was looked upon by all other men as their foe. Not only its principles but its policy was denied, and derided; and it was boldly and openly asserted in the British Legislature, that it abetted and held out encouragement to assassination. But it was not private, but *public* vengeance which was here denounced against Napoleon, and to which it was declared he had justly exposed himself. If it is allowed, as it must be, that one nation has a right to punish another, by inflicting public vengeance, it were absurd to deny that Europe, even if she had previously suffered little, by the wickedness of the party she opposed, much less after the unprecedented miseries and oppression which she had suffered, had it in her power to prescribe one guilty and faithless individual, and to give him up to public vengeance, if he was mad enough to brave it. The fact was, that this wise and decided step broke at once all the hopes and plans of the British opposition, and their adherents, and rendered them furious and distracted. Immediately upon its appearance, Mr. Whitbread attacked it with all his might, and stated " that he entertained a confident hope that it was an infamous forgery, as the paper was infamous in itself, in as much

as it went to sanction the principle of assassination."* Earl Stanhope, in the House of Lords, said, if "it was to be taken according to its natural import in the English language, *it was most horrible.*"† "It was," said Mr. Whitbread again "a declaration so abhorrent to his feelings, that, in his opinion, our ministers at the Congress ought to be impeached for having disgraced the national character in signing it. If there was any meaning in words, that declaration went to designate Bonaparte for assassination—Could the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with all his casuistry, say it meant any thing but this, that any man who met him, might stab him? The great name of England was sullied by that declaration; and all the great talents and exploits of the Duke of Wellington would not retrieve his character from the shame which his signature had cast upon it."‡ Soon after the landing of Bonaparte, said Mr. Tierney, we saw "what he must call a mad declaration, issued by the allies, which had been confirmed by another, still more mad, on the 25th March, in which they state him to be the basest and most treacherous of characters; and positively bind themselves not only to wage war on him, but never to make peace with him. There was one name to this declaration, which he was sorry to see, and which he could not have supposed would have appeared to it. These declarations, however, had been of infinite service to Bonaparte."§ It would be endless to enumerate similar quotations, from the troublesome and mischievous harangues of these gentlemen, all in the same strain, on this subject. The great organ of the party which speaks their sentiments, after bestowing every opprobrious epithet upon this declaration which it could hunt out, concludes its virulent attacks and endeavours to set its mind at ease, from what, after all, its principles dreaded, by saying, that it was a mere act of royal folly, a perfect "*brutem fulmen*," which would pass away without any of its resolutions being followed out.‖ This was what they wished, but the sequel shewed how much they were mistaken.

* House of Commons, April 3d, 1815. † House of Lords, April 6th.
‡ House of Commons, April 9th. § Do. do. June 14th.
‖ Morning Chronicle.

This important and terrible anathema of United Europe, reached Paris about the third or the fourth day after the King left it, and the second after Bonaparte entered it. It had a prodigious effect on the public mind. All endeavours to conceal it, made it the more eagerly sought after, and though, it was impossible to keep it a secret in Paris, yet by means of the censorship over the public Press, it was not generally known over France. Without publishing the document itself, Bonaparte caused the Moniteur to insert some remarks upon an article, said to have been published by the allies; but it was not till two weeks afterwards, nor till the perverted intellects of the English opposition Press, and members, had given the French Government their cue, that they published the declaration with their usual sophistical notes and remarks accompanying it. But even these did not go the length their friends on this side the channel had done. They seem to have been able, to find out no encouragement to assassination in it, nay, they even admit the propriety of the declaration, so long, as the allies conceived that Bonaparte was only an adventurer; but maintained that his arrival at Paris, and resumption of the imperial dignity, altered his situation so as to make a total different mode of behaviour, and line of conduct towards him, requisite on the part of the powers of Europe. They did not attempt to deny, that the powers of Europe, had a right to prevent the return of Bonaparte, providing, according to their ideas, that there was a party in France against him; but, as they maintained there was none, so they insisted that they had a right to make choice of him, if they wished it, without violating any treaty with the allies; who had expressly declared, that they did not wish to interfere with the internal concerns of France, or to force any form of Government upon her, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants. This was the mode in which the conspirators reasoned; forgetting that the allies having an unquestioned and imperious right to proscribe the Government of Bonaparte, had done so, to which the French people had assented, and upon the faith of the observance of which, they had concluded with France in 1814, the favourable treaty which they had done. That which I have already mentioned,

was the feelings of the conspirators themselves, with regard to this famous document:—the following remarks from the Moniteur, wrote for the express purpose of answering what they as yet dared not publish, will be sufficient to shew this. "It is the wish of the powers, it is said, that the general peace should not be disturbed, and the nations of Europe, should not be again plunged into the disorders and *misfortunes of Revolutions*. That principle might induce them to declare against the Emperor Napoleon, on the first news of his landing, and when they could only regard him as a competitor for a throne, occupied by another, where success was uncertain—when they thought that a contest with balanced forces, might disturb the tranquillity, and bring back all the Revolutionary evils to France, and to Europe. The succours which these powers offer to the French nation, are, therefore, as inapplicable, as those offered to the King. There is no longer a King of France to accept the one; and the French nation will not have the other. The pretended assistance, would therefore, be an attack: those offers would be a declaration of war against the whole nation—a declaration, which would remind the nations of Europe, of the *Crusade of* 1792, *and which would have the same result.*" *

Proceeding in this train of reasoning, they endeavoured to raise a clamour in Europe, by insinuating or rather stating, as usual, that the object of the allies, was merely to maintain Louis XVIII. on the throne of France, against the wishes of the nation, which was unanimous against him. "No where are there any symptoms of troubles or demonstrations of civil war. The subjects of those powers, fatigued by twenty years of war, will not be deceived on this subject. They will see that Europe is to be put in flames, for a single family—who, having already been once replaced, by deluges of blood, in its inheritance, could not maintain itself one year! It will be asked, whether all the people of Europe are to sacrifice their repose, their industry, their welfare, and their lives, constantly seeking to place a fugitive family in an asylum, whence it allows itself always to

* Moniteur, 3d April, 1815.

be repelled, and to replace it in a situation which it always abandons." * Here the French writer with that characteristic audacity and disregard, for truth, which the denationalizing jargon of the revolution had taught them, boldly asserts, that all the wars to the conquest of Paris in 1814, was waged by the nations of Europe, purely for the purpose of restoring Louis XVIII. and that their object was again the same. Europe well knew, the contest had been, and was yet to be, for a very different purpose; and that the whole had been forced upon her by French Revolutionary principles, ambition, and power. Not content with promulgating this barefaced falsehood, they affected to claim great merit, for their wish to observe the treaty of Paris, which they characterised as disgraceful to France. "The treaty of Paris," said they, "might excite, in the mind of the Emperor, as in the mind of every Frenchman, a sorrow which might have been the deeper, as a firm and courageous Government would doubtless have obtained less disadvantageous conditions. But that treaty exists. It is not the Emperor's work. It is not his glory that suffers by it. France wishes for peace; her limits are traced, the Emperor will not overpass them, unless he be thereto compelled, in consequence of their being penetrated. There is nothing to be changed in the relation of the Empire with other nations. The chief is different, but the relations are the same." † If the Emperor could have made a more advantageous peace, why then, did he not stay and do it? All Europe, and every one, but an impudent Frenchman, could understand that it was not with Napoleon the treaty of Paris was made; and that the cause of its being so favourable, was the express conditions, that Bonaparte should leave France, and that the French nation should withdraw their allegiance from him. Unless that had been done, a treaty very different from that of Paris would have been exacted from France; and Europe would have taught her, that with Bonaparte at her head, the relations between them had always been, and must remain, upon a different footing. After adverting to the im-

* Moniteur, April 3d, 1815. † Do. do.

possibility, in his view of the subject, of the allies ever forming another coalition, equal to that of 1813 and 1814, which they accomplished "by making the people believe, that they were interested in opposing the pretensions of France," the writer proceeds to shew, that France and the Emperor might safely be trusted. "France has no longer any pretensions, that may alarm them. The Emperor comes forth from his *retreat* to act on a *new* system abroad and at home. With respect to abroad, he *renounces* the idea of a great Empire, and at home he wishes a free Constitution. His promises are believed, and foreigners have nothing more to say on the subject. We respect their independence, let them respect ours. They have no right to violate it, and experience has well demonstrated, that when we are united they have not the power." *

Such was the idle reasoning, which the French nation brought forward to support their last flagrant violation of the treaties, concluded between them and the people of Europe; and such the daring assertions and assumptions, which they attempted to make and maintain, to aid their unrighteous cause. It was impossible that Europe could for one moment be so besotted as to listen to such arguments; and nothing but that consummate impudence, which modern Frenchmen possess beyond all other men, could have made them suppose that she would. No! Europe had been too often deceived by France and her Emperor, again to put any trust in the promises or the professions of either. In all these observations, however, upon the declarations of the allies, there is not the smallest hint of attributing assassination to them, or disputing their right to interfere against Bonaparte; but only attempting to say, he would, for the future, behave better than he had done. The hints and materials given and afforded to Bonaparte's supporters, in Paris, by his admirers in Britain, had not yet reached that city, or opened their understanding; but, as we go along, we will perceive that these were not lost upon them.

If the Sovereigns of Europe were so firmly resolved, and unanimous, upon the first whisper of the danger which approach-

* Moniteur, April 3d, 1815.

ed them, it was not likely that they would be less so, as that danger became more imminent. Accordingly, the rapid advance of Bonaparte, the defection of the troops, the apathy or the satisfaction of the people, and the joy with which he was received at Paris, but increased their spirit and doubled their exertions. Courier after courier was dispatched to hasten the march of the troops from every point. The Austrian troops continued to press forward to Italy, and towards the Rhine. The Bavarians, in great force, took the same direction. The Germans, along both banks of the Mayne, followed their route. The Prussians continued to increase in the country round Namer and Luxembourg. Blucher was directed to assume the command of this increasing force. Lower down the French frontiers, the troops of Holland, Hanover, Belgium, and Great Britain, daily augmenting by re-enforcements, were placed under the command of the Conqueror of Vittoria, who was recalled from Vienna to assume a more conspicuous and more important station. On the Italian and Spanish frontiers, things were equally active; and at the same time the British flag began to shew itself from her wooden walls, along the sea coasts of the French Empire. The boasted unanimity of the French people, in the reception of Bonaparte, which they gave out, and perhaps made themselves believe, would appal Europe, had a totally different effect. It, indeed, augmented the danger, but it also called forth commensurate means to meet and to crush it.

But to return to France, where we left the usurper again seated in the Thuilleries, amidst the plaudits of his good city of Paris. Napoleon le Grand animated the deepest dens of guilt in the Palais Royale, and the darkest haunts of ferocity in the Fauxbourg of St. Antoine. But before we begin to notice his conduct, after his resumption of the Imperial dignity, it may not be amiss to examine a little more minutely into the object which he had in view, in returning to France, the plan of the conspirators to accelerate that return, and the conduct of the Marshals and leading men in France at this period. Let us examine these separately.

I have already taken a summary view of the internal situation of France, and the secret anger and deep discontent which

occupied the minds of the turbulent part of that nation, unfortunately the greater number; at what their pride taught them to feel most keenly, the severe humbling which their national vanity had received. At the same time, as we have already noticed, the whole of Bonaparte's former associates, and creatures, Marshals and Generals, were, in the most impolitic manner, retained in power by the King. The whole business of the kingdom, civil, military, and diplomatic, were conducted by them, and came through their hands. These were enemies to the legitimate family, as they, at the same time, were to every thing that was peaceable and good. These men readily joined themselves to the other discontented friends of the deposed Emperor, and ingratiated themselves with the military, whose fierce passions looked forward only to plunder and blood; and who, on this account, regretted the absence of their former leader. The road to wealth and honours, acquired by the strength of the sword, at the expense of bleeding nations, and innocent individuals, was no longer open to their arbitrary minds and ferocious dispositions. These men, beyond all others, could not bear the idea of a government, under whose auspices they were to be obliged to give up their odious, but, as they called them, glorious pursuits, and sinking into private life, be brought to support themselves by labour and industry. The mass of these men were fit for any thing that was evil, or that would overturn the system which was opposed to it. But they could not organize the plans requisite to accomplish their objects. Their leaders, however, of whom they were complete tools, were equal to this task. These men industriously spread evil reports throughout France against the King. These, though falsehoods, had a prodigious effect in a country where "four fifths"* of the inhabitants of the same had gained their properties by destroying his predecessors. These votaries of the revolution—these children and champions of Jacobinism, most cordially hated the name of a Bourbon; and their guilty consciences still bade them dread that much injured and persecuted family. These two formidable parties, while

* So the friends of Bonaparte said.

each had his own plan in view for establishing another system, yet eagerly united their efforts to overthrow the legitimate government; and as they, in a great measure, held in their hands the whole active machinery of the state, they were accordingly enabled to carry on their plans with surety and success. The revolution was thus concerted and matured in every department, without the royal government being at all aware of it, or at least that it was in any ways dangerous, as it was the immediate interest and concern of those to suppress all information concerning it, whose business it was to have communicated every movement of the kind to the executive government. These parties communicated their discontents and intentions to their former chief, and found him ready to listen to any proposals by which he supposed he could regain his lost sceptre, and his former unlimited sway over Europe. This last object was, no doubt, the great point he had in view; to accomplish it was the darling pursuit of every Frenchman, of whatever class or degree. It was, in fact, the secret spring which prompted all their actions, all their movements, all their treason, all their crimes.

That, after his own elevation, this was the principal object which Bonaparte and his associates had in view, was very evident from every thing that issued from their lips. It is true, that to deceive and lull Europe into a false security, they affected different language, and promised different things. The world, however, was aware that French promises were less sincere, from their loudness and the frequency of the repetition of them. To be rightly understood, indeed, they required only to be reversed. But, in the midst of all this affected moderation, shewn by the French government, it could not escape the notice of the most prejudiced and inattentive, what their ultimate object and real views were. The support of the army, which all parties were forced to court, compelled them to disclose so much of their true meaning, as could leave Europe, (unless she was, at this moment, as dead to danger as Napoleon was at Moscow) no doubt of what was their intentions. These were, no doubt, veiled by that studious ambiguity and French jargon, which, while it promoted the destruction, proclaimed the victim as the peculiar object of its regard; and which, in fact, while these intentions meant only mischief, were promul-

gated in a way that might be made to mean any other thing. Bonaparte and his followers, knew mankind too well not to be aware that the step which they were resolved to take would bring against them the undivided strength, and united energies of Europe. But while they were aware of this, they calculated upon such delay in organizing this coalition, as would give them sufficient time to bend all France to their measures, organize her immense resources, and attack the nearest parts of the coalition before these could be supported by the more distant members thereof. Such were, no doubt, the calculations of this man and his friends. The foundation stone, however, of this revolution was certainly laid at Fontainbleau, during the preceding year. The easy and rapid manner in which all the leading men in France abandoned the cause of Napoleon and embraced that of Louis XVIII. whom they hated, and must have feared, struck Europe with astonishment at the moment; but which succeeding events enables us more clearly to explain. France, at that moment, lay at the mercy of indignant Europe. Six hundred thousand of the troops of the former lay immured in prisons over the continent, or were shut up in isolated garrisons, where they could obtain no relief, nor render her any assistance. Europe was keenly alive to her wrongs, and sensible of her commanding situation. Any further resistance, on the part of France, would only have been productive of certain ruin and deeper humiliation; and the continuation of Bonaparte, as her Emperor, would not only have occasioned a civil war with the adherents of the Bourbons, who began to raise their heads as the power of their antagonists became broken, and augmented too in numbers by those who had more keenly felt the tyranny of Napoleon; but would also have induced and enabled the nations of Europe to exact such conditions of peace as would have left France, for half a century to come, unable to injure her neighbours. The ruling party were aware of this. The unprecedented chicanery and bad faith of Napoleon had induced the allies solemnly to declare that they would no more negotiate with him, nor any of his dynasty. France, therefore, had but one alternative, either to set aside Napoleon, or continue, broken down and discontented as she was, to brave the utmost

strength and anger of Europe in arms against her. Her policy, and her want of principle, induced her to adopt the former. She calculated that by so doing, she would obtain more favourable terms of peace, perhaps be left uninjured in her territories, prevent the occurrence of a civil war in the interior, and in a short time get back those armies, the flower of her troops, which European bravery had confined in the different prisons over the Continent.

Before resorting to this last, and to them, humiliating step, however, an attempt was made to retain the sovereign power in the hands of the Emperor, under another name, and which, he calculated, would sow dissentions amongst his victorious adversaries. He offered to abdicate in favour of his wife and his son. He calculated upon the support of Austria, and all her influence, in favour of this measure. He was mistaken. No individual interests moved the councils of Europe in arms—no jealousies could be raised in their bosoms. His offer was rejected. After this, but two ways remained—decision was necessary—the conquerors of Paris were on their march to Fontainbleau—the white flag was unfurled at Bourdeaux—the moment was pressing—the Marshals and Counsellors who surrounded him, saw there was but one way by which they could save France entire, preserve their own honours and fortunes, and be able, at some future day, to resume their former occupations. The decision was painful to Napoleon; but the matter was most urgent. "Under these new circumstances," said he, "my heart was rent; but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interests of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea—my life was, and still ought to be useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens who wished to accompany me to partake my lot. *I thought their presence useful to France:* and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard."* In a few words, under these "*new circumstances*," the treaty of Fontainbleau was concluded, with the determination to be broken as soon as it suited the convenience of those who made it; and, that his

* Proclamation March 1st, 1815.

his life might be still useful to France, he exiled himself to a rock in the middle of the sea, leaving behind him a great number of citizens his friends, whose presence were useful to France. How serviceable, and what use they made of their presence in France, a short time was sufficient to shew.

The Marshals took the hint; and forsook his interests, to embrace those of the lawful King. They were retained in their places of trust, and confirmed in their honours. Peace was concluded. France was not only left uninjured, but augmented in territories; all her plunder was confirmed to her—and those myriads which had threatened Europe with chains and slavery, were returned to her corrupted soil, with hearts cankered by resentment, and feelings dipped in the spirit of revenge. They formed the very materials Bonaparte and his advisers had calculated upon. He knew them well—they were all his children—and "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."—They were, however, disarmed and scattered over France, where time might have softened those fierce spirits, and where, when once dislocated, and become strangers to each other, it would have been more difficult to unite them; while, if that warlike spirit was once broken, it would have been difficult to screw it to the pitch again, which was requisite to re-establish the Imperial throne in France, and French tyranny over Europe. The embers of disaffection in Italy, were also gradually extinguishing; and all hopes of any diversion and assistance from that quarter, were about to be cut off entirely. Europe was fast settling into a state of repose, and into a division of strength, each nation under the guarantee of the whole; which would render all discontent and disaffection, which might remain, and which no doubt did yet remain in several countries, of no avail, nor any farther support of importance to French interests. Under these circumstances, though the military power of Europe, which had beat him to the ground, still remained unbroken, yet he was forced to make the attempt, or relinquish it altogether. It was dangerous to make it, yet dangerous to delay it. The Jacobins which formed such a large body in France, and the business of whose lives is revolutions, sighed for a leader who would head them against the Government, which their consciences and

their interests led them to dread and to detest. These men, by no means, had any great regard for Bonaparte; because he had forsaken their cause, and crushed their power. But they were sensible that they could not carry their plans into execution, without the assistance of the army, which, they were aware would obey Bonaparte, more readily than any other. On this account they concealed their hatred, and turned their attention to him, as the only man, who was most likely to lead them with success in their present enterprise; and they perhaps flattered themselves, they could be able either to set him aside, or render him their servant as soon as their present views were accomplished. But their impatient and sanguinary tempers could brook no delay; and they were ready to follow the steps of any military chief, who might have the hardihood, to place himself in that dangerous situation for the moment. "Thus the nation and the army had only one wish, and the same cry burst from cities and garrisons, from towns and camps, the moment the deliverer appeared. *Had he delayed, the national impatience would not have waited for him, it was at its height.*" * Bonaparte and his military followers and friends, were aware that not a moment was to be lost; that they must take advantage of this national impatience, or it would very readily seek out another object; when the army, eager only for war, would very readily follow the same course, and thus the cause for which he exiled himself to a rock in the middle of the sea, be lost forever. It was in the nature of the ambition and pursuits of this man, to place himself in the most imminent danger. In the face of it at present, he was compelled to embark; and while Europe yet stood weeping over the woes, which he had inflicted upon her, and with those arms in her hands, which were still red with the best blood of France, he resolved to dare their anger, and to brave their fury. France, thought he to himself, will support me, or those who refuse to do so, I shall soon as formerly, be in a situation to compel, and thus situated I defy Europe.

In an evil hour, and under those impressions he left Elba, landed in France, and reached Paris. The real object of his

* Address of the Confederation of Britanny, April 25th, 1815.

return was soon made known, and loudly echoed by his supporters and admirers. Every day Europe was reminded of the conquerors of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and the Moskwa, and even of Moscow, with a long et cetera of names; and put on her guard, how she provoked their invincible battalions. Europe, however, was not dismayed. She had met these battalions in the bloody field, with the terror of Austerlitz round their brows, and found their strength was mortal; and she was as well aware, as those who recalled him, of the real object of Napoleon's return. It was to resume his *rights*, and restore the French glory, which in other words meant, that the whole population of Europe, was to mourn and obey her. In order to ascertain, amidst their studious deception, and intentional declamation, what was the object which they sought, we must attend to their complaints about what they had lost. In this they were more explicit; and from this it appears, that it was the loss of the conquests acquired by their ambition that grieved their hearts, and prompted them to take measures which they supposed would enable them to recover these again. "Shall those," said Bonaparte, "whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing Europe, to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France? shall they pretend to control our eagles, that they should calumniate our glory?" If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of these *immortal days*—tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed: mount the cockade tri-color: you bore it in the days of our greatness." *—"This glory," said Ney, "is the fruit of labours too noble for us to be ever able to lose the remembrance of it." †—"Trample under foot," said Drouet, "the white-cockade—it is the emblem of shame, and of the yoke imposed by foreigners, and by treason. All that has been done without the consent of the people, and ours, and without consulting us, is invalid."‡ "*He*," (the Emperor) "*hoped for the nation, the preservation*

* Bonaparte's proclamation, March 1st, 1815.

† Ney's do. do. March 15th.

‡ Drouet's proclamation to the army, March 1st.

of all which he had acquired by twenty-five years of combats and of glory. He expected from the new Government, respect for the *glory* of the armies, the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests, which had risen and been maintained for a quarter of a century;" but instead of this "the dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many of them, the suppression of their endowments, their deprivation of half pay,"* and other dishonourable treatment took place. "The reward of so many immortal labours," said the Revolutionary Imperialists of Britanny, "were all torn from us a few days ago. The nation shuddered, the whole army unanimous in its wishes, immoveable in its fidelity; that army which was betrayed, but never vanquished; that army whose glory was an eye sore; those veterans covered with scars who were indignant at the prostitution of their honours, these warriors who saw at once by a *crime* unexemplified in history, fifty fortresses given up at once to the enemy, *without combat*; our cannon, *our ships, our most valuable dock yards*, surrendered without compensation; *the domain of heroes*, the *most* legitimate, the most *sacred* of all property, which ten solemn treaties had guaranteed, abandoned without a single diplomatic line having been consecrated to its defence; 30,000 officers tried in so many battles, driven out to make room for men, who, instead of a statement of services, presented twenty-five years of nullity."† St. Jean de Angley in his exposé of the 13th June, also complains bitterly that by giving up the fortresses out of France, they lost 12,000 pieces of cannon mostly of brass, and valued at 200,000,000 francs. Such were the grievances which they chiefly complained of. I might multiply quotations of this kind, many of them even more explicit than the preceding; but I conceive these quite sufficient to shew what were the real objects for which the French people recalled Bonaparte, and to execute which he returned.

To restore this tarnished French honour, and to wipe away that disgrace, (which, though it was his own folly and obstinacy, and that of his admirers and supporters, which had

* Report to the Council of Ministers, April 2d, 1815.

† Address of the Confederation of Britanny, April 28th, 1815.

brought it upon France, he yet boldly charged to the misconduct of others,) the Emperor now came back. He had been compelled by the impatience of those who recalled him, to choose rather a dangerous period; and on that account he was obliged to be less explicit, than he otherwise would have been. But his object could not be mistaken; unless it was by those who did not and would not understand what the interests, the honour, and the glory of France, and her military population meant. "Frenchmen," said Bonaparte, "in my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you demanded that Government of your choice, which alone was legitimate. *You accused my long slumber;* you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose, the great interests of the country. I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind. I arrive amongst you to *resume my rights* which are yours. Who shall presume to be masters over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Ekhmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Hanau, at Montmirail;—Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours, his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your honour, your glory, and your interests."* "Your wishes shall be fulfilled," said he to the inhabitants of the Upper and Lower Alps. "The cause of the nation shall again triumph."† "Frenchmen," said he, "I shall soon be in my capital, surrounded by my brethren in arms—after having delivered our provinces in the South, and my good city of Lyons, from the reign of *fanaticism* which is that of the Bourbons. France shall still be the happiest country in the world. *The French shall still be the Great Nation. Paris shall again become the queen of cities, as well as the seat of the sciences and of the arts.*"‡ "Europe," said the Confederation of Britanny, "is enlightened, and her

* Bonaparte's proclamation to the people and army, March 1st, 1815.

† Answer to the deputations at Gap, March 6th, 1815.

‡ Proclamation, Bourgoigne, March 8th, 1815.

Sovereigns at this great period, will shew themselves worthy of their age. But if our wishes be deceived, if France must resume her arms, war and victory shall seal forever the rights which we hold of God, and *by our swords;* the war shall be national; and victory, as prompt as the necessity of vanquishing, shall be imperious."* I conceive it unnecessary to multiply quotations on this point at this place. We shall see as we go along, this spirit become more bold and explicit, as the Usurper and his followers became what they conceived more stable in their situations.

The conduct of Napoleon and his followers, was at this time so remarkable, that I cannot help dwelling at some length upon the remarkable arguments, by which they endeavoured to justify their conduct, and which frequently involved them in the most gross contradictions. Him and his advocates endeavoured to justify his return and the consequent breach of treaty with Europe by asserting that almost every article of the treaty concluded with him, had been broken. After he had received a lesson from the licentious press of Britain, he began to find out, that the declaration of the allies, certainly meant that he should be assassinated. He asserted that the treaty of Fontainbleau had been violated in different ways, first by the non-payment of his pension by the French Government, by which he was reduced to great want and distress. A prodigious lamentation was raised at the hardships of the fallen Emperor, on this account, and particularly by the opposition press in Britain, who in fact at first started this point, as well as most of the following ones to help him out of his dilemma. But there was no violation of the treaty in this respect. The pension was payable annually. There was not a word in the treaty about paying all or any part of it in advance, or quarterly, or half-yearly. No certainly. It was an annual payment; and if he received it at the end of the twelve months, it was all he had a right to demand. With regard to his poverty, however, that was a fabrication; for the Moniteur, by his orders, a few days after he entered Paris, informed us, " There arrive continually

* Address of the Confederation of Britanny, April 25th, 1815.

at Paris *ingots of gold*, and superb blocks of crystal from the Isle of Elba."* From his port folio, which fell into the hands of the allies, we also learn that he brought from Elba many millions francs. This charge, therefore, was groundless in every point of view; to his salary he had no legal claim till the end of one year; and besides the very considerable revenues of the island, estimated as high as £130,000 per annum; but even take it at only one half, it is well known he carried about 400,000 gold Napoleons with him.† His second charge was, that the possessions promised to his wife and to his son had been withheld. If in the great arrangements which were taking place in Europe, the allies had found it prudent and necessary to take these possessions for another purpose, and bestow an equivalent for them, there was no harm done. This, it was known, they had at one time in view, but afterwards relinquished the idea, and these very places were confirmed to them. The next charge was, that the allies intended, at the instigation of France, to remove him either to St. Lucia, or St. Helena, for life. This was another of those idle stories raised in England, and afterwards echoed in France: and Lord Castlereagh, who was a member of the Congress, which, it was asserted, had determined upon his removal, declared in the House of Commons, that such an intention, on the part of the allies, "was completely new to him;"‡ and at the same time clearly shewed, and expressly declared that the arrangements concerning Maria Louisa, were purely matters of generosity, and not of right. The next accusation was, of the refusal of passports to his wife and son to accompany him; "and that during distressing circumstances, when the firmest soul has need of looking for consolation and support to the bosom of its family and domestic affections."§ This also was an unjust charge. The treaty only stipulated for passports and a safe conveyance to all those who chose to accompany him; but it did not follow that they were to supply the means which was to enable him to support

* Courier Universelle, March 31st, 1815.

† Morning Chronicle, March 11th. ‡ April 20th.

§ Report to the Council of Ministers, April 2d, 1815.

them; and if he had taken half the French army with him, as in that latitude of the treaty he might have pleaded he could do, surely Europe was not bound to support them to please his vanity, or to secure his power; and from the debates upon this subject in the British House of Commons, it appears that "it was well understood that the Empress would not accompany him to Elba."† Another charge was, that the French government employed persons to assassinate him. This charge was supported by no evidence whatever, and is of course a falsehood. If there were any private individuals whom Napoleon's tyranny and cruelty had driven to despair, and who attempted this method to obtain justice, it can only be added, without attempting to justify their conduct or palliate their guilt, however strong their wrongs had been, that Bonaparte, and the principles promulgated in France under his sway, had, unfortunately, made such conduct, in that country, to be scarcely looked upon as a crime. But this, as well as many other of the charges, concerned the French government and it alone. But it was said that the allies were the guarantee of the fulfilment of the treaty, and which they ought to have seen accomplished. Granted—But did they refuse to do this? Was there any complaint laid before them to that effect? If there was not, they were not called to interfere; and consequently, Bonaparte's breaking the treaty with them arose from no ground of complaint at all. But were there no infringements of the treaty on his part? It is a fact well known, that before he was long in Elba, Bertrand made his appearance at Paris, and commenced those intrigues which brought round the revolution; and that Bonaparte was in close correspondence with the disaffected in France. If France, therefore, had solicited, and the allies agreed to remove Bonaparte from Elba, they would only have done right: and succeeding events shewed clearly how much it was to be regretted that they had not done so. These weak and silly accusations had their day. They amused, for a moment, this man's supporters, who never questioned but that he always spoke truth, and that all that his enemies said was falsehood.

† Mr. Douglas, House of Commons, April 20th, 1815.

This, however, was not the only ground which they took to stand on, in order to justify themselves. They insisted, that Bonaparte could not abdicate his throne without the peoples' consent; and that they had a right to recal him when he had done so, or when and as they pleased. "The abdication of the Emperor was solely the result of the unfortunate situation to which France and the Emperor had been reduced, by the events of the war, treason, and by the occupation of the capital. *The abdication had no other object than to avoid a civil war*, and the effusion of French blood. Not consecrated by the will of the people, that act cannot destroy the solemn contract made between the nation and the Emperor; and even though Napoleon might have personally abdicated the crown, he could not sacrifice the rights of his son, called to reign after him. Done in the presence of enemies armies, and under foreign domination, they are merely the work of violence, they are essentially null and injurious to the national honour, to liberty, and to the rights of the people."* "Raised to the throne by your choice," said Bonaparte, "all that has been done without you is illegitimate."† Perhaps a more daring instance of the perversion of human reason, or a blacker act of perfidy, is not upon record, than the above arguments exhibit. They boldly and openly proclaim, that the treaties concluded with Europe on the preceding year, were only meant for a delusion, to get the allies out of France, and to prevent a civil war in that country; and the reason they give that they are not binding is, that these things were not concluded with, nor done by the French people. Who then are the French people? The Council of Ministers chosen by Napoleon himself expressly told us, that Napoleon, in his abdication, "restored to the French people the rights which he held of them: he left it free to choose for itself a new monarch."‡ Well, they did choose a new monarch—not one dissentient voice at the time was heard against that choice; and with that government, chosen by the French people, the allies concluded a treaty of peace, considering every

* Council of State, March 24th, 1815. † Proclamation, March 1st.
‡ Report to the Council of Ministers, April 2d, 1814.

circumstance, most advantageous to France. The allies considered, and had a right to consider, that it was with the French nation that they treated; and that the French nation were bound to abide by the treaty which they had made. But no, say they, we did not make it; it was made by the Bourbons, without our consent; and from them you may look for the fulfilment of it. It is not our matter, but theirs. We, indeed, stood by and said nothing at the time; nay, even we will not deny that we assented, because we had a mighty object to gain in obtaining such a peace; but now that the Bourbons and us can no longer agree, we cannot abide by their decisions, though, in this instance, we will do Europe the favour to remain at peace as long as we see it convenient; but let it be understood, that this is purely a matter of courtesy, and not of right, on our part, "for done in the midst of enemies armies, all these acts are illegal." Napoleon was, is, and must be the Emperor of our choice; because, though he was kind enough, for our interests, to return us our rights, and though we accepted his abdication, we deny we accepted from him our rights, and which we now find it our interest that he should again be invested with, and exercise in full and unalienable succession. Precisely similar to these, when stript of their French sophistry, were the audacious and daring arguments with which the French Jacobins attempted to meet the justice, the anger, and to confound the understanding of Europe. Vain effort of a thoughtless and a profligate people.

The march of Bonaparte to Paris, was characterised as the grandest and most imposing feature of his public life, from the acclamations and unanimity of the people in his cause. But this, like almost every thing else said concerning this man, was a great misconception. Because he met with acclamations, that did not say he was met with satisfaction These things, in France, we know are different; at least do not always accompany each other. Because he met with no opposition in his career, that does not justify the statement of perfect unanimity. Without denying the powerful, the very powerful party he had in France to support him, it would be ridiculous and unjust to say the whole population beheld him with affection and regard. The ease and security with which he marched, can very readily be ac-

counted for without resorting to this reason. His march was planned beforehand. He landed in an obscure corner of France, where there was nothing to oppose him. He marched through a mountainous and thinly peopled part of the country, where there was no military, and where, from the rapidity of his march, no force could be collected, even where the inhabitants were well inclined to oppose him. As he advanced to the more populous parts, the military, in all the stations where he had to pass, were prepared to receive him. At Grenoble, at Lyons, and with Ney's force, sent to intercept him, but which, in reality, marched with the intention of joining him; this was notoriously the case. From Lyons to Paris, his route lay through a part of France famous for the revolutionary mania and crimes. There he was certain to meet friends —there he did meet them. The rapidity of his march, while it prevented any troops at a distance from reaching the line of his march, and while all those who would have been inimical to him, were withdrawn to a distance from it, was contrived to astonish and strike terror into the minds of his opponents. The people taken unawares, beheld his march like the fiery meteor, or like the lightnings speed, which carries with it irresistible destruction. He passed before they could recover their senses from their state of surprise into which the phenomenon had thrown them. They trusted also to the army. It deceived them, and not only made no opposition to his progress, but adopted his cause, and joined his ranks. These, with the violent Jacobinical party, all of whom had arms in their hands, while the well disposed inhabitants had none, were sufficient to overawe any one who might attempt to oppose his progress. That he feared, however, and that his advisers well knew all France was not friendly to him, is obvious, from the spot where he landed. If this had not been the case, why not land at Marseilles or Toulon? It is clear, if he had done so, that in those loyal and populous districts, his force would have been crushed before any considerable number could have joined him; and any failure or defeat at the outset could scarcely fail to prove fatal to his cause. The army and the Jacobins, therefore, were the grand machines which recalled Bonaparte; and the for-

mer was placed by the latter in a manner throughout France, where its service would be most beneficial to his interests. The want of opposition, therefore, on the part of the people, in the early part of Bonaparte's progress, was owing to a different reason than perfect unanimity, and of real regard for his cause. But the number against him were beat down by fear of a superior, and, as it concerned them, a most merciless force.

The plan of the conspirators, in the route chosen for him, had also other objects in view. They hoped to take Europe unawares; and under pretence of marching a large force to Paris, in order to defend the capital and the King, they thereby drew a force round Paris, sufficient to overawe it if refractory; and then in causing the King to retire upon the northern fortresses where numerous columns were marched, as if to defend his cause, they succeeded under this shew of loyalty to what they had more at heart, namely, of collecting a very large force on the frontiers of the Netherlands before Europe was aware of their real designs. These provinces, they no doubt calculated, that they should be able to overrun, and add to the French empire before Europe could oppose it. But they found themselves grossly mistaken. The fame of Napoleon being in France, awakened all the vigilance of Europe; and while it would have justified her in immediately entering France, it induced her to take such steps that, before Louis XVIII. passed the frontiers in his exile, a force was drawn along the boundaries of the Netherlands, sufficient to prevent any sudden irruption on the part of France, by those troops, which, under the pretence of defending and supporting her King, France had, in reality, pushed forward to commence, as it suited her views, a fresh war of aggression against Europe.

The conduct of the French marshals, upon the return of Bonaparte, was altogether unprecedented in the annals of baseness. They did not at once openly espouse his cause, and march to join him. No; they had already taken one oath of fidelity, which, to have broken, would have stamped them with infamy sufficient. But not content with this, they unanimously came forward upon the first account of his landing, and not only took a

fresh oath of fidelity to the King, themselves, but caused the troops to do so also. This they not only did, resolved at the moment when they took the oath, to break it, but also to lead the troops to break theirs. Excellmans, the Lallemands, Desnouettes, with all their turpitude and crimes, were not so bad as Ney, Soult, Suchet, Massena, and others, who voluntarily took and violated two oaths, and the most solemn and public protestations; whereas, the former traitors made no promises but one, broke no oaths but one; and when Bonaparte appeared, instead of swearing allegiance to the King anew, they went boldly off to swear fidelity to Napoleon. Their conduct was resolute, and least dangerous to the cause which they deserted. Yet, in the face of such a dark scene of perfidy as France at this moment exhibited in all her leading characters, it was not a little singular to hear a British Representative in the House of Commons, and in the discharge of his duty, come forward and extol the honour of the French marshals, and hold it up as an object for the consideration and the regard of Europe. "The honour of the French Marshals," said Mr. Abercrombie, "demanded the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of Fontainbleau. Their honour was pledged to this; and the honour of a soldier renowned in arms is not to be trifled with. The French army was, in fact, the guarantee of the treaty."* The honour of a French Marshal—and those Marshals, Ney, Soult, Caulincourt!! &c.—Oh, shame, where is thy blush?

Immediately after landing in France, every engine of the Imperial system was set to work, to keep alive in the minds of the French nation that haughtiness and vanity which sprung from the idea of their invincibility. Though they had been driven, in the short space of eighteen months, from Moscow to Montmartre—though they had, in that period, lost thrice 600,000 men; and had seen their capital, with half their country, in the power of foreigners; and to propitiate and disarm whose resentment, they had been compelled to banish their Emperor to "a rock in the middle of the sea," after all this, it was undertaken to make them believe that they had not been vanquished. Nor

* House of Commons, April 20th, 1815.

was this a difficult business to accomplish, as it was an idea inherent in the bosom of every Frenchman. To ward off this infamy, they had recourse to every expedient: to the frost of Russia; the Saxon desertion; and the ignorant Corporal at Leipsic; but these availing no longer, a different expedient became necessary. It was not so pleasant nor convenient; but the times left them no alternative. It was no less than treason in France—Treason in France, and against their beloved Emperor! Most horrible and diabolical—most incomprehensible and unaccountable, in a country where, for 14 years, Europe had been incessantly told by the same lips, that every one idolised and adored him. Yet so it was. "Soldiers," said Bonaparte, "we were not conquered: two men, risen from the ranks, betrayed our laurels, their country, their Prince, their benefactor."* "Frenchmen! the defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army, of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris. The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Morman's, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcis-Sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier;† the rising of the brave peasants of Loraine, of Champaigne, of Alsace, of Franche Compte, and of Bourgoin; and the position I had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, from all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French army were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource; it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital, and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of these two Generals, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous

* Proclamation to the army, March 1st, 1815.

† Compare the account of the battles of Arcis-Sur-Aube, and St. Dizier, in the previous volumes.

situation of the enemy was such, that, at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve."* Again said he, "Treason, and unfortunate circumstances, had covered the national colours with funeral crape."† The memory of the Emperor, which was never very good at remembering facts when falsehoods were necessary to be brought forward, here forgot many important circumstances, and perverted others. He had omitted the consideration that the allies had defeated him again and again; had separated him from all *his* ammunition and resources—had overthrown all that opposed their entrance into Paris, and from thence were on their march to attack him again. He declined it, although at that time, as St. Jean de Angley informs us, he had 450,000 men in arms, besides the risings in mass, more than the half of Italy, and 50 of the chief fortresses in Europe in his possession. It was necessary, however, to continue this deception of their invincibility to his followers; and this seemed the only rational way left, namely, to blame Augereau, who had called him a coward, when in a proclamation to the army under his command, after the abdication of his former master, he informed them "that Napoleon was a man who had not the courage to die like a soldier." Marmont was also chosen as the next person on whom suspicion was likely to attach, because he was the first person who, with troops under his command, sent in his adhesion to the new order of things. The allies, however, were in a situation to do the business themselves, without any French aid—they wanted none—and got as little. It may seem unnecessary to quote the letter of Marmont in answer to this accusation, denying its accuracy, and declaring that Napoleon intended to attack, and if he could, to take, sack, and pillage his good city of Paris.‡ Joseph also, who was the Marshal's superior, sent him orders in writing to capitulate, which was a sufficient vindication of the conduct of the former. Setting aside this, therefore, I shall bring the usurper's own words to falsify his present accusations. In his last

* Address to the French nation, March 1st, 1815.

† Do. to the soldiers at Paris, March 21st.

‡ Marmont's letter.

dispatch, wrote after the capture of the capital, he says, "On the 31st March, his Majesty was at Fontainbleau; there he learnt that the enemy, having arrived 24 hours before him, occupied Paris, *after having encountered a strong resistance, in which he suffered great loss.* The corps of the Duke of Treviso and Ragusa, and that of General Compans, who had joined for the defence of the capital, were united between Essone and Paris, where his Majesty had taken a position with the whole army arrived from Troyes."* Here there was no charge—no surmise of either treason or lukewarmness, on the part of Marmont, or any other; and it was but natural to suppose, that if there had been any real ground for making such a charge, the Emperor would not have been slow in doing so; and likewise, that this was the most proper time he could make it, in order to call forth the ardour and indignation of the French nation, if he conceived that any remained that would either render him any essential service, or obey him. There never was a Governor, who thus dealt in such a complete system of falsehood and deceit; nor was there ever another nation, which was so ready to believe such things. Yet, however strange it may appear, it was not in France alone, that this assertion was credited and dwelt upon with a presage of better success to Napoleon, now that he had no longer such traitors to dread. It formed the subject of many a gloomy prophecy against the prosperity of Europe—of many a loud boast, and sure prognostication of Napoleon's glory and Napoleon's success, in a country where his name should never be pronounced, but with one unmingled sentiment of indignation and contempt. In vain had French armies been immolated at Borodino, and at Leipsic; and the Russian eagle spread his mighty wings over the Thuilleries. In vain had their troops and bravest Generals been scattered like chaff before the whirlwind, upon the banks of the Tormes, the Zadora—upon the summits of the Pyrenees, the plains of Orthes, and the banks of the Garronne. Still French troops could not be and were not beaten —strange obstinacy, incurable vanity! Which though these

* Rennes, April 5th, 1814.—Published by order of the Prefect Le Baron Bonair.

in the short space of eighteen months, had lost a power more formidable than that of Alexander; an Empire greater than that which owned Cæsar's sway, still would not allow that they had been vanquished. It was this spirit which made France dangerous to Europe. It was this which made her openly violate fresh treaties, preparatory to her committing fresh acts of aggression. It was this spirit which hurried France into fresh commotion, and Europe into fresh danger. It was this spirit, obstinate and thoughtless as it was, whose limits were circumscribed—whose hours were numbered—but let us not anticipate.

Bonaparte, by the unparalelled success of treason, again seated in the Thuilleries, with France untouched in her ancient territory, and with all these prisoners restored, which his pride, obstinacy, and ignorance, had scattered over Europe, began to conceive himself as great as ever. But he was soon undeceived, and found that he was not so much the creator as the creature of a faction. His old friends, the Jacobins, bearded him on his throne, and talked of liberty and limited authority in every hand but their own, to a mind which never knew what limited authority or liberty meant. He felt his hopes disappointed; but he dissembled his resentment and courted their alliance, though in his heart he abhorred them. He saw he could not carry on his measures without their assistance, as they in a great measure held the national purse, and it was not so clear as it had been, that he should be able to help himself whenever he pleased from the pockets of others. To oppose the views of this formidable and dangerous party, in an open manner, he perceived was madness; but he calculated that by their assistance he would be able to organise his army—direct the energies of France again to foreign conquest, when the wealth and honours which he would have to bestow, would accomplish again what these had previously done, namely, shut the mouths and fill the appetites of these clamorous friends of the people, whose only God was their gain. This accomplished by the aid of the army, who were the most perfect and obedient tools of his hand, he conceived that he would then be fully able once more to dictate to France, and crush all oppo-

sition. The dreadful anathema also, of indignant Europe, at the same moment reached his ears; and convinced him, that the united energies of the French nation, great as these were, would be insufficient to save him, unless he could divide the strength of the former. This his self-importance taught him to believe that his policy would be able to effect. Nevertheless, it was not difficult to see that he felt himself disappointed, and placed in a situation where the "*Vive le Empereurs*" of the giddy Parisians, could not form a healing balm to his wounded spirit. His proclamations, while they breathed the old Jacobinical spirit of implacable enmity and vengeance, against the Bourbons and their adherents, were compelled to adopt a more moderate tone, than those wherein he expressed, "fate drags them on, let their destinies be fulfilled," and which three years before struck the waters of the Pregel with terror and dismay. But these we shall have an opportunity to consider more at large in the sequel.

"The decrees of fate are accomplished," said his self-confident partisans, when they found themselves once more in the enviable situation of bending their infamous heads, before that throne, whose frown had so often made them tremble, and which at the same time had raised them to rank and wealth, according to their baseness. "The decrees of fate are accomplished."—Certainly those decrees which French ignorance and impiety called fate, but other men, the councils of unerring wisdom, were so far accomplished—fulfiling and about to be finished. But France forsook the path which would have enabled her to see the true course of events, and escape their terrible consequences. She had long shut her eyes to the light, and her ears to understanding. I am, and there is none else besides me, had long been the ideas of this profligate country. In herself utterly confounding all ideas of right and wrong, good and evil, she endeavoured, and with but too much success, to pour this polluted stream over the Continent of Europe. This while it overthrew their political Constitutions, deeply injured the moral feelings of the people of the Continent. But these, though shaken, were not destroyed. Better principles resumed their sway, and French infidelity fled before them. Yet France refused to see the deformity of her conduct, or acknow-

ledge the pernicious effects of her principles. When, after a course of wickedness and atrocity, carried on by France, against, and in the midst of every nation in Europe; such as had been till this period altogether unheard of and unknown; Europe beheld that nation placed by the most visible interposition of Providence, within her grasp, and yet escape uninjured from her just indignation; she stood astonished, and was ready to exclaim, Where is the reward of doing good, or what advantage is it to follow the paths of justice. Such were the inconsiderate sentiments of erring mortals, whose finite minds are slow to trace, and unable to comprehend the proceedings of almighty power, and the councils of unerring wisdom. France, though undeserving favour, had been forgiven. The door of mercy was set open before her. The conditions imposed upon her were most humane and easy. Depart from evil and do good —for the future act differently from what you have done, said the Sovereigns of Europe, and all our wrongs, grievous as they have been, are from this moment forgotten. France, although she promised, refused to abide by these simple and honourable conditions. Deeper, therefore, was her guilt, and more unpardonable her conduct. She again forgot the Arbiter of heaven and earth, and whose sacred name had proved the bond of peace between her and Europe. She raised her daring hand in open defiance against Heaven and earth. In her madness she courted deeper humiliation and more certain destruction. She drew her affections again to the disturber of the peace of the world. She recalled with exultation, him who had so long been her scourge, that with him she might yet meet the humiliation she deserved, the punishment she had escaped. At a moment none could expect, and few anticipate, she placed him again at her head; and, by doing so, threw down the gauntlet of defiance which was to call forth a flood of anger, whose effects were to leave her an object of unconcern and derision, and at the same time a beacon to succeeding generations. Europe yet held her arms. Her people returned from the tented field, were weeping over the sad havoc and destruction occasioned in their families and in their fields, by French perfidy and French ambition, when the re-appearance of these again called forth

those passions nearly laid to sleep, embittered by the sight of the tears and the miseries of those whom they loved—at the remembrance of those whose loss they regretted, and all augmented by the reflection of unworthy objects, having abused their mercy. At such a moment did France forsake the paths of her duty: and in this manner did the decrees of unerring wisdom, prepare for guilty lips, the bitter chalice of severer retribution. Those who would give themselves the trouble to think, and receive their knowledge from the true source, saw in this the councils of that Almighty Being—who makes good and creates evil, and whose Power controls the affairs of the Universe. In a moment, when we least expect, by ways which we are frequently unable to comprehend, does he bring ruin upon his enemies, and justify his ways to man. "The decrees of fate are accomplished," said France, haughty and secure. Yes, these were so. The councils of the Almighty must stand. His pleasure must be fulfilled. The kingdom was departed from France All attempts to counteract this decree, could only make humiliation deeper and destruction wider. In vain would the wisdom, the artifices, or the power of man, attempt to turn this aside. As well might he attempt to re-call the days that are past, or collect the scattered clouds of yesterday.

No sooner was Bonaparte again seated in the Thuilleries, than his Government began that system of falsehood and delusion, which he had previously so regularly organised, and which tended so much to deceive France, and confuse his opponents. While proclaiming the liberty of the press, he laid it under the strongest chains, and allowed men to write only on one side of the question. At one time Europe was informed that all Italy was in flames, that the Austrian troops were massacred or driven out of that country, to which French ambition cast an anxious eye. Spain we were informed, through the same channel, was convulsed with bloody insurrections. Turkey was making movements against Russia. Saxony, Belgium, and Poland, were all on the eve of rebellion; and discontent was general all over Germany, where the people hailed the return of Napoleon with joy and satisfaction. Austria was stated to favour the views of Bonaparte. The very

day was appointed, when the Empress and the King of Rome, were to arrive at Paris. Her apartments in the Imperial Palaces, were furnished in great haste. Attendants and relays of horses were ordered to be stationed along the road to Strasburgh to receive her. To-day an Austrian courier arrived at Paris—to-morrow the telegraph announced that another had passed Strasburgh, and the next the Emperor declared publicly at the parade, or in the Levee, that he had received favourable accounts from Vienna. Day after day, however, passed away. No Empress came. Her maids of honour were without employment. No dispatches were published. The courier arrived from Vienna, was found to have been the same who was dispatched from Paris for that place, but who was not allowed to pass the frontiers. Similar insinuations were thrown out with regard to the dispositions of England; and when these had had their day, and were found to be incorrect, a new species of deception was had recourse to, namely, that the people of Great Britain were indignant at the conduct of their Government, in joining the coalition against Bonaparte; and that serious riots had taken place in consequence, in some of which Lord Castlereagh, and other exalted characters, had been sacrificed to the fury of the people. The allies were described as disunited and discontented; and the French nation as altogether enthusiastic and unanimous in favour of Napoleon. It would be impossible, as it is considered unnecessary, to follow more minutely this odious system of deception, carried on by a Government which had a lie calculated to last one day, two days, a week, or a fortnight,* as suited their views, and which were so contrived, as though often justly appreciated and instantly suspected, yet, created alarm, and left a painful state of suspense in the minds of multitudes in Europe. On these shameless misrepresentations and fabrications, prejudice and disaffection loved to dwell, and continued to sound the trumpet of alarm, till cre-

* Falsehood in all their diplomatic concerns was the very essence of Bonaparte's Government. During the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia in 1808, among the other falsehoods which they there officially propagated, was this one, that the "Old King of England was dead." This they did in order to induce the Persians to relinquish the treaty with Britain, and to conclude an alliance with them.

See Morier's Travels, 4to.

dulity itself was satiated, and hesitated to pay attention to such assertions.

With regard to the return of the Empress and the King of Rome, it was well known that Austria would not permit it, even if that ill-fated Princess had been inclined thereto. But Bonaparte was aware of the importance which their appearance would attach to his cause, and also the use which he might make of them, in raising the hopes and fears of Austria on their account. For this reason he eagerly longed for their return, which, as he was well aware that he could not accomplish by open means, he was resolved to effect by secret proceedings. Accordingly several attempts were made to carry off these personages from Vienna, by partisans and spies detached for that purpose, the first band of which were dispatched from Lyons. All these, however, were discovered and prevented. With regard to insurrections and disaffection in different countries in Europe, all of these assertions were known to be totally groundless. In various countries, Bonaparte had, no doubt, many friends, amongst the most worthless part of mankind; and these, of course, were altogether so overjoyed at his return, that they conceived the feelings of all mankind were in unison with their own, and these men therefore described discontent as general. In all these countries, however, already alluded to, the constituted authorities watched too closely over the movements of disaffection, for any serious mischief to ensue. Poland, where the emissaries of Napoleon quickly made their appearance, was by no means likely to come forward when Russian armies filled the country, nor at this moment, attempt what they refrained from in 1813, when Austria was neuter, and when Napoleon advanced to the Oder. Saxony was similarly situated. Belgium was filled and filling fast with foreign troops, as Italy was with Austrian; and though the emissaries of France, preaching up insubordination and rebellion, were every where numerous and active, yet it was very plain that they nowhere met with great success. Mankind out of France were wearied with political convulsions and changes, in which experience had taught them, that they could in general gain little, and in which they might lose all, and which we shall

shortly see exemplified in a striking, and to France most unexpected and ominous, manner.

Bonaparte and his supporters continued to impress upon the public mind the propriety of his return, and the legality of his power. Him and them forgot that he had abdicated that power. France called upon him to do so—He accepted the conditions and obeyed. It, therefore, required the legally constituted authorities of France, to reinstate him in that authority again. But he had none such who did so. He boldly attempted to say that the recal of Louis XVIII. was illegal, because it was not done by the voice of the people. On this point him and his friends took their ground, but it was a wretched and slippery foundation. Louis XVIII. was recalled by the French people, because he was recalled by the legally constituted authority of France at the moment. But it was said that the Senate which recalled him was not the Legislature of France, nor the proper organ of the people. But why were they not so? Where was the Legislature of France, at the moment? The Senate was all the Legislative Body which the Emperor allowed. He had turned the rest about their business, and left only this, which he then affirmed spoke the the sentiments of the people of France, and which was all they had then left to speak their sentiments. This was the Senate which recalled the Bourbons, deposed him, and in whose acts the whole population of France, civil and military acquiesced. But the return of Bonaparte was characterised as supported by no such authority. The existing Legislative Bodies openly opposed him. He resumed the throne by force of arms, and in defiance of the act of deposition passed against him, by the only Legislative Body, which his tyranny itself had suffered to exist. In this arbitrary manner he proceeded to overthrow the Government of Louis, and to establish his own; calculating that he would be able to assemble a Legislature, agreeable to his tyrannic disposition. In this, however, he was disappointed. His old friends the Jacobins, wanted to have the power of the State into their own hands. He dared not openly oppose their wishes at this moment; but he endeavoured to evade this dangerous course, by putting off the manufacture of this new

Constitution, which was to restore happiness to France, till some more convenient opportunity, when strengthened in his power, he might set them at defiance. In doing this, however, he was compelled to acknowledge the illegality of his present power, and to put to shame all the idle declamations, of those who asserted he held his authority by Constitutional means, by confessing that it was arbitrary and self-assumed. The prospect of foreign war offered the most plausible excuse for putting off the day when he was to reign as a limited Sovereign; a duty at which he was well aware he would prove very aukward—perhaps inconstant. "Under these new circumstances," said he, "we had only the alternative of *prolonging the Dictatorship, with which we were invested by circumstances*, and the confidence of the people; or to *abridge* the forms which we had intended to follow, for the arrangement of the Constitutional Act. The interest of France presented to us the adoption of the second course."* The interest of France was a wide word—Bonaparte himself had never been able to define its limits. With him at her head every thing had always yielded to this ruling passion, whither its object was glory or sacrilege, victory or outrage.

It seemed as if unerring Wisdom had, in a special manner, decreed the restoration to power of Bonaparte and his revolutionary associates, that their disgrace and humiliation might be more complete, by wringing from their own lips a confession of their former folly, and their guilt; and of holding up to the world, as a mark of scorn and contempt, the vacillating policy and interested motives of those men, characterised as the steady friends of mankind, unshaken in their principles, and disinterested in their pursuits. Long had the ears of sober sense and sound reason been stunned with declamation to that effect; and although day after day discovered more and more the arbitrary conduct, mischievous views, and interested motives of these friends of Liberty and Equality, still their votaries would not be convinced of their error, nor see the inconsistency of the conduct of those whom they followed and revered. Some yet remained who had assumed every possible dress of deception which

* Bonaparte's decree, Moniteur, May 1st, 1815.

human ingenuity could devise. To these the leaders of that remaining desperate band, the deluded votaries of Liberty and Equality, yet clung; and in whom they could see nothing inconsistent, nor in their conduct any thing that was interested, arbitrary, or unjust The resumption of his authority by Napoleon, dissipated this idle dream. Under the "*new circumstances*" in which he was placed, he openly avowed, what all his friends and advocates at home and abroad had, for the space of fifteen years, denied, namely, that his object was universal Empire; and that his power was unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unjust. "Princes are the first citizens of the State. The sovereignty is only hereditary, because the *interest of the people* requires it. Departing from these principles, I know no legitimacy." "I have renounced," said he, "the idea of the Grand Empire, of which, during fifteen years, I have but founded the basis. Henceforward, the happiness and the consolidation of the French Empire shall be all my thoughts."* When we remember that this speech was made to please the Jacobinical party in France, and dictated by them, we cannot forget the inconsistency and folly of those men, the keenest and most atrocious advocates of the revolution, the principal object of which was to destroy the principle of hereditary right in the Sovereign, because it was totally contrary to the interests of the people; and whose conduct, after having occasioned all the horrid scenes of cruelty and confusion, now came forward to exult over the fall of their darling schemes of Liberty and Equality, which they had so often sworn to support. These men, who had sworn the most marked hatred against all royalty, but particularly hereditary royalty, now find that hereditary Sovereignty, is the only true security for the interests of the people. "The country," said Carnot, Fouche, Cambaceres, Maret, &c. "raises again her majestic head. She salutes, for the second time, the Prince who dethroned *anarchy*, and whose existence can alone consolidate our liberal institutions."† Carnot, the immaculate, pure, honest, sturdy republican! Carnot, who had worn the red cap of Liberty so long; who had sworn never to desert her ranks, nor obey or

* Answer to the address of the Council of State, March 25th, 1815.

† Address of Ministers, March 25th.

accept honours from Kings, was in the present number. He was raised to the rank of a Count; took his seat in the *upper house*, and worshipped Napoleon's as the hereditary dynasty. Yes, but this was the dynasty of an Emperor, not of a King. This was French consistency. In a word, Carnot, like the rest of his associates, shewed at last, that his principles were power, if he could obtain it. But then, it was all done for the honour and the interests of France. So was the murders at Madrid, and the flames of Moscow. In short, Carnot too forsook his former principles, and thus openly condemned them. The whole herd of these demons, which the Goddess of Reason let loose upon mankind, and who had escaped her fatal *razor*, to the last man, thus belied their professions—despised their principles—yet continued to deny their error. It was the glory and the interests of France directed all their conduct.

The first act of the government of Bonaparte, after the ministers were appointed, for Legislature he had none, was for these perfidious actors to assemble, and send forth congratulatory addresses at their good fortune and easy success. They concluded all was secure, and that thus elevated, they were placed beyond the reach of fortune. Fate covered them with her invincible shield; and Providence watched over their destinies. "Providence," said they, "which watches over our destinies, has opened to your Majesty the path to the throne, to which you were elevated by the free choice of the people, and the national gratitude. The most just of revolutions, that which *restored to man his dignity*,* and political rights, has hurled from the throne the race of the Bourbons. After twenty-five years of the calamities of war, all the efforts of the foreigner have not been able to re-awaken affections which were either extinguished or utterly unknown. The Bourbons have not forgotten any thing. Their promises have been broken—those of your Majesty will be kept inviolate. Your Majesty will also forget that we have been the masters of nations that surrounded us. This noble sentiment adds to the weight of glory already acquired. You have announced to the nation the means by which you de-

* This was the French logic for denying their God, and abolishing his worship.

sire it should be governed for the future. We are to have no foreign war, unless it be to repel unjust aggression; no internal re-action; no arbitrary acts. Personal safety, protection of property, the free utterance of thought, such are the principles which your Majesty has pledged to us. Happy, Sire, are those who are called upon to co-operate in such sublime acts."* With these fine speeches, theories, and expectations, they contrived to lull to sleep their guilty consciences, while their beloved Emperor assured them the "sentiments they expressed were his own—all for the nation, all for France, that is my motto."† Which expressions, in French, meant any thing the speaker meditated or might be inclined to follow. The Emperor was thus invited by the officers which he had created to exercise that authority "of which he could not be deprived, and which he could not abdicate without the consent of the nation; and which the will and the *general interest* of the French people now made it his duty to resume."‡

Having resumed this authority, Bonaparte immediately set about exercising it. Though professing peace, he took care, by every means that was in his power, to prepare for war. Unfortunately for Europe, these means were most abundant. In the treasury there was a considerable sum of money: and some hundreds of thousands of fierce soldiers, trained on fields of blood, were eager to join those standards, whose re-appearance promised plunder and blood. Some time, however, was necessary to call these together, and make them what he wished; but above all, he wanted time, by means of his agents and emissaries, to kindle up discontent in other nations, and to sow the seeds of jealousy amongst the powers of Europe. He, therefore, adopted moderate language, at the same time holding a menacing attitude, by informing them of the awful and irresistible unanimity which, with regard to him, prevailed in France, and which had restored him to his former dignity. Addressing the different Sovereigns in the high tone of equality, he, through the medium of Caulincourt, informed them of

* Address of Ministers, March 25th, 1815. † Bonaparte's answer, do. do.

‡ Address of the Council of State, do. do.

his return to the court of France, his entrance into Paris, and the departure of the Bourbons. These events, said he, "are the work of an *irresistible power*, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, who knows her duties and her rights. Her voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which had determined me to make the greatest of sacrifices, had been deceived."* After this broad insinuation that they had violated their words, he proceeds to inform them, that the restoration of the Imperial throne was necessary to the happiness of France, and "that his sweetest thought" was to consolidate the repose of Europe. While doing this, however, he took care to place himself in the foremost rank, and to call upon them to follow his example. "Glory enough," said he, "has rendered, by turns, the standards of the different nations illustrious. The vicissitudes of *fate* have made great successes be followed by great reverses. A finer arena is now opened to Kings, *and I am the first to descend into it.*"† Scarcely any thing can afford a stronger specimen of French vanity and arrogance, than this. He boldly tells those, whose utmost anger he had provoked by his odious tyranny, that they were pursuing a system of ambition and aggrandizement at the expense of justice and honour; but that he now offered them his noble example in pursuing a different course. At the same time, the Jacobinical jargon exposed the cloven foot. The vicissitudes of fate; not the decrees of the Almighty had been the means of curbing French power. Continuing his lesson, he imperiously informed them, that though France, "is jealous of her independence, the invincible principle of her policy shall be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations." And, continued he, "if such are the general sentiments of your Majesty, the general quiet is secured for a long season; and Justice, seated on the confines of the different States, will be alone sufficient to guard their frontiers."‡.

Such was the brazen piece of affectation, effrontery, and menace, transmitted to the different Sovereigns of Europe. To these men to whom Bonaparte had repeatedly broken every promise that

* Letter to the Sovereigns of Europe, April 4th, 1815. † Do. do.

‡ Do. do.

he had made; and now, while in the very act of breaking the last treaty between them, while tearing before their eyes the paper that contained it to pieces, he comes fearlessly forward and demands, in the high tone of Equality, that they should for the future trust him, without any other guarantees than those which Napoleon's word, and French interest and honour afforded; things which assumed all possible shapes, and that so often, that no memory could record them, nor ingenuity detect the deception. To have supposed that the nations of Europe could have, for one moment, listened to such professions, would have been to suppose them bereft of their senses. Accordingly, no attention whatever was paid unto them; and, except from Britain, no communication whatever was had with the writer. The answer also returned by her, was declining all correspondence on such a subject; and merely announcing that she had transmitted the letter to the powers assembled at Vienna. There he met with worse success. No answer was returned to his proposition. The Emperor of Austria, in order that he might prevent the circulation of those bad reports which it was known French cunning would, and did set abroad, that he was carrying on a secret correspondence with France, contrary to his faith with other powers, made Metternich carry the letter addressed to him, unopened, into the Congress, and there unsealing it, laid it before that assembly. Such proceedings totally disconcerted Bonaparte, and embarassed him exceedingly. His promises of peace and security to the people of France began to appear uncertain. The clouds of the gathering tempest began to approach their frontiers, in deeper and more appalling masses. It became necessary to take up the unpleasant subject; but, at the same time, it was requisite to expound it in such a manner, as that all the odium might fall on the heads of his enemies. "Alarming symptoms," said Caulincourt, "manifest themselves on all sides. The monarchs of Europe, as if by common consent, interdicted all communication with a great State, and shut up the access to amicable assurances. The couriers sent from Paris on the 30th March, could not reach their destinations. One could not go beyond Strasburgh. Another, sent to Italy, was obliged to re-

turn from Turin. A third, destined for Berlin and the North, was arrested at Mentz, and ill treated by the Prussian commandant, and his dispatches seized by the Austrian General. "I hear, that of the couriers sent off on the 5th, those for Germany and Italy, have not been able to go beyond the frontiers. I have no intelligence of those sent off to the North, and to England. In Britain, the Prince Regent declares that he has given orders to increase the British forces by sea and land. In Austria, Russia, Prussia, all parts of Germany, and in Italy; every where, in short, there is a general arming. In Spain, an army is to proceed to the line of the Pyrenees. The assembling of troops of different nations in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, and the numerous debarkations of English troops, are known to your Majesty. A convoy of French prisoners, from Russia, has been stopped on the side of Tirlemont. *Upon all parts of Europe, at once, they are arming, or marching, or ready to march.*"*

It was no wonder that France beheld this appalling prospect, and felt this dreadful situation with anxiety and alarm. She saw herself cut off from the rest of mankind, without hope of reconciliation. Her profligate conduct had aroused the utmost energy and precaution in Europe; and no professions made, nor communications sent, while Napoleon reigned over France, would any more be attended to by Europe. Yet France affected a tone of surprise, and called forth a spirit of accusation against the nations she had so grievously deceived. "Against whom," said Caulincourt, "are these armaments directed? Sire, it is your Majesty they name, but it is France that is threatened. The least favourable peace that the powers ever *dared* to offer you; is that with which your Majesty contents yourself. Why do not they now wish for what they stipulated for at Chaumont—what they ratified at Paris."† Unparalleled effrontery, for Caulincourt to allude to the treaty of Chaumont, where he, with his worthy master, endeavoured to dupe and to deceive the nations of Europe. All the brazen impudence of the revolutionary school was certainly necessary at the moment

* Caulincourt's report, April 7th, 1815. † Do. do.

Caulincourt penned this; nor could any thing, but that perversion of reason to which that event gave birth, have demanded of the allies to conclude with Bonaparte, in Paris, as Sovereign of France, a treaty the same as that which they concluded with Louis XVIII. The moment Bonaparte landed in France, and the French nation acknowledged his sway, from that moment, any thing but ignorance the most obstinate, and prejudice the most blind, must have seen and known that they were in a state of hostility with the nations of Europe. Strange, however, as it may appear, there was not wanting, men, in Great Britain, who advocated the cause of Bonaparte and his desperate band, in this instance; and who boldly maintained that the allies were bound to maintain the peace of Paris with him; that any attack against him would be a violation of that treaty, and an act of aggression against the independence of the French nation. These men joined the cry raised in France by the partizans of the usurper, that "it is not then against the monarch, it is against the French nation, against the independence of the people, against all that is dear to us, all that we have acquired after twenty-five years of suffering and of *glory*; against our liberties, our institutions, that hostile passions wish to make war. It is the hope of returning, a second time, by force of arms, the Bourbon family, upon a soil which disclaims them, and which wishes no longer to receive them."* Absurd as these railings of disappointed ambition were, still they were carried on with a most astonishing degree of perseverance; but, with the exception of a few, whose influence had no weight in the deliberations of the councils of Europe, they were altogether without success. Europe was well aware that it was not for the restoration of the Bourbons, but for her own immediate safety, that she was now about to renew the combat. It was a matter of minor importance to her, who was Sovereign of France, providing that Sovereign was not Bonaparte. With him, fatal experience had taught her she never could enjoy real peace or repose; and with him, as Sovereign of France, she was determined she never would enter into any league.

* Caulincourt's report, April 7th, 1815.

Perceiving that every effort to bend any one of the powers of Europe to his views would be ineffectual, Bonaparte began seriously to think of an immediate rupture. Hostilities, however, he did not dread. On the contrary, he courted them; they were in reality what he expected, and what he wished, providing he could only choose his own time. At present, Europe, in some measure, was before hand with him; and neither in his internal nor his external relations was he so well prepared to meet her as he could have wished. "You have recalled me a month too soon," said he to his friends in Paris after he returned to that capital. It is probable that many of the old revolutionary party, content with what they had got, and wishing to preserve it, really wished to live at peace with their neighbours; and that they were ignorant enough to suppose that they might continue to do so, though the dynasty of Bonaparte was restored, and that of the Bourbons, whom they feared, displaced. These, though they hated the latter, yet deprecated hostilities with Europe, as they were aware that the destruction of their power in battle would infallibly secure the return of the Bourbons, and under such circumstances as would certainly occasion the loss of their property. But the army was obliged to be consulted, and these called out for immediate war. This spirit could not be allowed to decay, as it might either be difficult to revive it, or if not immediately attended to and gratified, it might have fixed its regards upon some other object to conduct it. Hence, in the midst of his professed moderation, he was obliged to go along with their impatience; and it is in his addresses to them that we are to look for what approached nearer to his real views and intentions. "The country," said Carnot, "expects new efforts from those brave men who have already combated for her glory, and who cannot remain deaf to the voice of honour." "Soldiers!" said Davoust, "come forward then, in order that you may be ready to defend the country against enemies who wish to interfere, for the purpose of regulating what colours we shall wear, of imposing Sovereigns on us, and of dictating Constitutions to us. Let us

* Carnot's circular, Paris, April 12th, 1815.

present to our enemies a frontier of iron, and teach them that we are still the same. Honour, the Country, the Emperor call you. How much would you have to reproach yourselves, were this fine country again to be ravaged by soldiers whom you have *so often vanquished*, and were the foreigner to come to efface France from the map of Europe?"* "They shall find," said Bonaparte, "on our frontiers, the heroes of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Jena; they will find there a whole people; and if they have 600,000 men, (alluding to the treaty of the 25th March,) we will oppose to them two millions."† To this speech, the soldiers answered him with general acclamation.

Recovered from the stupor which the rapid march of Bonaparte, and general defection of the army had occasioned, the loyal inhabitants of several places in the South, made an effort to resist his authority. This was particularly conspicuous at Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and other places in the South of France. In various other places much disaffection was expressed against the Usurper, but it was easily suppressed or kept under. In Bourdeaux, however, this was not so easily done. There the mass of the population were decidedly for the Bourbons, and the troops insufficient, for the moment, to overawe them. Animated by the presence of the Duchess of Angouleme, the unfortunate daughter of Louis XVI. and cheered by the exertions of the worthy Mayor of the place, M. Lynch, who was the first to unfurl the Royal standard on the preceding year, Bourdeaux resolved to remain faithful to the King; and every measure was taken that the scanty means within their power offered to them. Some time previous to this as we have already shortly noticed, the Duke and Duchess de Angouleme had left Paris to visit the Southern provinces, and particularly Bourdeaux, where the Bourbon family had most adherents. Every where throughout their journey to this place, they were received with general acclamation and respect. Their march through the country, and their voyage down the Garonne, was a triumphal procession, in which they

* Davoust's address to the troops, April 12th, 1815.

† Bonaparte's do. do. Paris, April 9th, 1815.

were followed by multitudes, and accompanied by the prayers and blessings of thousands. Arrived at Bourdeaux, they were welcomed with affection and respect; and every day tended to shew them the interest which the people took in their prosperity, and gratified them with some fresh token of affection and loyalty. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country flocked to the city, where the reign of the Bourbons having restored peace and commerce, had changed the appearance of Bourdeaux. It was calculated, that the city had received an increase of 20,000 inhabitants within the year, collected from all parts to follow the peaceful occupations of industry and trade, unknown under the grinding tyranny of Napoleon. His arrival, however, changed the scene, and scattered all these pleasing prospects. No sooner was that event known than the Duke de Angouleme set out with powers from the King, to assemble forces in the Eastern departments, to oppose the Usurper's march; and also, in case of necessity, to erect into a separate Government all the provinces in the South of France. The Duchess, his wife, was left to watch over the King's interest at Bourdeaux, and which she did to the utmost of her power. She issued orders to the troops and national guards—gave directions for the march of columns, and preparations for defence at every point, with a judgment and ability which, while it excited the fears, drew also upon her the coarse anger of her enemies. The inhabitants seconded her views—the troops and national guards appeared united and well affected. But the danger daily increased, and the accounts of the successful progress of the Usurper, and at length of the departure of the King, gave the disaffected soldiery an opportunity to shew their real sentiments, and at the same time discovered to the Princess how little dependance she could place upon them.

Aware of the vast importance of crushing any resistance to his authority, in this populous and important place, Bonaparte, almost as soon as he had entered Paris, sent General Clausel, one of his firmest supporters, to assume the command in that quarter, and reduce Bourdeaux to subjection. This General made all haste in his journey, and assembling all the troops he could find in the neighbouring departments, who willingly and

eagerly joined him; he marched directly upon Bourdeaux. On the 30th he reached Carignac. His agents, however, preceded him, and were every where successful. The troops in the garrison of Blaye, refused to admit the officer sent by the Duchess de Angouleme, to assume the command; and no sooner heard of the advance of Clausel than they hoisted the tri-coloured flag and acknowledged Napoleon. In the meantime, the Royalists had sent out detachments of troops on the road of Clauzel's march to oppose him. Those were principally composed of volunteers, and a few troops of the line among them. The most advanced party of these had reached St. Andre de Cubsac, when, hearing of the defection of the troops at Blaye, they abandoned the left bank of the Dordogne, crossed that river, and fell back upon Bourdeaux. Clausel continued to advance, and having reached St. Andre de Cubsac, was there met by a detachment of the garrison of Blaye. "During the night of the 30th March, some *intelligent* officers had already been dispatched to Bourdeaux."* These intelligent traitors, for such they were, found it an easy matter to spread the flame of rebellion among their ferocious brethren. In vain the Princess issued orders. These were most shamefully evaded or disobeyed by the Governor, and an officer named Martignac, who commanded the Bourdeaux troops, and who, said the Imperial official account, "appeared to General Clausel to be a man of sense and merit, the friend of his country;"† that is, in plain English, a deep designing traitor; who swore to defend what he had previously resolved to betray. This man sent an insufficient number of young volunteers, to defend the passage of the river, who were obliged to retire, after firing a few shots at the Imperial forces. He next took care, with an "*afflicted air*," to inform the Princess of the defection of the garrison of Blaye, which had been occasioned principally by his own treasonable and half measures; and lastly, as the enemy began to approach nearer the city, he, with the other officers were eager to inform her, that they were afraid, that they could not depend upon the troops in the city. They,

* Official account, Moniteur. † Do. do.

at the same time, with that hypocritical cunning so notorious in the Revolutionary school, urged her to consult her own safety and leave the place. This the Princess refused to do. The national guards and volunteers called loudly for arms, and these forces she urged might be led against the enemy, as sufficient to defend the place. Those worthless men, however, instead of seconding this resolution, informed the Duchess, that if these troops passed the river the garrison would certainly follow, and place them between two fires. This, however, did not deter this unfortunate Princess, and the few friends on whom she could rely, from taking measures to defend the place; and when these cowardly traitors stood by, not only lending her no assistance, but thwarting by secret orders all her measures, she encouraged the people to resistance. For this noble and heroic conduct, she was, as might have been expected, loaded with the coarsest reproach of the barbarous pens of the mean-spirited revolutionists of Paris. Some of these are so much in character of their authors, that I cannot refrain from transcribing them. Speaking of the efforts of this Princess, to encourage the people in their loyalty, the Journal de Paris proceeds: "The Duchess de Angouleme, went again to excite the zeal of her partisans, *their joy resembled a furious delirium.* These madmen would have torn in pieces several *peaceable* citizens who were there, if they had not been snatched from their hands." On another occasion, says this Jacobinical writer, "upon her coming out, a horde of banditti surrounded her, conjured her to remain, and demanded arms; they were supplied from the Mayor's office; and these wretches threatening all excesses, traversed the streets, uttered terrible vociferations, and entered the castle. The Princess encouraged them, and all *honest men* marked out for destruction, trembled for their own lives and the lives of their children."* Such were the terms which this disciple of Robespierre applied to that heroic conduct which terrified their souls to think on, and which claims the admiration of Europe. It is true that the loyal population of Bourdeaux were exasperated at the military traitors, and several

* Journal de Paris, under date, Bourdeaux, April 2d, 1815.

abettors of Napoleon's cause, who now appeared among them. To their honour be it spoken, they were so. "The Count de Puysegur," said the Journal de Paris, "ventured to say that there was not sufficient force to resist the troops of Napoleon. Immediately the royalists and the banditti (volunteers) cried out treason! a thousand bayonets were hurried against M. Puysegur. To escape the fury of this sanguinary crew, he had only time to throw himself on the protection of the two companies of Grenadiers, who were called by the names of the Isle of Elba, and Porto Ferrajo. The banditti took aim at those companies; several Grenadiers were wounded, and Captain Trop Long, commanding the first company received a ball, and some moments afterwards died. This *honest man*, an old soldier, decorated with the cross of the brave, is regretted by the whole city of Bourdeaux."* The refuge which M. Puysegur took was sufficient to shew the nature of his conduct, and the honour of those who protected him, in which is included that *honest man* Trop Long, whose fate few regretted.

Not satisfied with the reports of the Generals and Officers commanding the troops, of the disposition of the latter, the Princess was resolved in her own person to ascertain this. "Is it then impossible," said she, in a tone that must have cut them to the soul, "now to employ that garrison, for which you could still answer to me yesterday? Impossible! I wish to satisfy myself, assemble your troops in their respective barracks."† Though they were sensible, that treason had already been too actively at work with these troops, still the traitors could not but fear what might be the consequences of this courageous resolution. The Princess insisted that these orders should be given. They were obeyed, and she instantly departed to ascertain the disposition of the troops. Arrived at the barracks, she placed herself in the centre of the troops, called the Officers, reminded them of their oaths, "she prayed, she urged," said the traitors, "she made brilliant promises, she wept, she threatened, it would be impossible to describe the vehemence which she displayed to

* Journal de Paris, under date, Bourdeaux, April 2d, 1815.

† Authentic Narrative published by a person in her suite.

cause Frenchmen to fight against each other,"* in other words to recall them to a sense of their duty. It was in vain—they remained unmoved at this interesting appeal. They remained frozen—some of them assured her that they would offer her no personal violence; some that they would not fight against the soldiers of Napoleon; and others, more ferocious, who had not been thawed since their return from Russia, that they would fire upon the national guards, who remained faithful to her. On a few countenances among the soldiers were depicted sorrow; but these were few in number. The great body remained insensible at the tears of pity and indignation, which their odious conduct drew from the eyes of the daughter of their murdered Sovereign. Having visited all the barracks and found them all *frozen*, the Princess perceived there was no longer any dependance upon either Officers or troops, nor any further hopes of defending Bourdeaux, except at the expense of the lives of the inhabitants, and perhaps of the destruction of the city. This she wished to avoid, and though the people did it with reluctance, she obtained a promise from them that they would make no farther resistance, and preserve order in the city. This accomplished, she began to think of her retreat from the place. She, however, refused to leave it till she found most of her friends were safe. The Prefect and the Mayor had already conveyed her baggage and military chest to Pouillac lower down the River, where preparations were made for her to embark. The troops in the garrison had already hoisted the tri-coloured flag. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 1st April, this unfortunate Princess took her departure from Bourdeaux; and through a mournful silence and general lamentation, not "loud but deep," she passed through the city and embarked at Pouillac, in the midst of a dark and rainy night, in a boat which conveyed her down the river to an English sloop of war which had been prepared in haste for her protection; and under that flag, which never waved over treason or disgrace, she was soon wafted beyond the reach of Napoleon's hate and Jacobinical ferocity. General Decaen was in the city, but he made no exertions—he fled

* Journal de Paris, under date, Bourdeaux, April 2d, 1815.

or appeared to fly upon the approach of the Imperial troops; charged by an indignant population with treason, and no doubt most justly. Next morning General Clausel entered Bourdeaux without opposition; where, at length, said the audacious editor of the Journal de Paris, "the inhabitants *breathed the air of liberty*, after groaning under oppression for a whole year. The oppression was unexempled since the arrival of the *furious woman*, whose sweetness of temper the foolish Journalists had applauded so highly."* The coarse nature of these unmerited reflections and aspersions, was sufficient of themselves to shew the "*furious*" school from whence they sprung; and could at this moment, or indeed at any moment, only have been bestowed upon this illustrious Princess, by one of those men whose barbarous and unfeeling hands had immured her tender years in the horrible Parisian dungeons of liberty and equality, within whose precincts mercy never dwelt, and humanity was unknown; by those lips whose hands had murdered the father and mother, and corrupted the youthful mind of the innocent brother, bringing him up in every species of iguorance and debauchery. "Young Capet," said a member to the Convention, "improves fast in the principles of Liberty and Equality—he swears," said he, "as well as the best Sans Culotte amongst them." Such were the unfeeling lips, perhaps the very same which now cast forth their venom against the untarnished reputation of the Duchess de Angouleme. From the Garonne this Princess went to Spain, from whence she soon after removed to England, the secure refuge of oppressed innocence and worth.

While these things were going on at Bourdeaux, the Duke de Angouleme had arrived at Nismes, where he learned the rapid advance of Bonaparte, and defection of the troops to him. Assembling the national guards, and some regiments who yet remained faithful, he penetrated into Provence, and marched upon Lyons, where a strong party favoured the Bourbon cause. In this operation he was cordially seconded by the loyal population of Marseilles, many of whom volunteered their

* Journal de Paris, under date, Bourdeaux, April 2d, 1815.

services, and followed his standard. They also at the same time offered a large reward for the head of Bonaparte. But all their efforts, as well as the efforts of all the people of the surrounding provinces, were rendered of no avail, by the treacherous and designing conduct of Massena, who held the chief command in that quarter. This man, though like the others, professing the greatest friendship for the Bourbons, paralized all the efforts of their friends and took only such measures as could injure their cause. He neither made any exertions himself, nor would he allow any other to do so; under the pretence of preventing the internal tranquillity of the country, from being disturbed. He was as yet too wise to declare himself openly for Bonaparte; because he was surrounded by a loyal population, who, if aroused to despair by his openly abandoning their cause, would have crushed him and his troops before any reenforcements could have come to his assistance. Accordingly he remained quiet; and under the mask of befriending the Bourbons, he was secretly undermining their cause. Nor did the inhabitants suspect his treachery, till it was too late. The Duke de Angouleme continued to advance up the Rhone, and at Montelimart came in contact with some of the Revolutionary forces, which after some skirmishing he forced to abandon the place, from whence he continued his march upon Valence, a city about 50 miles from Lyons. At Lyons, great alarm prevailed amongst the partizans of the Usurper; and the friends of the Bourbons began to raise their heads. Alarmed, however, at this spreading of disaffection, and the advance of the Duke de Angouleme towards the important city of Lyons, Bonaparte dispatched General Grouchy, him who massacred the innocent inhabitants of Madrid, to assume the command in that place. The troops which formed part of Ney's army, also marched to that point; and all the national guards, and gens-de-armes of the districts, known to be of the old revolutionary principles, and decided enemies of the Bourbons, were called out to arrest the progress of the Prince. Grouchy, having arrived at Lyons, issued, on the 4th of April, a proclamation, calling upon them to resist the intrigues and arms of a few thousand disaffected men in the South; and at the same time informed them, that a formidable force, both of regulars and na-

tional guards, was advancing to protect them. From Lyons, he marched with a considerable force in front of the Duke's army, while, at the same time, the national guards of Dauphiny, and other places came upon his rear. Thus situated, the Duke no sooner came in contact with the Imperial troops, than the troops of the line abandoned him, and joined the standards of the Emperor. The national guards and Marseillois volunteers with him, perceiving themselves betrayed and abandoned, and being without hopes of opposing the force rolling against them, though they did so with regret and reluctance, dispersed, and endeavoured to save themselves; while the Duke de Angouleme, surrounded, and without any prospect of relief, was obliged to capitulate to Grouchy, which he did upon conditions that he should be allowed to retire from the country without molestation. Bonaparte hearing of these conditions, ordered him to be arrested, and conducted, like a criminal, to Cette, where he was embarked on board of a Swedish vessel, which soon landed him at Barcelona, from whence he proceeded to Madrid. Before his embarkation, Bonaparte caused Grouchy extort from him a promise, that all the crown jewels, carried off by the King, should be restored; which the Duke engaged to perform, as far as he was able, but which, he hinted, he had little chance to succeed in; as he would not, and was not authorised, on account of his own personal safety, to make any such arrangement; nor if he did, was the King bound to agree thereto. In fact, the King paid no attention to this unjust demand, inadmissible in itself, and more so from being extorted at the point of the bayonet, under a direct violation of a solemn convention. But when was Bonaparte or his adherents known to pay any attention to their promises or their oaths? The embarkation of the Duke de Angouleme crushed, for the moment, the spirit of resistance in the South. One place after another hoisted the tricoloured flag. Thoulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, Toulon, did so; and, lastly, Marseilles, after much confusion and some resistance. But though reduced by an armed force, under the domination of Bonaparte, the greatest discontent reigned amongst the mass of the population in the South. It is true, that the national guards, in general, endeavoured to prevent the success of the Bourbon cause; but this, perhaps, proceeded not so much

from any particular hatred against them, and affection for Bonaparte, as from the wish to prevent a civil war, in which they dreaded the re-action of the populace, who were without property, as most of themselves at the commencement of the revolution were, and in which commotions, had these taken place, they were afraid that they might lose the property which they possessed. Hence their wish not so much to oppose the Bourbon interest, as to secure the internal tranquillity of the country, and to prevent the inhabitants from taking up arms against each other; knowing, as they well did, how fearful would be the consequences of civil broils. Massena now threw off the mask, when he saw that such assistance was nigh as would enable him to overawe the Marseillois; and accordingly, he published a flaming proclamation, acknowledging the authority of the Emperor, whom he always worshipped in his heart; and, at the same time, took great merit to himself for having preserved, the valuable port of Toulon, and the important city of Marseilles, to the Emperor. The submission of this latter place was celebrated with a discharge of 100 pieces of cannon, and great rejoicings amongst the Bonapartists all over France; as they fondly conceived that this event was the end of civil commotions, and the perfect establishment of their government; and, accordingly, they were not slow to dun it into the ears of the people of Europe.

Hitherto I have forborne making any mention of the affairs of Italy. But it is now time to turn our attention to the affairs of that interesting country. Previous to the return of Napoleon from Elba, the French press teemed with accounts of discontent, insurrections, and massacres of the Austrian troops in that country. Subsequent to that event, they doubled their diligence in that avocation, so congenial to their minds. In this they had two objects in view: namely, to impress upon the minds of the nations of Europe, that they had so many friends in Italy, that in case of a war it would be easy for them to overrun that country; and next to shew that with Italy overrun or disaffected, Austria could render no effectual assistance to the grand coalition. That France had many friends in Italy, cannot admit of a doubt; and that these might be anxious to make a movement in her favour, and commence it

by a massacre of the Austrian troops, and their opponents, is extremely probable. The adherents of France, in all countries, were men of that stamp who gloried in such measures, and followed these from the instinctive ferocity of their disposition. The vigilance, however, of the Austrian Generals, disconcerted all such attempts, and prevented the execution of any such plans; which it was generally observable that the press of Paris, as the true centre of the evil, and the fountain-head of such information, frequently only anticipated. It was evident, however, that commotions in that quarter were approaching. Murat, for some time, had been very busy in augmenting and organizing his army. The Austrian troops were increasing in Italy; and after the escape of Napoleon from Elba, received still more numerous re-enforcements. It was insinuated by the friends of Murat, and the enemies of the Bourbons, that, at their suggestion, Congress was about to deprive the former of the kingdom of Naples, and restore it to its ancient Sovereign. Every endeavour was made to impress upon the minds of the nations of Europe the injustice of this proceeding, and to create an interest in favour of Murat. This was particularly engaged in by the opposition party in Britain, who adopt the cause of any one, when by it they can embarass the measures of ministry, throw odium upon their name, and tarnish the reputation of their country. In defence of Murat they embarked with alacrity; and never doubting his honour, or the honour of his agents, they were so proud of having obtained a tangible accusation against the British Cabinet, and a deed to expose the imbecility and injustice of the despots at Vienna, as they loved to describe them, that they overlooked the source from whence they obtained their information, and accordingly their zeal in their new avocation led them into an aukward scrape. But to such things they had, of late, been pretty much accustomed. Official documents, all on one side of the question, now made their appearance with a most astonishing rapidity, in the columns of the Journal, acknowledged as the organ of the party; all complaining bitterly of the injustice of the proceedings of Britain and her allies, against the brave and the honourable Murat. With such perseverance was this subject continued, that the public began to

blame, with severity, the conduct of the Congress, as it related to this personage. Having thus made a considerable impression on the public mind, they collected all their strength, and determined to come to close quarters with their ministerial opponents, in which contest their vanity and security anticipated a signal triumph on their part. They accordingly brought the business, in a very serious manner, before both Houses of Parliament. The attack was in the tactics of Napoleon himself. They broke with their collected strength upon the centre of the array of their opponents, whom they hoped to cut in two, and make their victory complete and decisive. But their ground was badly chosen, and the position of their antagonists impregnable. The attack consequently failed. They were foiled with disgrace and shame; and, like Napoleon, retired, for a while, to a rock in the middle of the sea, in order to recruit their scattered forces, and recover their spirits.* In the House of Lords, the matter was brought forward by Lord Grey, who contended that Murat had discharged, in the campaign of 1814, the duty imposed on him by the treaty with Austria, which guaranteed to him his kingdom, and which was acceded to by this country. "His co-operation and assistance," said Lord Grey, "had greatly relieved Austria from the pressure she experienced at that time in Italy. He had cleared the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Ecclesiastical States, of the French armies."† But in what manner did he do it, and for what purpose? This was important to know. Lord Liverpool informed us, that Murat, at that moment, was actually in communication with the enemy. That upon the arrival of Lord Castlereagh, at Vienna, a memorial on the part of Murat was given in by his minister the Duke of Campo Chiaro, stating his service, but which memorial was referred to the Austrian General Nugent, who had made out a long report on its merits, and "on the whole circumstances of the campaign, in which that able officer stated, that Murat had not only not cordially co-operated with the Austrian army, but

* After this debate, they continued to nibble about Elba, and its illustrious Sovereign.

† Lord Grey's speech, May 2d, 1815.

had broken the engagements which he had entered into."* Not relying on this evidence, however, Lord Castlereagh sent the whole documents to Lord William Bentinck, "who made a report *entirely* confirming that of General Nugent; and stating, that he had no doubt of Murat's having been in communication with the enemy during the whole of the operations." And further, that as to the co-operation of Murat, Lord William Bentinck even doubted whether the common cause would not have been better promoted without it."† These officers, who were upon the spot, were certainly the best judges of all these circumstances. In the House of Commons, however, the arguments and facts took a much stronger turn. The business was there brought forward by Mr. Horner, who, after all the broad and daring charges, which, in the absence of Lord Castlereagh, he had from time to time brought against the executive government, now that this noble personage was present, endeavoured to evade the debate, by submitting to the House whether it would not be "more consonant to the wise and established practice of the Legislature, on the emergency of a new war, to communicate those papers (which he wanted) by a message from the throne, acquainting Parliament with that event, and referring it to the documents, as explanatory of the causes which led to it. He would also suggest, that if the papers were to be granted without opposition, the feelings of the House would be better consulted by foregoing in the present state of the question, all statement or discussion on the subject."‡ This, no doubt, was the proper course; but the Honourable Gentleman had, with his eyes open, chosen another; and after enforcing and insisting upon it, as the proper course, he could not be allowed to retract. Accordingly Lord Castlereagh said, that "he could not avoid feeling surprise at what had fallen from the Honourable Gentleman. He had conceived that those who sat on the opposite side of the House had, long since, considered themselves to be in possession of information sufficient to warrant them in charging his Majesty's government with an

* Lord Liverpool's speech, May 2d, 1815. † Do. do.

‡ Mr. Horner's speech, do. do.

unqualified breach of faith, (*hear, hear!*) An Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. Whitbread) had very recently declared, in terms the *most decided*, that he had at length conclusive grounds for ascribing to ministers a breach of faith, and a gross violation of their duty." The noble Lord proceeded to express his surprise that those who had so long ago "criminated the proceedings of Government, and of our Allies, in the general arrangements adopted for the settlement of Europe, should not now be prepared to support their accusations;" and, that as "he had come down to the House in discharge of his duty, to meet the discussion of charges preferred in his absence, so he expected that the Honourable Gentleman would not shrink from a contest which he himself had provoked."*

This keen, but just, observation provoked the patriotic anger of Mr. Horner; and after a panegyric upon his own Parliamentary boldness and consistency, he endeavoured to triumph over his opponents, by informing the noble Lord that "he had it in his power to embarass ministers in that House, by referring to papers which had been already laid before the other House of Parliament."† The public had already been sufficiently informed by them that such was the case; and what they now wanted to see was these documents so much talked of. Compelled, therefore, to come to the point, Mr. Horner, in a long speech, contended that Murat had been most unjustly dealt with, and that he was entitled to retain his kingdom, in reward for the services rendered the allies, and by virtue of the treaties concluded with him, which he, on his part, had not violated. Murat, said he, "had hitherto fulfiled all his engagements." He contended, that the policy of this country was to secure the alliance of Murat, who was most anxious to form such a connexion, and ready to enter into the most favourable stipulations. Except this, there was nothing very remarkable in his speech, which only abounded in daring accusations against the ministers of his country, founded upon disjointed statements and references, and a conviction

* Lord Castlereagh's speech, May 2d, 1815.

† Mr. Horner's, do. do.

on his mind that Murat was right, and Britain and her allies completely wrong. Lord Castlereagh, however, put a very different face upon affairs. He shewed the House that the treaty with Murat was acceded to on the part of Great Britain, upon the express conditions that Murat should procure indemnities for the King of Sicily, and act cordially and vigorously against Bonaparte. Murat, however, refused to acknowledge the first stipulation mentioned; and it was upon the earnest solicitations of Austria, not to sacrifice the general policy for the sake of individual interests, that Great Britain agreed to the negotiation, stipulating that Ferdinand should receive indemnities in some other quarter. He stated that no improper suspicions of Murat's conduct had been taken up by him; but that, on the contrary, he had endeavoured to do away the well grounded fears of Lord William Bentinck against him. "All his arguments were thrown into the scale in favour of Murat," even when Lord William Bentinck informed him that the whole talk of Murat's officers was, that Italy should be united, and Murat placed at its head.* Murat had not honourably fulfiled his engagements to the allies, but was waiting the chances of the war, in order to throw his strength into the scale of the strongest power; but that if Murat had fulfiled these conditions, then his claim would have been acknowledged, and, in a particular manner, supported by Britain; but that having failed in his engagements, the fate of Naples was very properly left to the decision of Congress. After detailing to the House documents similar to those which Lord Liverpool had brought forward in the upper House, and stating that General Nugent had not only made out a complete case "of military inactivity, on the part of Murat, but of a most skilful management of his troops to defeat the objects which had been agreed upon by the allies;" his Lordship proceeded to produce still more damning evidence against him, consisting of correspondence between Bonaparte and himself and his wife, together with letters to the Viceroy, and from Fouche to the Emperor, which left no doubt of the duplicity and treachery of Murat in the cause of the allies.

* See Murat's first proclamation last year, and his first this year, as a complete confirmation of this important fact.

As these documents are a remarkable instance of French perfidy, I shall be more particular with them than I would otherwise have been. In the first, from the Princess Borghese to Bonaparte, dated Lucca, February 14th, she says, "the King of Naples is in great agitation. He is astonished that the Viceroy should have retired from the banks of the Adige, and hopes that he has not forgotten the benefits he had received from your Majesty." The second was from Bonaparte to the Queen of Naples, dated Nangis, February 17th, when the retreat of the allied armies made him conceive better hopes of his fortune. "Your husband (said he) is a brave man in the field; but more cowardly than a woman when he has been a month from the field. He has no *moral* courage. He should know that what he has he only holds by me, and with me. He quitted the army without orders, and ever since he has been doing me as much mischief as he could. I may, however, yet pardon him. Recal him to a sense of his duty, and let him watch for a favourable moment to shew me that he is not as ungrateful as he has been pusillanimous." The next was in a letter from Fouche to Bonaparte, dated Lucca, February 18th, wherein he says, that "the King, (Murat) is sick with grief: that he felt thoroughly the circumstances in which he was placed, and that the English and Austrians reproached him with too much attachment to his Imperial Majesty." The fourth document was a letter from Beauharnois to Bonaparte, dated 28th February, wherein he says, that "he had the strongest hopes that the King of Naples would not add to the wrongs he had been guilty of to his Imperial Majesty, by firing at his troops." The fifth document was a letter from the French Consul at Ancona, wrote about the same period, wherein he informs the Emperor, "that the King of Naples informed him that necessity alone compelled him to join the allies. He said it was agreed that his army was never to fight against Frenchmen." The next document was a letter from Bonaparte to Murat, wrote after his victories over Blucher and the Austrians in February 1814. In this he says, "I still rely upon your contrition to repair the faults you have been guilty of. If it should turn out otherwise, you may repent it. I hope you are not one of

those who think the lion is dead, (et que l'on peut pisser sur lui,) and that they might p— upon him. You have done me all the harm you could, ever since you left the army at Wilna. The title of King has turned your head. What you have written to me is at variance with your actions. I shall see by your conduct at Ancona whether your heart is truly French. Recollect that the kingdom you possess is only yours for the benefit of those who gave it you. I made you a King only for the benefit of my system." From these documents it was very evident in what a situation Murat stood, with regard to the allies. In short, continued his Lordship, it was the intention of Murat to get possession of all Italy, South of the Po; and he even demanded this of Bonaparte, who treated it with contempt, on which account alone he closed with the offers of the allies. But, said his Lordship, "if Murat had acted fairly in the common cause, his claim to the kingdom of Naples would have been supported, not only by this country, but by Austria, Russia, and Prussia. There would then never have been a question about whether there had been a regular treaty entered into with him or not." At the time Napoleon escaped from Elba, his conduct was such that it was evident he was connected with that plan; and upon his arrival at Paris, Murat assumed the title of Joachim Napoleon, which he had voluntarily dropped; placed his troops in a situation where they could be of service to the cause of Napoleon, and demanded from the Austrian government a passage through the Austrian States in Italy for 80,000 men, whom he pretended he was marching against the French government, (the Bourbons.) After enumerating this overwhelming mass of evidence, his Lordship concluded, by stating, that "the information of the Honourable Gentleman who had made these charges, appeared to have been drawn from the secret official sources of other countries, which were not the *most creditable;* and he hoped it would prove a salutary lesson to the Honourable Members on that side of the House, which would make them, in future, more cautious of bringing forward accusations to calumniate the Government, on authority so weak and inefficient; and abstain from bringing forward their attacks on ministers, till they could fairly try the question."

Thus ended for the moment, the opposition bubble of serious charges, and misconduct on the part of Ministers. They were struck dumb, and unable to answer these explicit facts, till the ingenuity of their worthy co-adjutor the Moniteur devised a plan, by which they might overset, in the minds of the thoughtless, the evidences produced, and re-establish their character for early, interesting, and important information.—This paper boldly denied the authenticity of the letters written by Bonaparte, and stated the chief passages to have been forgeries, done by Count de Blacas minister and favourite of Louis XVIII. This was an expedient Mr. Horner never once thought of. However, Bonaparte, through the medium of the Moniteur, fearlessly pronounced the chief points in his letters, a fabrication; the other parts were acknowledged to be wrote by himself, but on a totally different subject. With that hypocritical cant, which he was so capable of assuming when knavery was in view, he hoped Lord Castlereagh had not used them, *knowing* them to be false—but that he must have been the dupe of intrigue; and then gave vent to his indignation in the following contemptuous insinuation: "But after all this, what can be said of a Minister so easily imposed upon in matters so grave?" The general opinion was, that his Lordship was capable of decyphering French diplomacy; and they regarded him accordingly. But let us examine attentively this accusation made by the Moniteur, that these important and silencing documents were forgeries. The first letter cited by Lord Castlereagh, said the Moniteur, and dated Nangis, the 17th February, instead of running as there expressed, began with these words, "The King quitted the army on the 16th," and continued, "Your husband is a brave man," &c. This letter was said to have been one which the Emperor wrote to the Queen of Naples, from Fontainbleau the 24th January, 1813, after the disastrous Russian Campaign. The next letter was without a date, but, from its contents, evidently wrote after the battle of Montmirail, &c. instead of running as Lord Castlereagh stated, "shall say nothing of my dissatisfaction at your conduct," &c. was asserted to be the delapidated copy of a letter from the Emperor to the King of Naples, dated Fontainbleau the 26th January, 1813, and running by a *minute* in their possession thus: "I shall say

nothing of my dissatisfaction at the course of conduct you have pursued, since I left the army," and which passage the Moniteur asserted, clearly marked the departure of the Emperor from the army after the Russian Campaign. With regard to these daring assertions and impudent falsehoods, a few things escaped the memory of the Editor of the Moniteur and his master. In the first place, we had only his assertions *that the letters he produced were genuine*, and his character for veracity was not very remarkable. In the next place he would have done well to have considered what conduct Murat could have pursued, which could have given offence in the command of an army entrusted to his charge at Smorgonie, which consisted of frozen wretches incapable of either resistance or flight. If he saved himself it was the utmost that could be expected by any ordinary calculations. Next, on the 16th January, he resigned the command of the army to the Viceroy, by the express command of the Emperor, because "the latter was more accustomed to the measures of a grand administration."* The news from the French armies, did not at that time travel with unusual rapidity, for very obvious reasons. Posen is 900 miles from Paris; and if the account of what passed there on the 16th, reached the latter place on the 26th, it was as quick as the usual expedition of travelling. Upon referring to the columns of the same Moniteur, we find that it was exactly on the afternoon of the 26th that this intelligence did reach Paris, and was inserted in the Moniteur of the 27th. Thus the Emperor could not know on the 24th of this event, and besides if we can believe the Moniteur, he was not on any of the above days at Fontainbleau, but at Paris, consequently the Moniteur was the sole fabricator. The next letter is that dated the 7th March, 1814, at least the date assigned to it, which was quoted thus, "You are surrounded by people who hate France, and who seek to ruin you; I have given you many warnings. All that you write to me is at variance with your deeds," &c. This letter it was asserted was a falsification of one wrote by the Emperor to Murat, dated Compeigne, 30th August, 1811, and

* Moniteur, January 27th, 1813.

which could not contain those passages, "continue to correspond with the Viceroy. I shall see by your conduct at Ancona whether your heart be really French," &c.; but with all due deference, how could a letter wrote to Murat in August, 1811, inform him that he was surrounded by enemies. Who or where were they—at a moment, when the whole Continent of Europe was the humble and peaceable slave of Bonaparte, and Italy more than any other country. Such was the barefaced attempt of the French Emperor, to invalidate these important documents, on which he seemed to conceive the whole proof rested. The other four, equally important and conclusive, were passed over in silence. Count Blacas, at any rate, could not falsify them; and they were alone sufficient to establish the points in dispute. But to render the matter stronger, the French Ministers contrived to insert a letter purporting to be from Lord Wellington to Count de Blacas, dated Paris, January 4th, 1815, in which the former states that he returned *the papers* which the latter had left with him, and which in his opinion "contained no proofs against Murat. They only shew that he espoused a side against his will," &c. What papers these were thus shewn to Lord Wellington, we cannot tell—the Moniteur, of course, insinuates that these were the same as those afterwards produced by Lord Castlereagh; yet bold as he was, the editor does not venture to state pointedly that they were so. These absurd accusations, however, strange as they were, afforded Mr. Horner, and that side of the House, an opportunity to renew their charges against the Minister; but these were as unsuccessful as the other; and they were compelled to relinquish the defence of Murat, and the Moniteur, with shame and disgrace.

Murat aware that his perfidy was become the object of consideration by the Congress, and also of what was going on in Elba, took measures to meet both. He augmented his military means with great energy, and procured a force of one description or another, which exceeded 100,000 men, 80,000 of which was disposable. But as the maintainance of this force was beyond the means of the Kingdom of Naples, Murat was compelled to precipitate his measures. In this, however, he

was guided by his usual hypocrisy and cunning. Under pretence of a quarrel with France, he, about the middle of February, had the audacity to demand a passage through Middle Italy, and through the Austrian States in Upper Italy, for an army of 80,000 men. "Such a strange proposal was rejected with a suitable admonition."* At the same time France assured Austria, that she had no hostile views against either the one or the other. Austria perceived, however, that precaution on her part was absolutely necessary, and accordingly sent very large re-enforcements of troops to her Italian dominions. Murat thus defeated in his strange views, perceived that the favourable moment was not yet arrived, and accordingly "withheld the declaration," † he intended to publish. That period, however, approached. On the 5th March the news of Napoleon's escape became publicly known at Naples; where it no doubt had been secretly anticipated and expected for some time. "The King immediately sent for his Imperial Majesty's ambassador, and declared to him that he was and should remain inviolably faithful to the system of the alliance. He renewed the same declaration to the Cabinets of Austria and England. At the same time he sent his Aid-de-camp, Count de Beaufremont to France, with the commission to look for Bonaparte, and to *assure him of his* support. Scarcely was the news of Napoleon's entry into Lyons, received at Naples, when he formally declared to the Court of Rome, *that he considered the cause of Napoleon as his own, and would now prove it to him, that it had never been foreign to him.*"‡ At the same time he demanded from the Pope, a free passage through his territories for two divisions of his army, which was refused and protested against. But this was all the Pope could do. On the 8th April, the Neapolitan Ministers at Vienna gave in a note to the Congress, assuring that assembly of the friendly disposition of their master, and of his unalterable wish, never to separate himself from Austria; but stating that altered circumstances, and his own safety, required him to increase his forces.

* Austrian declaration, Vienna, April 12th, 1815.

† Do. do. do. ‡ Do. do. do.

In this manner he continued making professions to the allies, and at the same time carrying on negotiations with Bonaparte, till his army was completely ready to take the field. His conduct, therefore, in whatever point of view we take it, was most infamous. It shewed the justness of Bonaparte's answer, that he was "destitute of moral courage;" or unfit firmly either to do good or to follow evil, but as his own interest or safety directed him. It justified that severe but accurate accusation made against him and his friends by the Austrian Cabinet, namely, that "Moderation and good faith are words without meaning in the eyes of the Princes of the new French dynasty."*

Of this most important truth, the powers of Europe were now too well convinced, to be any longer deceived by their conduct. Austria continued to augment her troops in Italy, and to be prepared for any alternative. Her force was fast augmenting to 150,000 men, and the utmost vigilance was displayed by the active and able officers entrusted with the command, in that country. At length the moment arrived when the true intentions of Murat were to be discovered. The arrival of Bonaparte in Paris was the signal for him to advance. He put his army in motion, and violating the territories of a neutral power, against whom he had not, and never pretended to have, any complaint; his troops passed through the States of the Church in two divisions, the one keeping along the west coast by Rome, and the other the east coast by Ancona. With this force, altogether about 80,000 strong, he took the road for Upper Italy. All doubt of his real intentions were now at an end. "The King of Naples," said Bellegarde, "at last throwing off the mask, which saved him at a most dangerous period, without declaration of war, for which he was unable to assign any just motive, against the faith of his treaties with Austria, to which alone he owes his political existence, threatens again with his armies the tranquillity of this fine Italy; and not satisfied with introducing all the plagues of war, he endeavours every where to lighten up, under the pretence of Italian independence, the devastating fire of the

* Austrian declaration, Vienna, April 12th, 1815.

Revolution, which formerly smoothed for him the road to pass from the obscurity of private life, to the splendour of a throne. He wishes under the specious ideas of natural limits, to present to all the Italians the phantom of a Kingdom, of which he cannot even fix the capital; because nature has fixed with separate limits, separate Governments to the different portions of Italy."* In the declaration published by Murat he does not attempt to deny any one of the accusations against him. He boldly takes his ground on the intentions attributed to him, and the actions said in the Austrian declaration to be committed by him, "Italians," said he, "the moment is come when *great destinies* must be accomplished. Providence calls you at last to be an independent people. One cry echoes from the Alps to the strait of Scylla—*the independence of Italy.* What right have *strangers* to rob you of your independence, the first right and blessing of all people? What right have they to carry off your sons, to make them serve, languish, and die, far from the tombs of your fathers? Let every Foreign domination disappear from the soil of Italy. Formerly masters of the world, you have expiated that *fatal glory*, by a servitude of twenty centuries. Let it now be your glory to have masters no longer. Every people must keep within the limits fixed to it by nature. The sea and inaccessible mountains, these are your frontiers. Eighty thousand Italians of Naples, hasten to you under the command of their King, they swear never to rest until Italy be free; and *they have proved more than once, that they know how to keep their oaths.* Italians of all countries! Second their magnanimous wish. The enlightened men of all countries, the nations which are worthy of a liberal Government, the Princes who are distinguished by the greatness of their character, will rejoice in your enterprise, will applaud your triumphs. England! can she refuse you her suffrage?"†

I consider it unnecessary to quote farther from this document, in order to shew the views of Murat. They were chiefly those which looked forward to his own interests: but at the same time

* Bellegarde's proclamation, Milan, April 5th, 1815.

† Murat's proclamation, Rimini, March 31st, 1815.

while by kindling a flame in Italy, he promoted this, he divided the energies of Austria, and covered a most vulnerable, and as it concerned Napoleon, a dangerous part of the French frontier in the South; thereby seconding, to the utmost of his power, the views and intentions of his relation. It is probable that the latter personage laughed at present the attempt of Murat, in endeavouring to make himself Sovereign of all Italy, which he had formerly treated with such contempt; but at present he encouraged him to proceed, as it was of the utmost importance to him, in his present situation; and knowing, as he well did, that if he was successful over the European coalition, that he would quickly undo all that Murat had done, and teach him again that he had only made him a King, in furtherance of part of his system. It was part of the principles taught by the French Revolution, to pervert the human understanding, and call wrong right, and to glory in that profession. If this had not been the case, could Murat, without a blush of shame, have spoken of strangers and foreigners robbing Italy of her independence; who was himself a foreigner, sprung from a nation notorious in Italy for their oppression and for their crimes. Could any thing but those feelings which remained *steeled* at the horrors of the Berezina, call upon them to remember those foreigners, who carried off their sons to serve, languish, and die, far from the tombs of their fathers. How bitter the reproof—how just the censure here passed against Napoleon's ambition, and Murat's servility? though levelled by the perverted judgment and ambition of the latter against a different object. Is it possible to hear with patience him talk of Italian independence, who, but a short time before, first offered to Austria and then to Napoleon to assist in dismembering and dividing her. After the glorious victory of Leipsic decided the fate of Europe, Murat again came forward to renew his offers to join the European alliance, which he had upon the formidable appearance of Bonaparte in the spring retracted from. "He caused his army to advance, and proposed to Austria the partition of Italy."* When this was refused on the part of Austria, he

* Austrian declaration, Vienna, April 12th, 1815.

then made the offer to Bonaparte, who treated it with "*contempt.*" Surely then "Moderation and good faith were words without a meaning, in the eyes of the Princes of the new French dynasty." Yet this was the man whom the Opposition in Britain delighted to honour—with whom they asserted, that it was prudent and safe to treat; and who they averred had been most unjustly treated and hardly dealt with. In recalling to the minds of the Italians, the days of their former renown, Murat inadvertently held up a picture appalling to every reflecting mind, which in either Italy or in France, would stop to contemplate it. Might not the fate of Italy be that of France, as the pursuits of both had been similar, only the conduct of the former was less destructive and atrocious, compared to the duration of her power, than what that of the latter had been. "Providence," said he, "calls you at last to be an independent nation." How different were the decrees of the Almighty? The fate of the Italian Empire was drawn in terrible colours by His Spirit to His servant in ancient times, and which 2000 years have but served to verify and to confirm. By the decrees of him whose arms swept the seat of the first *Beast* or tyrannic Empire, "with the besom of destruction," was the power of the fourth *Beast*, or still more terrible Tyranny, divided into Ten States, and the next great political oppression which succeeded these, "slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame."* Thus it was to be totally destroyed and consumed, and the parts that formerly composed its political frame, no human power is able to unite any more. When we look at Italy how strictly is this fulfiled? When we remember her crimes and her oppression, how justly is the decree applied? Overrun and divided by one nation after another, she remains after a lapse of fifteen centuries, a terrible beacon to every nation and people, who pursue the line of conduct that she did, that their fate must be similar to hers. The counsels and the strength of man, will in vain attempt to restore what unerring Justice has, as an independent State, thus delivered over to decay and to ruin.

"The moment is come," said Murat, "when *great destinies* must be accomplished." It was so. The sword was once more

* Daniel vii. 8, 11, 24, 26.

unsheathed—the fairest part of Europe was again to be deluged with blood; and punishment most severe and exemplary was ready to fall on the heads of the guilty. Immediately after issuing the proclamation already mentioned, Murat advanced from Rimini with the main body of his army, consisting of upwards of 40,000 men, and took the road by Ravenna and Bologna, towards Mantua and Milan. The remainder of his army marched from Rome, from whence the Pope had already fled and taken refuge in Genoa, and advanced into the territories of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This part of the Neapolitan force was opposed by that active and intelligent officer, General Nugent. Bellegarde commanded at Milan, as the Viceroy of the Emperor's Italian dominions; and that brave officer, General Frimont, was intrusted with the chief command of the army destined to oppose Murat. Under his orders acted General Bianchi, and other intelligent officers. Hostilities first commenced on the 30th, by an attack upon the advanced posts of the Austrian army, stationed at Cesena. The Austrian Generals, who had orders not to engage against a vast superiority in numbers, fell back as the Neapolitans advanced. They accordingly retreated towards the main body of their forces, which were assembling by General Frimont, at Casal Maggiore, and Piadena. Murat continued to advance in a rapid manner, entering Bologna, and compelling the Duke of Modena to leave his capital and take refuge in the Austrian States. On the 4th April, a serious contest, considering the numbers engaged, took place on the Tanaro, the passage of which the Neapolitans attempted to force, and to cut off the retreat of General Bianchi. In this attack they were repulsed with considerable loss; and General Bianchi succeeded in securing his retreat; and "according to his orders, took his position behind the canal of Bentiveglio, and in the *tete du pont* of Bogoforte, on the Po."* The Austrian loss on this occasion was "*inconsiderable*," while the French Journals magnified the affair into a great victory, and swelled the Austrian loss to "4 or 5000 men."† On the 8th, Murat advanced to the Po, and

* Austrian report, Vienna, April 12th, 1815.

† Moniteur, April 19th and 20th, 1815.

attempted to force the passage of that river at Ochio Bella. After repeated assaults upon the *tête du pont*, he was repulsed "with considerable loss," and compelled to relinquish his object. This was the extreme point of Murat's advance, and the crisis of his fate. The Austrian Generals had now concentrated and assembled their forces, and found themselves in a situation to commence offensive operations against their rash opponent. Like his master, on other occasions, confident of success, he had advanced too far. He had calculated upon a general rising in Upper Italy, and therefore pushed on to take advantage of it. But notwithstanding all his magnificent promises, nothing of this kind took place; and if any thing of the kind had been intended, the prudence and vigilance of the Austrian commanders entirely frustrated it. Disappointed in his expectations of this assistance, Murat found himself under the necessity of adopting another line of conduct than he had calculated upon, and very different to what, only ten days before, he had anticipated. In his rapid advance to the Po, he had calculated upon decisive success on the part of his army detached against General Nugent, from the assistance which the disaffected in Tuscany would afford to him. Nugent, however, very prudently yielded to the torrent which rolled against him; and retiring from Florence without any material loss, suffered the enemy to enjoy a temporary triumph in the occupation of it. By that means he not only secured his communication with the other Austrian armies, and rendered it impossible for the Neapolitan army, which was acting against him, to penetrate from the Tuscan States into the territories of Genoa, where they calculated upon meeting friends; but also prevented Murat from throwing the army under his command between him and the Po, as the former intended. His army, being thus placed between two fires, Murat calculated upon the capture or destruction of Nugent's force, before any attempt could be made for his relief. In all this Murat was not only disappointed, by the wise measures of that General, but the Neapolitan in his turn was not only threatened with, but fell into a snare similar to that which he had contrived for his adversary.

It was curious to observe the sentiments and accounts pub-

lished in the different French Journals at this period. They evidently calculated upon decisive success on the part of Murat, and certainly attached the greatest importance to his operations. His advance was described in the most glowing and exaggerated colours. Every skirmish was magnified into the most signal and disastrous defeat, on the part of the Austrians. All Italy was described as rising in his favour. "The number of Italians," said one of these Journals, "already rallied round the standard of the King of Naples is estimated at 30,000."* "All the old Italian soldiers," said the Journal de Paris, "flock to his standard. All the little towns in Romagna have formed companies of old soldiers, whom they have armed and equipped at their own expense, and these are following the Neapolitans."† Parma and Placentia had yielded to his sway; and these accounts, in anticipation, described Milan as threatened, and all Piedmont in a ferment, anxious to hail their Neapolitan deliverers. Nor were they singular in these evil accounts and gloomy forebodings. These, though without any just foundation, were greedily hold laid of by the opposition party in Britain, in whose hands these things suffered no diminution of their terrors. It was haughtily predicted that the indignant Italians would arise as one man, join the Neapolitan standard, and not only drive the Austrians out of Italy, to which they contended they had no right, and which it was asserted they most cruelly oppressed; but that, with the assistance of an army from France, the former would there collect a force of near 200,000 men to menace the heart of the Austrian States, and compel that power to call forth all her resources and her energies for her own immediate safety, instead of assisting the grand coalition in invading France. Such were the prophecies of gloom and despondence; and such the sentiments of many, who could only see ruin upon all measures and all States who rose to counteract the deadly ambition of France. Again, however, they were most completely deceived and disappointed.

"An insurrection," said the Moniteur, "has broken out at Venice; and the Austrian General Chasteler has been killed by

* Paris, April 24th, 1815. † Do. do.

the people. We are assured that the King of Naples will be at Milan on the 12th; and that on the 15th, this Prince will review the troops of the Italian Independence."* Arrangements for all this may have been made and forwarded to Paris, but in this instance they had calculated without their host. No insurrection took place at Venice; and the King of Naples, before the 12th, had taken another road than that which led to Milan. Finding his attempts ineffectual to force the passage of the Po at Ochio Bello, the troops which were advancing by Reggio towards Parma, which places they had entered full of confidence, and thinking only on victory, were suddenly ordered to halt, and measure back their footsteps to Modena. The cause of this movement was the advance of the Austrians in every direction to act on the offensive. Nugent re-enforced, again advanced from Pistoja with 17,000 men, upon Florence, thus threatening to intercept the troops of the left wing of the army under Murat. Frimont and Bianchi, with the main body assembled near Mantua, crossed the Po, and bore upon his front with a numerous and well appointed army: while lower down the river, near Ferrara, another Austrian army crossed to the Southward and threw itself on his right flank, and was in direct march to throw itself in his rear, in the road to Rimini and Ancona, by which he advanced. Not a moment was to be lost. The Austrian armies, in terrible numbers, were thus marching on three sides to surround him; and not an arm was stretched out to assist the magnanimous wish of the Neapolitan. It was found that the people did not like a renewal of the scenes of 1797, when contributions and requisitions were the order of the day; and Murat could not carry on his operations without the aid of this measure, at all times indispensably necessary to the support of an army educated in the French school, and trained for the furtherance of French principles. Besides, the Neapolitans in general were cordially hated by the people in the Northern parts of Italy; and who had also the temerity to think that their Sovereign Prince, Murat, was a foreigner, because he was born at Cahors in France, and had spent the most of his life in the

* Moniteur, April 23d, 1815.

French army; and wasted the resources of his kingdom, when in seconding the views of his native country, he carried away the youth of Italy "to fight, languish, and die, far from the tombs of their fathers;" as was the case under his own eyes at the Nara, the Berezina, and at Leipsic. Thus situated, Murat began not to think of Milan, but of Naples. "Nowhere was the voice of one single commune raised in behalf of the King of Naples,"* notwithstanding his numerous proclamations, conceived in the most violent revolutionary spirit. It was asserted that the Austrian Government, at this moment, in concert with the allies, offered to guarantee the kingdom of Naples to Murat, if he desisted from hostilities and joined the coalition against France. These proposals, according to the French Journals, were sent by a courier to Murat, who, it was observed, upon perusing the dispatches, repeated several times, "*It is too late —Italy wishes to be free, and shall be free.*"† That proposals were made to Murat, he himself admits in his communication with the Austrian Generals when soliciting an armistice; but with the nature of these the public are unacquainted. The report was, that the allies would acknowledge him as Sovereign of Naples if he joined the confederacy against Napoleon.

The tables were, however, now turned against Murat. "By accounts from Italy," said the Moniteur, "we learn that General Nugent and the whole of his column were taken."‡ This was, no doubt, what they wished, but not what took place. General Nugent having retired upon Pistoja, was there re-enforced with a considerable force. The Neapolitan General, Pignatelli, followed him to that place, and made a general attack upon his position. After an obstinate contest, Pignatelli was defeated with great loss, and driven back upon Florence, which place he was compelled to abandon on the 13th, in great confusion. His loss in these operations was estimated at 3000 men. The Austrian army on this point, now 17,000 strong, and receiving daily re-enforcements, continued to follow him, without allowing him one moment's repose. Tuscany was delivered in as short a space of time as part of it had been overrun; and

* Vienna Gazette, April 15th, 1815. † Moniteur, Paris, April 26th.
‡ Do. do. April 24th.

the retreat of Murat, by Rome, was, by these measures, in great danger of being completely cut off, and which it was henceforward the great object of the Austrians to accomplish. Murat had no better success where he was himself stationed. After his repulse at Ochio Bello, the Austrians advanced; and on the 11th, General Bianchi attacked the Neapolitan force under General Pixe, stationed near Carpi, and after a severe engagement, he drove the Neapolitans into the town in great confusion, which it seems they at first resolved to defend. But preparations being made for assaulting the place, and a column of Austrian troops advancing at the same moment towards Quartirolo, in order to cut off their retreat, the Neapolitans abandoned the place and fled across the Secchia, pursued by the Austrian troops. In these operations the Neapolitans lost 500 prisoners, and an equal number killed and wounded; and in consequence of their defeat, General Carascosa, stationed at Modena with 8000 men, evacuated that place and retired behind the Tanaro. The advanced guard of General Bianchi immediately afterwards entered that city. The Neapolitan army in front of Ferrara had been equally unsuccessful. It had begun its operations against the place, when, on the 12th, the Austrian Generals Mohr and Niepperg attacked it, drove it from all its positions, destroyed all the works which had been erected, and pursued it as far as Bologna, in the neighbourhood of which Murat endeavoured to collect his army, and whether he was immediately followed by the Austrian army under Frimont.* In consequence of these unfortunate, and considering the circumstances in which Murat stood, to him most disastrous operations, the French press, which had conceived such strong reliance upon his plans, and held out such high expectations of his success, began to lower their tone, and acknowledge, that from the arrival of numerous re-enforcements to the Austrians, "the Neapolitan army had made a retrograde and concentrating movement."† Nevertheless, it did not suit the interests of France to acknowledge the critical state of Murat's rash enterprise. "These details," said the Journal de Paris, "are at least doubtful; and we have more certain intelligence that the King of Naples has

* Austrian official reports. † Gazette de France, April 27th, 1815.

completely beaten the Austrian army, and driven it beyond the Po. Parma and Placentia are in his possession. Insurrection makes great progress in Italy, and the Neapolitans are every where received with joy."* Such was the system of delusion practised by what was arrogantly called the free press of Paris, at this moment; and who charged the Austrians with publishing only part, and upon one side of the question, on which account it very sagaciously observed, that "they wanted the means of forming a proper judgment of the accuracy of facts."† These means France indeed had long wanted, and did not wish to receive.

The Austrian army under Frimont and Bianchi from the neighbourhood of Mantua, and those from Ferrara under Mohr and Niepperg, having formed a junction, continued to follow the Neapolitan army. Murat had begun to fortify his position behind the Tanaro; but upon the first movement General Bianchi made to cross the river on the 14th, he abandoned his positions, and on the 16th evacuated Bologna, and the same day retreated to Imola. Several skirmishes took place with the rear of his army, from the rapid advance of the Austrian troops, in which the enemy lost many prisoners, and also a considerable number killed and wounded. At every position he took, the Austrians threatened to turn both wings of his army, while a powerful force pressed upon the centre. On the 16th and 17th 40,000 Austrian troops passed through Bologna in pursuit of the enemy, whose retreat from this moment became a rapid and disastrous flight. Demoralization increased with rapid strides amongst the Neapolitan army. The soldiers complained bitterly that they had been deceived, and taught to believe, that they were to meet friends wherever they advanced; and had been persuaded that they were to act in concert with Austria against Bonaparte. In vain the Generals attempted to encourage them. They could no where be brought to make any resistance of importance. The army became dissatisfied and full of confusion. The rear guard also were composed of the most worthless of the troops, and who without

* Gazette de France, April 27th, 1815. † Journal de l' Empire.

discipline did their master more harm than good. Their boundless rapacity and savage conduct incensed the inhabitants of the country against them. Only the corps of General Carascosa, which was principally composed of deserters, fought desperately. Murat himself declared that he had been deceived with regard to the general sentiments of the people. The prisoners when taken, and inquired at where their King was, replied, "Our King is in Sicily, but Joachim and his brother-in-law, Jerome Bonaparte, are with the army, where, we do not know." Such were the sentiments of the troops which were to deliver Italy from Foreigners, with regard to their leader. On the 13th the Duke of Modena re-entered his capital, after it had been a week in the possession of the enemy; and in which they had not levied any contributions, from the precipitate manner in which they were compelled to leave it. At Bologna, however, it was different. There the inhabitants suffered severely; and in the short space of a fortnight their fields were ravaged and laid waste.

The Austrians followed with unremitting vigilance the steps of the flying enemy. "His breaking up from the Tanaro," said the Austrian Reporter, "no longer allows him any point of halt; and with greater rapidity than in his ill concerted advance against the Legations, the Tuscan, and Modenese territories, must he, anxiously avoiding a battle, relinquish these specious advantages with considerable loss."* On the 19th the advanced divisions of the Austrian army had reached Forli. On the right bank of the river Ronco, here a very rapid stream, Murat had left the division of General Lecchi to dispute the passage of the river, with the Austrian troops, and to retard their advance. Count Niepperg, without hesitation, attacked the enemy in this position. He in open day forced the passage of the rapid Ronco, in presence of the Neapolitan army, while a brigade under Count Haugwitz marched by Roversano to turn their left flank. The troops having effected the passage of the river at eight in the evening, attacked the enemy at the charge step, who in twenty minutes was beaten and driven

* Austrian report, Mantua, April 24th, 1815.

back upon Forlipopoli. Murat himself, with his lancier regiments, of the divisions of Carascosa, endeavoured to break through the masses of the Austrian infantry; but the Prince Regent's and Lichenstien's regiments of hussars, commanded by Captain Hartig and Captain Gemery, charged them in such a determined and brilliant manner, that the greater part were cut down and the rest dispersed. Alarm and distrust from this moment spread through the enemy's ranks, whose flight was only prevented from becoming a total route, by the coming on of a dark and rainy night. The Austrian loss was considerable; that of the enemy severe; and from the prisoners it was learned, that at that moment discontent and disobedience threatened to disorganize the whole Neapolitan army. Wherever they came, the Austrians were received by the inhabitants with great joy; and many of the mountaineers took up arms, and joined the Austrian advanced guard. All ranks received them as deliverers, and by voluntary services endeavoured to lighten the difficulties of the army. On the right of General Neipperg a small corps advanced along the sea coast, and drove before it from Ravenna a column of the enemy. Driven from this position with such celerity, Murat, without any attempt to defend it, abandoned his entrenched camp at Cesena, on the night of the 22d, and continued his retreat with the greatest precipitation. In the meantime General Nugent had recovered Florence, and with 19,000 men advanced to Perugio; and continuing his march to Foligno, he got before Murat, and completely intercepted the road for his retreat to Naples, by way of Rome, the nearest and best to his kingdom. Thus situated, Murat was reduced to the most dreadful dilemma. But one road remained, that along the coast by Ancona, and from thence by Fermo and Sulmona across the Appenines; but this was scarcely passable for any army; while the Austrians had it still in their power to intercept even this route beyond Acquilla; and should he escape by that, they could, by marching another column by way of Rome, still get to Naples before him. This the Austrian Generals had in view. While Nugent kept westward upon Perugia, General Bianchi in the centre, marched upon Arezzo, and there got the start of Murat, who, with about

20,000 men, had retired to Rimini, and on the 24th had his rear-guard at Saergnano.* Murat had now no opportunity to escape, but by either forcing his way through the Austrian army, or, by endeavouring to gain time, try to elude their vigilance, which he could only do by attempting to open negotiations. This was an old trick, which his master and himself had practised in similar dangerous situations, and but too often with success. Here, however, the bait would not take. But he determined to try it. Accordingly General Millet de Villeneuve, chief of the staff of the Neapolitan army, addressed a letter to the Austrian General, soliciting an armistice, and requesting to open negociations. As this famous piece is in the true French style, I shall notice it in a more particular manner than such a document deserves. In it, Murat begins, by telling the Austrian General, that the conduct of the Congress had raised in his mind a *just* uneasiness, with regard to the safety of his States; and that "he had a right to occupy the line which he held during the last war." This line he conceived ought to have been given up to him without difficulty; "and perhaps," continued he, "no hostilities would have taken place, if your Excellency had received *the communications, which have been prevented by unforeseen accidents, and which his Majesty has been too late informed of.*"† He then proceeded to charge the Austrian General with having first commenced hostilities, by firing on the Neapolitan troops at Cesena; and, continued he, "As his Majesty saw himself engaged in a war against a great Power, *without having intended it;* he thought it necessary to make use of all the resources which had long since been offered him in Italy, and the extension of which he did not even further attempt to realize." Perceiving also that he was about to be drawn into a war with England, with whom he wished to live at peace, he became doubly anxious to accomplish a reconciliation with Austria; and added, that he would have sooner proposed an armistice, if said he, "I had not

* Austrian reports, April 24th and 26th, 1815.

† These were, no doubt, the offers of accommodation from Austria already alluded to, and which Murat stated came too late.

feared that such a proposal might have been considered as a *means to check the activity* of the military dispositions against the Neapolitan army, at the moment when it began its retreat." Assuming, however, that tone of dissimulation and defiance, for which Frenchmen, in any situation, are so remarkable, Villeneuve proceeded: But "now that the King finds himself, with his whole army, in the line *which he thought fit to choose;* Now, that he has sufficiently proved *that his movements were not compelled, and that he is fully master of them,*" he accordingly proposes to your Excellency an armistice to stop the unnecessary effusion of blood.* The history of French diplomacy scarcely affords a more extraordinary instance of arrogance and imbecility, than is here shewn; and Murat must certainly have conceived a mean opinion of the Austrian commander, before he could have ventured to send him such an epistle, in which there was not one word of truth. The Austrian General, however, was not to be imposed upon. In his answer he shortly informed Murat that the question of war was decided, by the advance of the whole Neapolitan army into the Legations, and by the proclamation at Rimini, the 30th March; adding, that he must refuse an armistice, and continue his operations.

In observations upon the preceding extraordinary document, the Austrian Government, through the medium of the Austrian Observer, very justly remarked, "It is long since any document has appeared so extraordinary. It deserves to figure in a distinguished manner, even in an age so rich as ours in empty phrases; and may be quoted as a model of Revolutionary policy. Never before was the march of a whole army into a foreign territory, assaults upon fortresses, and *tetes du ponts*, and, lastly, a proclamation like that from Rimini, of the 30th March, which invites to insurrection the people of all the neighbouring States, and even of others more remote; represented as actions which have put the Prince, who has undertaken them of his own accord, *without any provocation*, out of pure ambition, and who has directed them in person, in a way of making the disagree-

* Villeneuve's letter, April 21st, 1815.

able discovery, that he was, by a *mistake*, at war with the great Power, which he had so grievously offended. It is doubtless a sad thing to Joachim that he has failed in the attempt, to make use of the resources which he says have been long since offered him in Italy. The conviction which King Joachim has acquired by the communication which he had with Lord W. Bentinck, that the hostilities commenced against him were not the result of a plan, proves to a demonstration on which side was the offensive. The King's error on this point may certainly be attended with consequences of great importance to him. The Cabinet of Naples may besides easily tranquillize itself, when it learns that one of its agents named Benda, who was attempting to repair secretly from Florence to Genoa, has fallen into the hands of the Austrian army with all the instructions he had about him, and that none of the plans of Murat have remained unknown to the Court of Austria."*

Foiled in his attempt to deceive the Austrian Government or Generals, by insidious negotiations, Murat resolved by a desperate effort, to force his way through the Austrian army, which obstructed his retreat towards Rome. In this he had no time to lose. General Bianchi had entered Foligno on the 27th, while the army of Murat on the same day was only at Pesaro, rapidly diminishing by desertion and continual skirmishing. He, accordingly, after throwing a garrison of 7000 men into Ancona, continued his march, determined to force his way; and as the Austrian Generals were equally determined to prevent it, their conflicting intentions brought on a series of sanguinary engagements, in which Murat was completely beaten, and compelled to fly by another road than the one by which he intended to retreat, and that only with the wreck of his army.

In vain Murat by making forced marches, had attempted to repair his former error, and get the start of General Bianchi. The road from Ancona was completely blocked up by that Officer; who, from Foligno, turned to the eastward, and marched to Tolentino. From thence he continued his march upon Macerata; when Murat, who had gained two marches

* Austrian Observer, Vienna, May 5th, 1815.

upon the column which pursued him in the rear from Senigaglia, brought his whole force to bear upon General Bianchi, inferior in numbers. The two armies met, on the 2d of May, in front of Tolentino; and a combat there took place between them, both obstinate and bloody. The Neapolitan force consisted of the divisions of Ambrosio, Pignatelli, Lerron, Lecchi, and a brigade of the division of Carascosa. Their attacks against the Austrian forces was multiplied and violent throughout the whole of the 2d, and night alone put an end to the engagement, without either party having obtained any advantage that could enable him to claim a victory over his antagonist. The advantage, however, remained with the Austrians so far; because they completely succeeded in preventing the object which the enemy had in view. Considerable re-enforcements having arrived, General Bianchi was next morning preparing to attack the Neapolitan army in his turn, when he was anticipated by the advance of Murat, who a second time attempted to force his way through the armies which opposed him. This brought on an action still more obstinate and bloody than the former. Early in the morning of the 3d, Murat renewed the attack with all his remaining force; and the battle lasted, during the day, with great loss on both sides. The first efforts of Murat were directed against the centre and right of the Austrian army, commanded by Generals Mohr and Starhemberg, stationed on the main road; where, said General Bianchi, "he penetrated with much courage." General Mohr, to whom the right wing was entrusted, not only repulsed every attack made against him, but re-enforced the van-guard under Count Starhemberg, turning at the same time all the numerous artillery belonging to his position against the enemy; and, at the same time, undertook several charges with the Prince Regent's hussars and the Tuscan dragoons, which occasioned a considerable loss to the enemy. At that moment, the division of Ambrosio, with a part of the division of Pignatelli, descended from the heights of Monte Milone, to attack the Austrian left, which was commanded by General Bianchi in person. That brave officer, however, anticipated the attack. He caused the regiment of Chasteler to advance in close order, whilst a squadron of dragoons, fav-

oured by the nature of the ground, and unperceived, turned the right flank of the enemy, and fell with great courage upon the first mass of infantry of the second regiment of the line. "This movement was executed with as much ardour as success. The enemy's column was in part cut in pieces, and in part taken prisoners."* The enemy's plan now became obvious. From the heights of Milone descended about 8000 men, formed in squares, some of which were composed of two or three battalions. The enemy attacked with a numerous artillery and a vigorous platoon fire; but the Austrian troops remained firm, and waited the approach of the enemy's squares without returning a shot. "One of these squares, terrified by the formidable aspect of the regiment of Chastelet, disbanded itself and fled."† Two regiments of Tuscan dragoons now approached to turn the enemy's right, and three pieces of artillery having been conveyed through the mountains with much difficulty, and having opened their fire upon the enemy, he immediately at this point betook himself to flight. The whole Austrian army advanced at the same time on all sides; and the enemy could no longer maintain himself on any point, but fled in every direction. The pursuit continued with ardour; and "the enemy's brigades of Taquilla and Meduis were overtaken, defeated, and dispersed in the mountains."‡ The Neapolitan army fled in the direction of Fermo, and took the Eastern road, through a difficult and almost inaccessible country. Next morning, Count Starhemberg caused the strong position of Macerata to be attacked, while he moved in person on the road to Fermo, which the rear guard of the enemy, under General Mayo, was approaching. Unable to join the main body, this column was compelled to throw itself into Civita Nuova. The loss on both sides in these obstinate conflicts must have been great. The Austrians estimate theirs at about 1100 men, and 27 officers, killed and wounded; but their loss, however, certainly exceeded this number. The loss of the Neapolitans was, according to the Austrian accounts, very considerable. Including 30 officers, 1600 were taken prisoners. One cannon, six powder waggons, and much baggage, amongst which was

* Bianchi's dispatch, May 5th, 1815. † Do. do. ‡ Do. do.

several of Murat's carriages, fell into the hands of the victors. The Generals of division Ambrosio, and Pignatelli; the General of brigade Lacazana, and three of the enemy's Colonels were wounded, of whom one of the latter died immediately after. Two regiments of Neapolitan infantry were annihilated, by the Austrian regiment named the Prince Regent of England's hussars. Both sides seem to have fought bravely. The bravery of the Austrian troops was highly spoken of; and Murat certainly exerted himself greatly. But he failed, and was most signally defeated.

The battles of Tolentino decided the fate of Murat. From those bloody fields, his army fled in dismay; and entering the Neapolitan States, it endeavoured to gain the capital by the road already mentioned. This, however, was impossible. General Niepperg, who had advanced from the Northward in the rear of the Neapolitan army, and of whom they had gained the start, by forced marches, came up after the battle, and continued his pursuit of the broken enemy. This enabled General Bianchi to detach part of the army under his command through the mountains, by a nearer road, in order to gain Pescara before the fugitives, while a division of Nugent's army had already, on the 2d, entered Aquila, and continued its route for Popoli. The main body, however, of his army, took the road to Rome, which it entered on the 27th, and from thence continued its march towards Naples. It was now obvious that the escape of Murat, with any part of his army worth noticing, was totally impracticable. Should he force his way through the line forming against him about Popoli, it must be done at a considerable loss; while almost the whole army under Nugent was still between him and his capital. At this moment he might have reached it himself, with a few followers; but an event took place which rendered that dangerous, and also of no consequence.

After the concentrating movement, according to the French papers, made by Murat, and after his having taken the line which he had chosen, and where he commanded all his movements, it was naturally to be expected that through the same medium Europe should hear of his victorious progress. Accordingly,

the Moniteur, by the Government agent, furnished the world with some choice specimens of his great success. "The Austrians," said the conductor of this paper, "have been completely beaten by the Neapolitans near Forli. Four Austrian Colonels rejoined the King of Naples; two of them, Nive and Armande, behaved so well that they were made Generals of brigade on the field of battle. *It does not appear to be the plan of the Neapolitans to advance at this moment.*"* "The Neapolitan troops surprised the Austrians at Nocera, attacked the enemy, and drove him from all his positions; he was obliged to abandon his artillery;"† But these were trifling victories to what followed. "The news of the great success of the King of Naples, against the Austrians has caused a lively sensation. It appears the King drew after him the Austrians, who had the imprudence to divide into two columns. The King having collected his forces, attacked them, made 8000 prisoners, and has taken 28 pieces of cannon. One Field Marshal has been wounded, as well as four other Generals, of whom it appears many have been taken."‡ A few days afterwards it published the following intelligence, which might be relied on. "According to an official bulletin, published at Ancona, the Austrians lost on the 1st, 2d, and 3d, 15,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, or harnessed caissons. Three Generals were wounded, particularly Generals Starhemberg and Niepperg; the latter is mortally wounded."‖ Such were the means resorted to by the French government, to encourage and support a sinking cause; and such a part of the system which had governed France for twenty-five years, and now again misled her. But even these organs of deception were compelled to yield to the impulse of truth. Deception would do no longer: the truth, disagreeable as it was, must be told. Accordingly, after some aukward delays, and dark hints, the Courier Extraordinary was obliged to publish that "the Neapolitan army, which was defeated on the 3d and 4th, was in *complete* route; and the first advantage which resulted from the

* Moniteur, May 13th, from Milan April 29th, 1815.
† Do. May 15th, from Fermo, May 1st.
‡ Do. May 16th, from Metz, May, 13th.
‖ Do. May 20th, telegraphic dispatch, Lyons, May 17th.

victory, was the junction of Generals Bianchi and Niepperg. All the troops are now uniting, in order to preclude Murat from the probability of regaining his kingdom. One column closely pursues the enemy, while another is crossing the mountains, and a third is already arrived at Popoli."* Uncomfortable as this intelligence was to the adherents of Bonaparte, they had soon after the mortification to be compelled to announce, that the Queen of Naples was a prisoner, and that Murat had made a "*concentrating movement*" to Toulon.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean having received a large addition of strength under Lord Exmouth, appointed to the chief command, now began to act against Murat. While the main body remained in the Gulph of Genoa, a squadron of three ships, under the command of Captain Campbell of the Tremendous, was detached against Naples. This armament arrived before that city on the 11th of May, which it immediately threatened to bombard, if all the Neapolitan fleet and the naval stores in the place were not delivered up to them. This was agreed to on the part of the Queen; and these, consisting of two sail of the line afloat, and one on the stocks, with all the stores in the naval arsenal, were taken possession of by the British government, for his Majesty Ferdinand, King of the two Sicilies. From this moment we may date the overthrow of Murat's power. Discontent was risen to a great height amongst the inhabitants. The friends of Ferdinand openly shewed themselves, and demanded his return. An expedition, it was well known, had for some time previous been assembling in Sicily, and it was now understood to be ready to sail, accompanied by the King, whose arrival was daily and anxiously expected. Naples had been completely stripped of troops in order to effect the deliverance of Italy. The few that remained, under the name of the army of the Interior, were at this moment marched to the frontiers, to arrest the progress of the Austrian armies. The place was therefore without the means of defence, and consequently fell an easy prey.

In the meantime, the armies of General Bianchi and Niep-

* Moniteur, May 30th, from Milan, May 16th.

perg, united, continued to pursue the army under Murat, without relaxation. By roads almost impassible, through places where they were compelled at times to blow up rocks to form a path for the troops, and over mountains nearly inaccessible, where no army had before ever passed, the march of the Austrian columns was continued with amazing ardour. Murat attacked on the rear and menaced on his flanks, obtained no repose; and in order to save himself from total destruction, was compelled, by making forced marches, to forego every advantage which the nature of the country afforded. General Mohr, who pursued him by the sea coast, passed the Trento on the 8th, and arrived at Popoli on the 12th, on which latter space of ground he took above 1500 prisoners. General Ekhart, who advanced by a "very difficult mountain road, which had never been passed with troops," arrived at Aquila on the 9th, and on the 11th at Popoli. In this march the enemy lost 500 prisoners, and many were killed and wounded. On the night of the 11th, Murat, with 12,000 infantry 3000 cavalry, the remains of his army, passed Sulmona in great haste, and advancing towards Naples by St. Germano and Capua. His army was by this time reduced to a most deplorable condition; reduced in numbers, and daily diminishing by the sword, sickness, and famine. It was no longer in a condition to meet the enemy. "It is certain," said the Austrian bulletin, "that up to the 13th his retreat cost him *more* than half his army."* While Murat was thus flying in consternation before his victorious enemies, General Nugent, with the corps under his command, had advanced from Rome, entered the Neapolitan territories on that side, and commenced operations against the army of the interior, at this time commanded by General Manheis, who was at one time the scourge of Calabria, and who at this time treated with great cruelty the inhabitants of some provinces in the Roman States, who declared for the Austrians. The advanced divisions of this army, consisting, altogether of about 8000 men, were attacked near Lepranca, where it lost several prisoners; and where, in order to retard the advance of the Aus-

* Eleventh bulletin, Milan, May 19th, 1815.

trians, they burnt the bridge, and retired to St. Germano. Here they were, on the 14th, joined by Murat with the remainder of his army. Thus re-enforced, the united forces again advanced from St. Germano, and attacked the advanced guard of the Austrian army with a vast superiority of numbers, at the same time surrounding it on all points. Notwithstanding this, the bravery of the Austrian troops was such, that the detached guard not only cut its way through the ranks of the enemy, but brought in from three to four hundred prisoners.* This attack was not followed upon the part of the enemy, because the rapid advance of Bianchi on his flank compelled him to consult his safety by seeking another position. Indeed, the movement was undertaken for the sole purpose of covering the escape of Murat to Capua, "who arrived at St. Germano with only three or four officers, and a few dragoons, and left it again in a few hours."† Accordingly, on the 15th, the enemy retired, and General Nugent again resumed the offensive. Replacing the bridge over the Garigliano, which General Manheis had destroyed, and who also had sacked and burnt the unfortunate town of Ceprano, the Austrian General pursued his march on St. Germano, and on the 15th bivouacked under the little town of Arce. General Manheis was joined by the Neapolitan minister of War, Macdonald, and their combined forces occupied a position on the Melfa, a few miles from the Austrian camp. As the Austrians advanced into the Neapolitan territories, the inhabitants received them every where with satisfaction, and cheerfully resumed the colours of their legitimate Sovereign.

The Austrian army under Nugent continued to advance against the Neapolitan army stationed on the Milfa, which, on the night of the 15th, broke down the bridge over that river, and retreated to St. Germano. The bridge was quickly replaced, and at 10 in the morning of the 16th, the Austrian infantry passed to the left bank, the cavalry at the same time crossing the stream where it was fordable. The united forces of Manheis, Macdonald and Pignatelli, had taken post at St. Germano. Against this position the Austrians advanced; and while the main body of the army was ready to assail the enemy in front, detachments were turning both his right and left

* Church's dispatch, Gazette Extraordinary, June 5th, 1815. † Do. do.

flank. Thus situated, the Neapolitan Generals declined the engagement, and retreated to the position of Mignano, nine miles distant, leaving behind them many prisoners and deserters. The town of St. Germano was immediately occupied by the allied troops. With that persevering ardour which had shone so conspicuously in the conduct of the Austrian commanders during this Italian campaign, Nugent marched directly against the enemy stationed at Mignano, and where their whole force was united. At midnight on the 16th, Baron Aspre, with only about 800 men, commenced the attack against the enemy. The darkness of the night prevented the latter from ascertaining the number of the assailants; when, after a few discharges of musquetry, the enemy's troops were totally routed, saving only their cavalry and their artillery. In this singular attack 1000 prisoners were taken; a quantity of arms and military equipments fell into the hands of the victors, and the infantry of the enemy was completely dispersed. Deserters also, in hundreds, hourly came into the Austrian camp. In ten days the Neapolitan army of the interior was annihilated, by the activity of General Nugent, not 700 of it surviving the affair of Mignano; and during the above time, the Austrian General, with the army under his immediate command, had occasioned a loss to the army of the enemy of nearly 7000 men.* On the 18th, the Austrian army under Bianchi and the other Generals, who had continued the pursuit of Murat, by the roads along the East coast, and through the interior, joined General Nugent; and the whole army, united in one body, immediately commenced its march towards Naples. The army left to cover that place against their formidable adversaries, assisted too by the English fleet, which sealed up all access or escape by sea, amounted only to 8000 men, the wretched remains not only of the 80,000, which, six weeks before, spread alarm on the banks of the Po, but also of the army of the interior, left to guard the kingdom. A considerable part of this remaining force was, besides, composed of detachments of invalids, Gendarmerie and Civic guards, drawn from Naples and the neighbouring provinces. With this force, broken in spirit, and discontented against their leader, it would have been madness to attempt resistance. The

* Church's dispatch, May 17th. Gazette Extraordinary, June 5th, 1815.

power of Murat was irrecoverably broken. Accordingly, on the 18th, the Marquis de Gallo arrived at the head-quarters of General Bianchi, with propositions from Naples. These propositions were considered, on the morning of the 19th, by General Bianchi, and Lord Burghersh on the part of Great Britain, when they were declared wholly inadmissible; and the Marquis de Gallo sent back to Naples with the unalterable determination of the allies, not to treat or negotiate with Murat in any capacity. At the same time assurances were given to him, that any proposition which General Carascosa might wish to make should meet with due consideration. With this intelligence the Marquis de Gallo hastened back to Naples, where alarm and dismay reigned amongst the formerly haughty followers of the new French dynasty. Murat's reign was over. His power gone forever. The same night negotiations were entered into by General Carascosa, with the allied commanders, for a military convention, which, after some altercation, was finally agreed to. On the part of Naples, propositions were at first made which were again deemed totally inadmissible; the allied commanders insisting upon the abdication of Murat. General Colletta wished to secure for him a safe retreat into France, which was declared to be impossible, and that he must abide by the decision of the Austrian government, whose intentions were to transport him into the interior of the Austrian States. Finding the allied officers resolute in their intentions, the Neapolitan General at length declared that he had no authority to enter into negotiations about Murat; and on the 20th, a military convention was agreed to, and signed, by which the whole kingdom of Naples, with the exception of the fortresses of Gaeta and Pescara, together with Ancona in the Roman States, should be surrendered to the allies, to be held by them for the lawful Sovereign Ferdinand IV. The allied army, by virtue of this convention, entered Capua on the 21st. On the 22d they occupied the heights round the capital, and on the 23d they entered the place. The Queen, with her children, sought refuge on board of the British fleet; and agreeably to a treaty concluded with her, she was carried to Trieste, and allowed an asylum in the Austrian dominions. She carried with her vast wealth. In diamonds and jewels it

has been estimated at 1,800,000 ducats, and in money 3,000,000 ducats, and 120 cwt. of silver plate, besides a great number of valuable paintings, vases, and other curiosities. Murat finding his authority gone, escaped from Naples to Portici. He had cut off his hair, thrown aside his royal dress, and wrapped himself in a great-coat, in order to effect his escape the easier. From Portici, he had the good fortune to find a small vessel, in which he embarked, and was soon after landed in Toulon; where he remained, not daring to visit Paris, for fear of the *Old Lion*, to whom he had done so much mischief, and whom he had at this moment most cruelly deceived. In this situation we must for some time leave him.

By the vigilance of the Austrian troops, order was preserved in the vast city of Naples, where the greatest ferment prevailed; and where the passions of the inhabitants of different classes were wound up to a pitch which was ready to embark in any mischief. Soon after this the expedition from Sicily, with Ferdinand, arrived at Naples; where he was again replaced on his throne, amidst the general good will of his subjects. A proclamation was issued by him, consigning the past to oblivion; and no attempt was made in any quarter to dispute or disturb his authority. The inhabitants of Naples had received quite enough of the blessings of French Liberty, of which they were formerly so much enamoured; and there is reason to suppose, that the lesson which they have received, though severe, will not be soon forgotten among them. Pescara and Ancona soon afterwards surrendered. Gaeta, where it was said Murat had placed much of his wealth, and which was defended by a garrison commanded by French officers, and composed of soldiers either belonging to France or devoted to the cause of Napoleon, continued to hold out. It was a place of great strength, and was considered as impregnable. It, however, was at last forced to surrender to the united Austrian and British troops. It was curious to observe how quickly the sentiments of the French altered, when speaking of the people of the kingdom of Naples. When advancing in a cause which was to benefit them, and with every appearance of success, their conduct was described as most magnanimous—they were every thing that was brave, and praise-worthy;

but having returned to the allegiance of their legitimate Sovereign, they instantly became every thing that was bad, cowardly, base, and despicable; and it was actually asserted by them, that it was a few French soldiers who had, in the advance, beat the whole Austrian army, and in the retreat saved Murat from destruction. "Murat," said the Moniteur, "owes his misfortunes entirely to the cowardice of the Neapolitan troops. They advanced as long as the Austrian troops were not in sufficient force to oppose them; but when victory was to be purchased by efforts, instead of fighting they fled. Had the King been able to advance into Lombardy, his cause and that of Italy would have triumphed. The officers and soldiers of Prince Eugene would have flocked to his standard, and formed the strength of his army. None remained faithful to the King, except a battalion of Italian and French officers; and *it was with this handful of brave men* that he accomplished his retreat to Naples, constantly followed by the Austrians."* Yet before such troops, we were told, Europe would tremble, and Austria was to fall prostrate. The fact was, they would no longer serve French interests. Therefore, it was French troops and officers who did all which was done. What overbearing and irreclaimable vanity!

Thus vanished the idle dream of Italian independence. Thus quickly fell Murat. Like the meteor that shoots across the Autumnal sky, he blazed for a moment, and as quickly disappeared, from the stage of Royalty for ever. In the space of six weeks, the inhabitants of Italy, from Cape Tarentum to the Po, had both acknowledged his arms and also seen his army annihilated. His family were scattered amongst foreigners; and he himself became a solitary fugitive in another land. Yet this event, mighty and important as it was, excited but little attention at the moment amongst the mass of mankind. The human mind in Europe had for some time past been so accustomed to behold astonishing events, that this was beheld with indifference. The destruction of mighty armies—the fall of a whole Kingdom, did not now excite as much attention as the issue of a single battle had formerly done. In France, however, this event

* Moniteur, June 7th, 1815.

was beheld with deep, but silent sorrow and regret. There it was a fatal omen; and a terrible arrow withdrawn from the quiver of ambition. The victory here gained was of a much more important kind, than appeared at a first view of the subject. That Murat, in alliance with France and in arms against Austria, on the side of Italy, would have been a serious evil, could not be denied. Yet that alone, though it impeded, could not alter the issue of the Grand Coalition, against the perfidious and ungovernable passions of the Revolutionary sons of France. Nevertheless, a victory over Murat, would at any time have been most beneficial to the general cause; and, therefore, his destruction in such a short space of time, before his ally could assist him, was an event of the greatest and most propitious importance. But it was not so much the overthrow of the military power of Murat as an enemy, that was here the most interesting topic for Europe to contemplate and dwell on. It was the overthrow, or rather the extinction of those pernicious principles which gave his power birth; which had so long scourged Europe, and which were in France at present again embattled against her. It was the extinction of those principles which was the most pleasing part of the picture. It was on those Murat depended, those by which he calculated to reign over Italy, and enslave it—those principles which taught me, in every country, to rise against their lawful Government, take their neighbour's property by force, and to obey the delirious dictates of frantic demagogues, or a ruthless tyrant. The spirit of these were broken. Mankind in general were become too wise to be any more duped by specious pretences; and were wearied with bloodshed, anarchy, and confusion. Murat and his associates never calculated on this. He conceived that the people of Italy were the same as in 1796. He could not see that French tyranny had broken their spirits, and that bitter experience had taught them the dismal consequences which followed from attending to French promises and professions. The property which they had gained from internal convulsions, they were well aware that they might lose by a renewal of such scenes. They were deeply interested in the preservation of it; and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all Murat's insidious proclamations. It was the extinction of this volcano, the irruption

of which had shook Europe to her foundations, and covered her with misery and ashes, that formed the most prominent point in the great and decisive change so suddenly accomplished in Italy. It was a happy omen for Europe, of what might also be the case; with regard to France whose restless and arrogant disposition again challenged her united strength to the combat. Yet, in the face of all this, France persevered. To her situation, and proceedings, it is now time again to turn our attention.

"Never," said Caulincourt, "did any nation present a spectacle of a more awful unanimity."* This idle boast, held out to intimidate Europe, was destined to be of short duration. Though the efforts of a lawless military, had succeeded, for the moment, in overwhelming the adherents of Louis XVIII. in the South of France; still they were not extirpated. La Vendee, under the direction of La Roche Jacquelin, rose in arms to espouse the cause of their unfortunate Sovereign. These loyal people received a supply of arms and ammunition from Britain, and quickly dispelled this dream of "*awful unanimity.*" In a short period, all the departments along the banks of the Loire, were either in arms, or remained careless of the contest which was to support the Usurper. In vain the French Journals attempted to conceal this important fact. The decrees issued, though couched in the most cautious and denationalizing language, and the measures taken, under whatever disguise they assumed, but tended more to confirm the public mind as to the extent of the evil. Concealment, however, soon became impossible. Blood was shed, and the march of considerable armies to the banks of the Loire, when Europe hung in threatning array around their frontiers, shewed, beyond the power of French sophistry to refute, that France was, to a certain extent a divided people. Of the operations in this quarter, we are, however, very much in the dark; except through the distorted medium of Bonaparte's Journals. According to these vehicles of falsehood, which occupation they follow, as suits their interests, every day saw important victories gained over these people. Yet the evil spread; and while its influence was felt around the banks of the Garonne, it touched on the other

* Caulincourt's letter to the Sovereigns of Europe, April 4th, 1815.

hand, the shores of the English Channel. Commune after commune—city after city, were declared in a state of siege: and all the efforts of Travot, Corbineau, and Lamarque, with 25,000 men, were ineffectual to arrest the progress of the principles of these adherents of Louis. Much blood was here shed on both sides; but it is impossible, from the scanty materials which we now possess, to enter into any thing like a detailed account of the affairs in this quarter. Suffice it to say, that those principles continued to diffuse themselves over France. At Lyons, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, nay, even in Paris, and almost in every department of France, the public peace, as the adherents of Napoleon called it, was endangered or disturbed, by the cries of "Vive le Roi," and the appearance of the white cockade and the lily. Unfortunately, however, nearly all those who professed these principles were men without arms, many without property, and still more without influence.—The Revolution had stripped them of all these, and conferred them upon its favourites; and hence, these men could do little under such circumstances to assist their lawful Sovereign.—The will, however, remained; and that was a sufficient answer to all those who boldly asserted that the Bourbon family was totally forgotten, or universally hated in France. The severe and numerous decrees which the Usurper's Government were, from time to time, passing against their friends, and their principles, sufficiently shewed the alarm under which they lived with regard to both. In the departments already mentioned, much of the land had been confiscated during the Revolution, and many horrible butcheries there committed. This land was of course given to those of the most violent Republican principles; and hence a great number professing Jacobinical principles are found in those provinces. These very readily entered into federal compacts amongst themselves, to unite and oppose either the Royalists or the allies. The tree of Liberty was planted in some places, the Red Cap made its appearance in several, and the Republic or death was the cry in others.—People trembled at the sight and hearing of those signals which recalled to their memories the blackest and cruelest page in the volume of history. Secret assassinations were begun, as during that awful period; and distrust, dissatisfaction, and alarm, per-

vaded almost every city and province in France. All this, however, was a matter of indifference to the army—they saw not the evil of it. It was their element—and they laughed at confusion and fear. The Jacobins on the other hand with their wonted audacity denied the fact; and asserted that discontent against the present measures, were confined to a few men of no consideration or worth. At last Fouche tore asunder this veil of falsehood and delusion, which the supporters and admirers of Bonaparte endeavoured to throw before the eyes of the world. The subject was not very pleasant for him to undertake. But necessity compelled him to make the disclosure. "Emigration," said he, "commences—correspondence is established with the exterior—is circulated within—committees are formed in towns—alarms are spread in the country parts. Real disorders appear to be the result of the manœuvres that are observed. In one commune in the department of Gard, some individuals hoisted the white flag. Some armed bands have appeared in the departments of the Marne and Loire, and of the lower Loire. Women in Calvados tore down the tricoloured flag. Seditious cries are heard; some acts of rebellion have taken place in the North. In the departments of the Cotes du Nord, a Mayor has been massacred by the Chouans. These offences spread alarm in the places where they are committed."* The rigorous decrees and merciless police of Bonaparte, did not, however, succeed in crushing the troubles—on the contrary they served but to exasperate, and the mischief complained of continued to increase. "Sire," said Fouche, "I must tell you the truth! The conspiracy extends from the coasts of the Channel to the Mediterranean. It rests upon the Cevennes in order to extend itself to the banks of the Rhone, by the revolts which may be excited in some parts of Languedoc and Provence. It agitates Marseilles, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux. It has raised the peaceful cultivators of the whole of the territory enclosed between the Loire, La Vendee, the Ocean, and La Thouet. Bands lay waste, the Morbihan, some parts of the departments of the Ille and Villaine, the Cotes du Nord, and the Sarte. The coast of La Manche, Dieppe, and Havre, have been agitated by seditious movements—throughout

* Fouche's report, May 7th, 1815.

the 15th division insubordination is general. Caen has twice been troubled by the Royalist's re-actions; and in some districts of the Orne, bands are forming as in Britanny and Mayenne."*

Such was the situation of that France which Caulincourt impudently proclaimed, as being joined in the "*most awful unanimity.*" Such the situation of a country, which Napoleon informed the world "at no period of history displayed more unanimity or more energy."† Rigorous laws were in existence, and rigorous orders were issued, to enforce these, in order to check that spirit of disaffection to Napoleon's authority. But these either could not or would not be put in execution. This appears from a circular letter from the Minister of Justice, Cambaceres, addressed to the Attorneys General, practising in the Imperial Courts. In this, he reminds them, in a style that would have done honour to 1793, that the Correctional Police, "pursues offenders without relaxation, to the last asylum on which justice seizes them; and the public administration ought never to leave them, until the *vengeance* of the law be fully satisfied. The crimes to which I call your attention, are those, in favour of which it is sometimes attempted to excite an *imprudent compassion.* That feeling ought, however, to give way, on the view of the consequences, which the impunity of such offences might produce. The repression of crimes is the most essential attribute of public administration. Its action in this respect has unfortunately for some time been relaxed. This apathy ought to cease."‡

While Bonaparte was for ever harping upon his most anxious wish to maintain peace, consonant to *the honour, the interests, and the glory* of France; he was most assiduously and most indefatigably preparing for war. "We all wish for peace," said he, "and we are all *ready for war.* In case of war every thing promises to us a happy termination."‖ While thus buoying up the minds of those who wished for peace with the hopes of its continuance, he took care at the same time to inflame the passions of the nation for war, by pointing out the certainty of success. However, as he was not quite so ready as he made

* Fouche's report, June, 1815.—from Moniteur of the 20th.

† Answer to the deputation of the Seine and Oise, May 14th, 1815.

‡ Paris, May 11th, 1815. ‖ Do. do.

Europe believe, and as "*circumstances were serious,*"* it was necessary by some means or other to amuse the minds of the people of France, and particularly those of Paris; and prevent them from contemplating too narrowly the prospect and the danger before them. For this purpose nothing seemed so proper and well adapted as the web of a new Constitution. It took of course some time to prepare it, as it was to be of Imperial excellence; and though there were excellent workmen in Paris, for this species of manufacture, noted for their ingenuity and expedition in the business, yet the delay could easily be accounted for from the fineness of the article. In the meantime, while the manufacture proceeded, Napoleon ruled supreme; and every measure proposed by him, must be put in immediate execution. When the time came for producing the article, it would then, he conceived, be easy to pick a fault in it, which would require some time to alter; and, in the meantime, the army was rapidly increasing, which, if necessary, could lend a hand to help the nation to put on this new robe should it not fit exactly. Accordingly the Imperial machinery was set to work; and, in process of time, the document which was to consolidate all the interests, the present glory, and future destinies of France, made its appearance, in form of a decree from Bonaparte, bestowing upon his people, of his free-will, this blessed boon. Thus, in the very outset of the matter, adopting the course for which his adherents had declared that the most just of Revolutions, had hurled the Bourbons from the throne forever, namely, for bestowing upon the people a Constitution, instead of receiving one from them. Of this new farce at Paris, and trick practised upon France, it is unnecessary to dwell at any length. It was pretty similar to the twenty Constitutions, which during twenty-five years, had preceded it almost annually in France, except during the two years when the Guillotine was their Constitution. Like the rest, it was made to be broken; and professing liberty it contained the seeds of the most abject and absurd slavery. According to this document, the French people delegated their rights to the dynasty of Napoleon, as long as it should be known, providing he governed them according to the laws made, I was going to say by the unanimous voice of the national

* Paris, May 11th, 1815.

Representatives; but No: by the laws made by himself.—"*Government*," said the 3d article of the Constitution, "*has the proposal of laws;* the Chambers can propose amendments. *If these amendments are not adopted by Government, the Chambers are bound to vote on the law such as it was proposed.*" At this rate the Government could make any laws it choosed, and the nation must obey whatever it proposed; because, the very next article expressly states, that the Chambers had only the right of inviting Government to propose a law on a determinate object, and to draw up what appears to them to be proper to insert in the law. But still the Government might reject it altogether, in which case, the "*invitation*" had no effect. The 65th article was equally arbitrary and absurd. "The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens. Every petition is individual. Petitions may be addressed either to the Government or to the two Chambers; nevertheless, *even the latter must also be entitled to the Emperor.* They shall be presented to the Chambers, under the guarantee of a member who recommends the petition. They are publicly read; and if the Chambers take them into consideration, they are laid before the Emperor by the President." But still the Emperor might do with them what he pleased—he was not bound either to read or redress them; nor had the Chambers the power of enforcing their consideration however just. It is needless to say that against any creature of the Emperors no petition would be available. The last article, however, was still more ridiculous; as it completely took away from the French people the free exercise of their own judgment now and forever. "The French people moreover declare, that in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers; it has not meant and does not mean, to give a right to propose the re-instatement of the Bourbons, or any Prince of that family upon the throne, *even in case of the extinction of the Imperial dynasty.*" None but a votary of the Goddess of Reason, could form a Constitution with a claim like this; none but the most distracted adorers of that wild Divinity could accept such a charter. From the moment he did so, he was Napoleon's slave; and when him and his family were no more, the French nation, then in existence, were to be prevented from electing such a Sovereign as they

might approve. The framer of this Constitution, however, does not seem to have calculated, that the dynasty of Napoleon would be long lived; for he only directs his anathema against the present Bourbon family, and does not seem to include the issue of any of them.

The Constitution thus graciously bestowed on France by Napoleon, was to be submitted to the people for their acceptance. A general assembly of the deputies, from all the departments, was to take place at Paris, on the Champ de Mai, to accept this Constitution, and take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and swear to obey him and maintain it. The number of deputies to the Chamber of Representatives was to be 629, and to be wholly renewed every five years. That of Peers, to form the Upper House, appointed solely by the Emperor, was unlimited in numbers. In many other respects the Constitution resembled the British. A noble tribute to what Jacobin fury has attempted to destroy. The resemblance of the new Parisian production to our own government, delighted those who are constantly abusing it as rotten and decayed. But this French one was young and vigorous; and above all, it had the upright wisdom and mighty energy of Bonaparte at its head. It could never go wrong. It was so perfect and so strong, that it could never be broken. "It contains," said they, "all that is necessary to check the royal authority, at the same time to prevent the excesses of popular privilege. There is little that the most strenuous advocate for freedom would wish to add, and little that the jealousy of the crown would take away. It is a form of government with which the powers of Europe may treat without alarm, if they have no *innate* dread of national Liberty."* So we had been told of every French Constitution since 1792. It was always the dread of the national liberty, which was held up as the chief cause of the refusal of the despots of Europe to conclude a peace; even though France insisted that she should dictate the terms at the point of the sword, and with the arm of defiance. But the eulogists and admirers of this French fabric forgot altogether the nature of the materials of which it was composed. These were different indeed from those which knit together the

* Morning Chronicle, April 27th, 1815.

social edifice of Great Britain; and till the two millions of children in France, which, according to Carnot, receive no primary education at all, do receive it, and till the pursuit of military glory ceases to be the distinguishing attribute of the national character, there must remain an incalculable difference. The foundation of the French Constitution was built upon sand. It was founded upon the deepest hatred and resentment. It was built by men who had risen into notice by every crime which can disgrace humanity. Interest and ambition had set them to raise the fabric; and interest and ambition would again set them to work to pull it down without reluctance. In this instance, as in every one else, the French nation began at the wrong end of their subject. They, whether under a Convention, a Consul, or an Emperor, contended against the age; and the age has come out of the contest victorious, exposing to the world their ignorance, their violence, and their folly. Before bestowing on France a free constitution, they should first teach her people to know its value, and fit them to enjoy it. Before exposing the eye to the meridian blaze, it should be ascertained if it is capable of resisting its strength; else a blindness may be the consequence, more fatal and more dangerous than if the subject had never possessed the power of vision. France must be taught morality and religion. She must be taught that the violation of just laws is a crime; and her affections must be weaned from a military life, to which, in its worst shape and most ferocious forms, she has been long accustomed. Till this is done, no other constitution established in France will be durable, but such as is supported by the arm of arbritrary power, and enforced by a military energy. It may be tried otherwise. A goodly building may be raised by the unremitting efforts, of knowledge and justice, but it has no foundation on which it can stand. The materials that compose its most interesting parts, though they appear most beautiful to the eye, are rotten at heart; and the first swell in the political current will sweep the sand from the foundations of the fabric, and lay its glory in ruins. Under Bonaparte, however, or his sway, it was idle to talk of liberty. It was contrary to his nature, and at variance with his pursuits. He might promise, and he might swear to cherish and support it.

Fifteen baneful years had shewn, that his promises had been only made to be broken; and therefore, wo would have fallen on the heads of those who were at this moment weak enough to believe him.

But the new constitution of France was not the point which was the most interesting to Europe. Twenty-five bloody years had taught her that French liberty meant only European slavery. It signified little to Europe under what internal regulations France chose to live, if these were to be productive of no danger to her neighbours. The question which was at this moment to be decided, and which demanded the attention of Europe, was not whether France should have a free or an arbitrary government, but whether that military system was to be revived in France, supported by the same principles, and guided by the same counsels, which "Europe in arms" had beat to the ground; the existence of which had been proven by experience, and the effects of which future ages will feel to be incompatible with the liberty of France, and the freedom or independence of Europe. This was the true bearing of this important question, and which neither the trick of a free constitution, nor the farce of a Champ de Mai could erase from the mind of Europe. On the contrary, these things but served to strengthen her suspicions, and awaken her vigilance, well knowing, as she did, what bitter consequences to her tranquillity and security had so often followed such changes and such meetings in Paris. The French nation might amuse themselves with the flattering idea of peace and freedom under the sceptre of Napoleon. Europe indulged no such chimerical expectations; she knew, with him at the head of that restless people, that her safety and freedom lay in the sword. She laid her hands upon it with a decision and resolution which no French menace could intimidate, no French chicanery could divert from its purpose.

It wanted but little penetration to see that this constitution was only meant as a blind, and that Napoleon would execute it or not as he pleased. He could easily devise reasons for either deferring or not fulfiling his promises. He had often done more difficult things. Accordingly, he very soon had recourse to both expedients; and the reason brought forward for this de-

lay, and the infraction of his promises in this instance, was the pressure of foreign war, which occupied all his time and attention. This France and him might have been certain would have been the case, when they openly violated the treaty which they had so shortly before concluded with Europe. While his supporters were endeavouring to deafen the understanding of Europe, with the assertions that he had returned to France, by the unanimous call and wishes of the people, who, it was said, had willingly bestowed upon him all the power and dignity, he himself stepped forward and gave the lie to such statements. "Under these new circumstances," said he, "we had only the alternative of prolonging the *Dictatorship*, with which we were invested by circumstances and the confidence of the people, or to *abridge* the forms which we had intended to follow for the arrangement of the Constitutional Act."* Of course he chose the latter, constrained by circumstances, as every odious act of the French nation, for the last twenty-five years, had proceeded from. Who it was that bestowed upon him this Dictatorship, which was not certainly reckoned a free mode of government, he did not choose to state; but the world knew he had assumed it as part of those rights which he could not abdicate. "We should have wished, therefore," continued he, "to have waited for the acceptance of the people before we ordered the assembling of the colleges, and directed them to proceed to the nomination of deputies; *but equally controled by circumstances:* the highest interests of the State makes it imperious that we should surround ourselves as quickly as possible with the National Bodies."† Here was reversing the constitution at the outset. The people had not accepted the Constitution, and then chosen their deputies; but they were first to choose their deputies, and then these deputies were to accept the Constitution for their constituents. These deputies also, be it remembered, were to be chosen while Napoleon was Dictator, while many of the departments were under martial law, and cities in a state of siege; when, in fact, there was no law but the will of the Emperor, or what was the same thing, that of the party who supported him; and when extraordinary commissioners had been sent into all the departments, in order to overawe and displace every authority which

* Official, Moniteur May 1st, 1815. † Do. do.

was supposed to be inimical to the present state of things. Under these circumstances, it was not difficult to foresee of what stamp the deputies would be who were to be returned to assist at the Champ de Mai, and sit in the new French Parliament. They could be nothing else but either Jacobins or Bonapartists. All else were now to be excluded. Yet this was called liberty. It was certainly a round-about and dangerous road to obtain it.

Bonaparte, with that hypocritical cant of which he was so capable, now paid the utmost deference to the people, from whom and for whom he acknowledged that he held every thing. "The glory of what we have just done," said he to the army, "is wholly the peoples and yours."* "Princes are the first citizens of the State. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations whom they govern. Departing from these principles, I know no other legitimacy."† "It is not true to say in any nation, even in the East, that the people exist for Kings; it is every where consecrated that Kings exist only for the people."‡ "Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs. Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I derive all from the people."§ There was a time when the Emperor thought otherwise, and when he put the throne before the people. There was a time when he considered it as a degradation to his dignity to hear of appeals to them, and when he upbraided the allied Sovereigns for daring to call upon them to exercise their judgments. Speaking of the Frankfort declaration, his odious tool Count Fontanes said, "It is unusual in the diplomacy of Kings. It is no longer to Kings like themselves that they explain their grievances, and send their manifestoes. *It is to the people they address them;* and from what motive do they adopt such a new method of proceeding—*May not this example be fatal?* Against whom is this indirect attack aimed? Against a great man who *merited* the gratitude of all Kings; because by re-establishing the throne of France, he has closed up the crater of the volcano which threatened them all."‖ But times were changed; and it was become necessary for the

* Address to the army, March 21st, 1815.

† Answer to the Council of State, March 25th, 1815.

‡ Answer to Bonaparte. § Speech, Champ de Mai.

‖ Fontane's report, December 22d, 1813.

interests of France that this volcano should be again kindled; that the majesty of the people, which, for the welfare of France, Bonaparte had shut up in it, should again be let loose to recover their glory, and to support him and his cause against the anger of assembled Europe. This done, he would, if he could, have shut up the volcano as before, and raised his throne on the dangerous materials, letting out as convenient its fury against neighbouring countries, to prevent it from desolating his own. What he, however, wanted at this moment, by his deference to the will of the people; and what his Jacobinical friends wanted was, them a leader fit to lead them in their ambitious schemes, and him a power from the people to enable him to govern them. This right he had given away, and they had consented to his doing so, at least by their silence at the time, they gave justice reason to think so. But then, their creed was, that the people could do no wrong. That what a whole nation did, and said, was right. They considered that the part of any nation which was strong enough to overawe the other, must be accounted the whole; and that as this was their case, so therefore whatever they did was right, and not to be disputed, however contrary to the feelings and the wish of the rest of the nation, or even to justice, good faith, or truth. This was the great revolutionary lever, which they employed to overturn all social order in Europe. It was this which all their deluded followers had imbibed as their unalterable creed, that what they called a whole, or unanimous nation, could never do wrong; that their will conferred right upon whom they chose; and it was this lever which was again called forth by the army and the Jacobins in France, to raise Bonaparte to the throne which he abdicated, and to justify their having done so in the face of a solemn treaty concluded with all Europe, binding them to the contrary. Her right to do this was incontestible. The conditions imposed, considering every circumstance, was most just—most merciful. If the voice of a nation can do right, the voice of a nation, it must be allowed, can do wrong. Yes, however contrary it may appear to modern wisdom, a whole nation may do wrong. We need not go back to ancient times to prove this; modern times afford numerous instances of this great truth. When the English nation beheaded Charles I. they did wrong. When they bent their

neck under Cromwell's tyranny, they did wrong. When the French nation, granting that they unanimously did so, recalled Bonaparte to their head, they did wrong. When, in midst of peace, they attacked Spain, they did wrong. When in peace, they annexed Hamburgh, and the countries which border on the shores of the ocean, from the Rhine to the Elbe, they did wrong. When, under the mask of friendship, they partitioned Italy, and overturned the Constitution of Switzerland, they did wrong. When they violated every treaty that they had made, they did wrong. When they abolished religion, and inculcated principles subversive of human reason and human happiness, they did wrong; and when they took the life of their King and Queen, they did wrong. But we shall be told all these, except perhaps the first and the two last, were done by the French government, not by the French people. Either the French government was the organ of the French people, or it was not. If it was, then they followed, without shame, the principles of error and injustice. If it was not, was it right in them to recal that government, whose essence was crime, and tell the world that it was the dear o ect of their choice, and that they would have no other? But with regard to this it was quite obvious that unanimity did not prevail in France; and is there one who, at this time of the day, can now stand forward and say that France was right—that France was unanimous in committing the last? If Louis XVI. was unjustly condemned, it follows that his descendants alone have a right to the throne of France. That he suffered unjustly, every candid mind must allow. That his punishment was unmerited, even those who took his life are now compelled to admit. "The French Revolution," said Fouche, *had not its origin in the excess of tyranny.* It was the slow and prepared fruit of knowledge. It was undertaken with views of justice and of order, until the fury of a mad opposition obliged its founders to consign their work to the guardianship of the multitude. Then the object failed, and the revolution deviated from its principles. No human power was capable of arresting the torrent."* Then at least it was that the French nation did wrong. Then it was their King was cut off. That this was

* Fouche's report to Bonaparte, June, 1815.

done illegally, all must confess. His accusers were his judges; and even amongst these did unanimity prevail with regard to his fate? Overawed and terrified as they were—threatened with death by an ignorant and brutal mob if they did not condemn their Sovereign, yet nearly half the Convention refused to vote for his condemnation. It was not till Jacobinical laws, force, and violence, were put in requisition, that this could be accomplished. When Duhesm demanded justice by nominal appeal, each one, simply answering this question, "Shall Louis Capet suffer death, or shall he be acquitted." Lanjunais opposed the motion, and "moved that the fate of the King, should be referred to the primary assemblies." But this was overruled by a motion for the adjournment of the question, which was in its turn put by a perfect riot; for as the members crouded about the burreaux, and in the middle of the hall, they soon proceeded from invectives to blows, and appeared more like Gladiators than Senators: some even menaced the President, as intriguing with the King's counsel, and others attempted to snatch the bell from him." In this confusion, Thuriot, who, on the previous day, threatened in the Jacobin club, to poignard the King, moved that the assembly should declare itself permanent till this affair was determined, which being done, Conthon moved to proceed, but which Pethion opposing, brought upon himself every invective and abuse. "But the President interfered in his favour, the disorder was renewed again, and was, a second time, determined by a real engagement, man to man; and blows with the fist were as liberally distributed as if the greatest part of the orators had been the genuine disciples of pugilism. At the head of these combatants, M. M. Barbaroux, the Marseillois deputy, Montaut de Illes, and Bellaud Varennes, were particularly noticed."* Notwithstanding this confusion, Conthon's motion was carried; and it was under such horrid scenes that the unfortunate Louis was brought to the scaffold, and the long and bloody guillotinings, massacres, and drownings, civil wars, and banishment of thousands, took place, which shewed that all France was not unanimous for this punishment, nor indifferent to their Sovereign's fate.

Nevertheless, these things concerned France only. The

* National Convention, December 26th, 1792.

crime and the guilt were her's alone. It was the consequences, not the crime, which most interested Europe. It was the principles which organized it, and the system which sprang from it, demanded her attention. This the most severe experience had taught her could never do any thing that was good. Continual wrongs provoked her anger—she arose as one man, and put down the system. If the French people, therefore, were unanimous in again calling back that government, whose sole employment was to convulse and desolate Europe, their unanimity only demanded that she should act with the greater decision and vigour. If they were not, still she was equally interested in destroying now what she had destroyed before, in whatever strength it appeared, and in whatever shape it assumed. This was the true bearing of this important question. It was not whether Louis or Bonaparte was to be Sovereign of France, but whether France should replace a system, whose establishment could only be upheld by the tears and the groans of Europe. If in preventing this, and securing her own safety, Europe restored to his throne the legitimate monarch of France, so much the better. If she did not, she met with no loss, as this was not her object. It was her present peace and future repose for which she contended; and not all the cavillings of party, nor the jargon about the *awful unanimity* of France, and the crying injustice of interfering in her domestic concerns, could blind the understanding or unnerve the arms of Europe. But this degression has led me farther than I intended from the main object of my undertaking, to which we shall now return.

It was curious to observe the system of falsehood to which the Jacobinical adherents of Bonaparte had recourse, in order to support their cause, and encourage their friends. We have already generally alluded to them. Some of these were of a nature to excite laughter, others indignation mingled with contempt. Though given in their Journals, yet these were well known to be inserted by the express commands of the agents of government, in order to further any particular object which the Government had in view. I select a few of these insidious and designing passages. "The English people appear satisfied with the change of our government, and almost manifest enthusiasm for Napoleon."

Turning to Spain in the same breath they state. "Serious troubles have broke out in that country. Several agents of the Spanish Government have been massacred at Barcelona.—Madrid is in great agitation. It is even reported that there has been an insurrection in that city."* Continuing their system of delusion, "the news of the return of Napoleon to Paris," said they, "has produced the greatest sensation in Dublin and its vicinity. The people there manifest the joy which that extraordinary event causes, in so noisy and tumultuous a manner, that the Magistrates, to prevent the disorder which is the usual consequence of the assembling of great numbers of the people, have thought it proper to order the closing of the bridges and the canals in the neighbourhood of the city, and to direct that a report should be made to them every twenty-four hours, of the state of the town." Jumping from England to Italy, "The greatest joy prevails at Milan. The presence of Napoleon re-animates every hope. Piedmont is not less agitated."† It is asserted that the Emperor has received favourable news from England. The intention of England, it is said, is to become a mediator, in case differences should arise between France and any Continental Power."‡ In Austria and at Vienna, things were equally in favour of Napoleon. "The Emperor Alexander appears very warm. He declares on all occasions that he wished nothing of the French, that he despised the Bourbons, that they were a degenerate race, but that he would never consent to the Emperor Napoleon's reigning over France, that his honour was engaged in it. It is said, that while thus talking in company, Madame Bagrathion who was known for her enmity to Napoleon during his greatness, but who has since changed and become one of his panegyrists, availing herself of the right which she arrogates to herself of saying every thing in company, replied to Alexander, 'But Sire, if you consider this as an affair of honour with Napoleon, why don't you send him a challenge? Judging from his character, I doubt not but he would accept of it, and then you would have no occasion again to send against France

* Courier extraordinary, April 3d, 1815.
† Do. do. April 5th, 1815.
‡ Paris, April 17th, 1815.

armies of 100,000 men, 10,000 Cossacks, and trains of artillery.' The Princess Esterhazy, and many other ladies present, applauded this. *Sensible* people at Vienna treat it as ridiculous to march so many armed men, when it is declared that one man only was the object. It is also told of Lord Stewart, that hearing it disputed whether Napoleon had a right to violate the treaty of the 11th April, he said, 'Since they talked of rights, Napoleon had them all on his side; that no engagement had been kept towards him or his family, that he had repeatedly made this remark but to no purpose, and that in point of justice the matter was balanced. Men of generous souls throughout Germany are disgusted with the declaration of the 13th March. The Austrian court is very gloomy. The Poles were in the most lively indignation. The Archduke Charles refused to take a command, and it is confirmed that he said, 'the danger is not on the side of Paris but of Petersburgh. By marching against Napoleon we should march against all France. I will not meddle with this war, I see nothing in it but disasters."* But England claimed their particular attention. "The House of Commons, and the majority of the English people, wish to preserve peace with France. The people have ransacked, pillaged, and pulled down, three houses belonging to persons notoriously known to wish for war. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Lord Castlereagh, who is at the head of the party opposed to the Constitution and to Peace. They sought for him every where, and would doubtless have subjected him to very disagreeable treatment, had they got possession of his person. The effervessence has been carried to the greatest pitch in London, and the greatest evils are expected."† At another time they asserted that the King was dead, and that the Duke of York, was become a competitor for the throne. "The general opinion in England was for the continuance of Peace with France. None of the Ministers had been bold enough to demand subsidies from Parliament, and if they did, it would be rejected by the House of Commons with indignation, and the people with fury."‡ In Spain the discontent against the Government is general.

* Moniteur, April 19th, 1815.—Munich, April 12th, 1815.

† Moniteur, Paris, April 24th, 1815. ‡ Do. do. April 25th, 1815.

Placards with the words, "*no more Bourbons! Vive Napoleon! rouse yourselves Liberales*, are posted up."*

In this manner did the French press continue to inundate Europe with insidious reports, in order to sustain their cause. They were perfectly sensible that those things were odious fabrications, but they were equally certain that they would meet with attention from numbers, and bewilder the understanding of others. They were all calculated for the meridian of French intellect; and the lies of a day—a week, or a month, had great influence upon the public mind at this critical moment. But those fabrications were insignificant and not dangerous. As these, however, began to get stale and were found would no longer answer the purpose, more extensive, daring, and reprehensible falsehoods were had recourse to. Every method was tried to depreciate the strength, and impose doubts as to the union of the allies, and every attempt was made to blacken their views, and misrepresent their intentions in order to rouse the indignation of the French soldiers and people to the highest pitch of fury. In these things they succeeded in a surprising degree, bringing thereby deeper evils upon their own heads. It was of no consequence that these impositions were daily detected. They were still continued with a perseverance altogether incredible, till they almost made it appear that truth was falsehood and falsehood was truth. As early as the middle of April, in enumerating the allied troops which were marching against France, they fixed it as follows, viz. "Austria 200,000, Russia 120,000; Prussia 100,000; Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, &c. 40,000; England, Hanover, and Holland, 60,000. Thus the force of the coalition cannot amount to more than 500,000 men. Of those no reliance can be placed on the people of Wirtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. The Saxons, Belgians, and Dutch, are also not to be trusted; and the disaffection of the Poles, who are in the Russian and Austrian armies, can no longer be dissembled."† To oppose this force France had 360,000 infantry of the line, 60,000 cavalry, 30,000 artillery and engineers. "It is not an exaggeration to calculate the forces which Napoleon may have on the Alps, on the

* Moniteur, Paris, April 26th.—Barcelona, April 12th, 1815.

† Do. do. April 16th.—Vienna, April 1st, 1815.

Rhone, and on the frontiers of Belgium, at 450,000, to these may be added 200,000 national guards, to be employed in the defence of the fortresses and lining the frontiers;" and, "we may also include in the means of France the forces of the King of Naples, for *from what we have learned from his ministers, and reports from Italy, it seems certain that his* 80,000 *men*, will make a common cause with France." Thus "the approaching contest will be sanguinary, and will present chances of every kind. We have not spoken of Spain: in its present state, that country cannot be reckoned as any thing in the account."* No! French atrocity and perfidy had effectually prevented that. Of the plans and dispositions of the allies, they gave the following account. "Hitherto the Cabinets have formed no other plan than that of holding themselves on the defensive, and the idea generally prevails, that to attack France would be to repeat the faults of 1793, to give to the war that national character the force of which is terrible. This opinion is so fixed, that the enemies of France rely much on the enterprising character of Napoleon, and hope that he will be the *first to attack*. This they wish for; because then the national feeling would be weakened, and would be transposed to the Germans, who would overwhelm the French with their mass. No man of sense can venture to advise the Invasion of France. The people do not wish for war. It is certain that Lord Wellington has been requested to draw up a plan of Campaign, and that his Grace has replied he had *none to give*, that he did not sufficiently know the spirit which reigned in France. *But that as a general principle, and still more from late events, the Soldiers commanded by the Emperor, could only be attacked by forces double their number*. Such are in the most exact truth the position of affairs, and the disposition of mind of both parties."†

The preceding article was one of the many wrote to deceive the people of France, and to induce them to believe that their forces were more numerous than that of their enemies, who were represented as afraid of their strength and their unanimity. In a few

* Moniteur, April 16th.—Vienna, April 1st, 1815. The writer well knew Murat's intentions. This is dated Vienna, April 1st, Murat's declaration and force stated in it, was dated Rimini, March 30th, a town 420 miles from Vienna.

† Do. do. do.

days a similar article appeared, fixing down the force of the allies at the preceding number, and making them suppose that the means of France to oppose them were trifling. "It was decided," continued this article, "in a Council, on the 4th and 5th of April at Vienna, to prosecute the war upon a systematic plan—not to assume the offensive till all the troops be in line—to make sieges in order that a double and triple line of fortresses may not be left in their rear. Not to give battle to the Emperor except with double the number of troops of every *armé*. The Duke of Wellington *has a plan of his own for all the allies, and for all the operations* in general, even for Italy, *but he will not disclose it until all the allies are ready to commence hostilities.** The allies distrust the Swiss—They dread the French army; but fear still more that the nation will take a part in the war. There is great dissentions amongst the Prussians, Austrians, and Bavarians, at Mentz."† Continuing the same system, as the danger drew nearer and increased, they endeavoured to lessen its strength. "The allies will not be ready to take the field before the end of July. It is not thought that excluding Italy, they can have more than 350,000 effective men. The poverty and disorder of the finances become more manifest every day in Austria. Wherever the Austrians and Prussians meet they quarrel. The Poles evinced much discontent. The Officers of the troops belonging to the former Rhenish Confederation openly declare that the humiliation of France, would be the absolute ruin of the independence of their countries. Opinions were much divided at Berlin. It was considered unjust and impolitic to attack France. It was considered absurd, that Austria should complete the ruin of her finances, by a war contrary to her interests. The interest for the young French Prince was daily increasing at Vienna. That young Prince is remarkable for a precocity of understanding. He is very impatient to return to France, and says, every day, '*shall we go soon?*' This august infant is endowed with *indiscribable intelligence.*"‡

Notwithstanding all this system of delusion practised upon

* France will long remember what his Lordship's plan was.

† Moniteur, April 18th.—Mentz, April 15th.—Vienna, April 7th, 1815.

‡ Moniteur, April 29th, 1815.

the public mind, the French Government by its conduct shewed that it felt very differently. Every town in France from Paris to the frontiers, of any consequence was fortified. The Capital itself and the country was covered with fortifications or covering with them. "All the fortresses on the Northern frontiers," said the Moniteur, "from Dunkirk to Charlemont are armed and provisioned. The sluices are prepared and will be opened to inundate the country, on the first hostile movement that takes place. Some works have been constructed in the forest of Mormole. Measures have been taking to make entrenchments in the different passes of the forest of Argone. All the fortresses in Loraine are ready. Some entrenchments have been constructed in the five passes of the Vosges. The fortresses in Alsace are armed. Orders have been given to defend the passes of the Jura, and all the frontiers of the Alps. They are preparing the fortresses of the Somme, which are in the third line. In the Interior, Guise, La Fere, Vitry, Soissons, Chateau Thierry, and Langres, are arming and fortifying. Orders have been given to construct works upon the heights of Montmartre and Menil Montant, and arm them with 300 pieces of cannon. His Majesty has also ordered that Lyons shall be put in a state of defence; a *tete du pont* will be formed at Brotteaux, the draw-bridge of La Guillotierre is re-establishing. The ground between the Saone and the Rhone will be fortified; some redoubts are preparing to be constructed in front of this ground. A redoubt will be constructed on the height of Pierre en Sise, to support a work which defends the town on the right bank. The heights commanding the quarter of St. Jean, on the bank of the Saone, will be defended with several redoubts; eighty pieces of cannon, with the necessary ammunition, are proceeding towards Lyons. Sisteron, Pont St. Esprit, will be placed in a state of defence.* The works around Paris have been laid out with skill. All that part of Paris from the heights of Montmartre to those of Belleville and Charonne, and thence to Vincennes will be secured against attack. The canal which receives the waters of the Ourcq, and conveys them to St. Denys, will render the left unassailable; the fort constructed half-way between the barrier

* Moniteur, Paris, May 2d, 1815.

of the Throne and Vincennes, by taking advantage of the old walls, will place the right in equilibrium with the centre and the left. The artillery at Vincennes is ready."*

Finding that the regularly organized system of deception and misrepresentation, had no other effect upon the general Councils of Europe, than that of rendering them more decided and unanimous, the French government changed their mode of attack; and proclaiming war as inevitable, they endeavoured to stir up and bring into full play all the fiercest passions, prejudices, hatred, and vanity, of the whole French population. They described the resolute intentions of the allies to be to inflict every possible enormity and cruelty upon the French nation, particularly the military part of it. According to them these were doomed to endless captivity or death; and the people, after their property being laid waste, to the most servile chains and bondage.— "The Prussians," said they, "shew great resentment towards the French; and are disposed to do all possible mischief to France, should the war commence. The Austrian and Bavarian Officers speak of nothing but burning, plundering, and other severe treatment to France. Such language has already been held at Vienna. On the 3d and 4th of April, it was agreed by the allies at Vienna, that all the French prisoners of war should be sent to the extremity of Russia, and neither be restored nor exchanged. Those who choose to serve will be sent to the army of Caucasus, others may form Colonies, and those who refuse to do any thing are to be sold for slaves. The other allied powers are to treat the prisoners they make, with all the severity and contempt due to the conduct of a nation which arrogates to itself the right of choosing its Government."† The insidious and insulting nature of this charge could only issue from the desk of the Goddess of Reason, and as if it had been against peace and freedom, the allied powers were contending, and not against war, ambition, and tyranny.— That many of the allied soldiers held similar language, and that they should be determined to treat France with severity, is not strange; and that the latter merited, at their hands, all that was here announced, their guilty consciences told them. Not content,

* Moniteur, Paris, May 26th, 1815.

† Moniteur, Paris, April 18th.—Mentz, April 18th. Vienna, May 7th.

however, with fabricating these things at Paris, as the work of foreign correspondents on whose veracity they could rely, they boldly took a higher flight; and, by endeavouring to stain the character of him whose arms they dreaded, whose sword they were yet to feel, they tried to stimulate the rage of their adherents to madness, against the British army and their allies. Forging a proclamation in the name of Wellington, they caused it to be published, with notes thereon, and to be circulated throughout France. In it they made him address the French nation in a manner which they supposed would wound their pride, and awaken their passions to a desire of resistance and revenge. "I raise my voice," said this lying document, "in the name of your King and his allies, to recal you to the sentiments of submission (1.) and peace. Frenchmen! what do you expect by attaching yourselves to the fate of the violater of treaties? of a man without right and without power? Frenchmen! we cannot believe, we cannot suppose that his furious ambition can have influence sufficient, so far to seduce you, as to produce a belief in the success of his *insane* projects. (2.) We know his forces, we are acquainted with his means. We do not deceive ourselves in declaring to you that all his efforts will only serve to make him fall with more certainty into our hands. No, Frenchmen, I must repeat it, it is not on the nation we mean to make war, *but* on Bonaparte *and his soldiers.* (3.) Wo to them who shall join him! Wo to the rebel provinces! Do not imagine that Bonaparte can brave with impunity the *sovereign authority of so many crowned heads;* (4.) or that offended Europe will consent to have in vain made enormous sacrifices *for replacing the Bourbons on the throne of France,* (5.) when the repose and the interests of nations require *that they should be maintained thereon.* But did not these circumstances exist, one

(1.) "My Lord, you need not preach peace to us; on that point we are all converts. As to submission, we do not understand that language."

(2.) "Yes, my Lord, we are sufficiently deceived, sufficiently misled, to think that we shall resist all Europe, if all Europe do not resist the most *insane of projects.*"

(3.) "*On his soldiers!*—Think, my Lord, on those words."

(4.) "The Sovereign of Frenchmen does not recognise the authority of any crowned head."

(5.) "That is to say, that France should indemnify Europe for the enormous sacrifices made to subjugate us."

rule more powerful would render it necessary to resume arms a second time—that of *punishing the factious* horde by which the present troubles have been fomented, and which has *dared* to pronounce against the *unanimous wish of all the European monarchies.* Yes, Frenchmen, henceforth Europe, united and moved by the same interest, must form but one single power, and *the Sovereigns a supreme corporation*, upon which will be raised the solid pedestal of the peace and happiness of nations. *The allied Sovereigns replaced Louis XVIII. on the throne of his ancestors, and proclaimed the reign of the Family of Bourbon, until its extinction, over the French people.* (6.) They now take up arms to *restore and confirm that dynasty—to support the cause of Kings*, and to give *an imposing example of sovereign authority to all nations.* This they have sworn in the face of the universe. Within a few days, 1,200,000 men will pass your frontiers, and occupy your provinces. (7.) I shall cause the provinces which submit to be respected, but I shall be under the necessity of punishing the rebel population."*

The malignity of this odious fabrication was only equalled by its absurdity. It must give a mean idea of the intellect and energies of the nation, where only falsehood could stimulate them to defence; and the lowest opinion of the head and the heart of that government which could degrade itself in using such expedients to consolidate or defend its power. These things might serve to amuse Parisian levity, and form mirth to the sarcastic ferocity of Carnot. They might, as they no doubt did do, stimulate to a great degree the passions of the rebellious in France against the allies. But what then. It but served to bring down on their heads severer punishment, fiercer retaliation, and keener contempt. The article throughout bears the indelible marks of the levity, haughtiness, confidence, defiance, and falsehood, so characteristic of revolutionary France. It was one of the last diabolical and disgraceful efforts of an expiring system, whose conduct was drawing down, with a frantic joy, utter ruin on its guilty head.

(6.) "That is to say, that the allied Sovereigns have proclaimed themselves arbiters of the destinies of France. My Lord, what would you say were similar language to be addressed to the people of Great Britain?—Nay, what would you do?"

(7.) "This is not quite certain. This prediction savours a little of the Brussells Oracle."

* Moniteur, April 15th, 1815.

While the ruling party in France continued by such miserable expedients to call forth the energies of its defenders, the powers of Europe took a different road, and spoke in a different language. They publicly avowed their sentiments in language no French sophistry could refute. In reviewing the declaration of 13th March, they were so far from viewing the successful career of Bonaparte as a reason for altering their sentiments, as French logic argued they should, that they only came forward with greater alacrity to consecrate the opinions there promulgated, in a more solemn manner. After receiving the answer which the Usurper's government had given to that document, and which they most justly characterised as the utmost abuse of human reason, the Congress decided that there was no alteration in the relative positions of Bonaparte and themselves, and that no further declaration from them was necessary; the first fully expressing their unalterable sentiments on that head. In this important document, the committee of Congress proved by irresistible arguments, the absurdity of that reasoning by which the agents of Bonaparte attempted to overthrow the sentiments expressed in the declaration of the 13th March. They acknowledge that the entrance of Bonaparte into Paris "doubtless altered, *in fact*, the positions" in which he previously was; but they denied "that those events, brought on by criminal collusion, by military conspiracies, by revolting treasons, could confer any right." They asked if the "consent, real or fictitious, explicit or tacit, of the French nation to the re-establishment of Bonaparte's power could operate as a legal change in the position of the latter, in regard to foreign powers, and a title obligatory on these powers?" They clearly shewed that it could not. They pointed out that the power of a nation to choose its own government, like all other power, must have "its limits"—they admitted that no foreign power had any right "*to prescribe*" a form of government to another nation; but, at the same time, they pointed out the undeniable right which foreign powers had "to *protest against its abuse at their expense.*" They stated that they respected and would "respect the liberty of France, in every way *in which it shall not be incompatible with their own security, and the general tranquility of*

Europe." They shewed that Bonaparte, at the head of the French government, stood in the same situation, with respect to them, that he did on the 31st March, 1814, when his abdication, greeted by France and by Europe, paved the way for the treaty of Paris. In this treaty, Europe only took from France that "deceitful exterior of great national *eclat*," which had been "an inexhaustible source of sufferings, ruin, and misery." They shewed that "this treaty was even an immense benefit for a country, reduced by the madness of its chief to the most disastrous situation." They pointed out in the clearest and strongest manner, that they never would have made such a treaty with the French nation with Bonaparte as their chief; that the French nation, by breaking that treaty in the recal of Bonaparte, if it was really the French nation which had done so, had placed Europe in a similar situation to that in which she was before the abdication of Napoleon in the preceding year; and by which means Europe had now, as then, an unquestionable right to determine whether she would negotiate with him or not. That with regard to the treaty of Paris, it was certainly broken; and "the question is no longer the maintainance of that treaty, but the making of it afresh." They pointed out, in forcible language, the absurdity and impolicy of trusting, as a guarantee for the repose of Europe, to the word of a man who, "during fifteen years, had ravaged and laid waste the earth, to find means of satisfying his ambition; who sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of an entire generation, to a system of conquests; whose truces, little worthy of the name of peace, have only rendered it more oppressive and more odious—who, at the moment the nations of Europe were giving themselves up to the hope of a durable tranquillity, meditated new catastrophes. After the cruel experience of fifteen years, who would have the courage to accept this guarantee? And if the French nation has really embraced his cause, *who could any longer respect the security which it could offer?* Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only be a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger;" and, therefore, the allied powers of Europe judge, "that a state of open war, with all its inconveniences, is preferable to such a state of things." The assembly, the place,

the time, all conspired to give these resolutions the most commanding and impressive attention. It was impossible that ever the opinion of the nations of the Continent could be more fully ascertained. All were unanimous and most cordially united. "The opinion of Europe on this great occasion is," said they, "pronounced *in a manner very positive and very solemn.*"*

Before this important document, the malevolence of party was silent, and the loquacious audacity of Gallic logic remained mute. It was a subject on which the less they said the better. It could not be answered, and therefore was passed without comment. "The opinion of Europe," was indeed "pronounced on this great occasion, in a manner very positive and very solemn." She was resolved to act up to her resolutions. Foremost in the list of those who bravely faced this fresh storm was the King of Prussia. None had suffered deeper injuries, insults, and oppression from the hand of France, than him and his people had done—none were more eager and ready to repay them." "The hopes of peace," said that brave Prince, "is vanished. We must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who, for ten years together, brought down upon the world unutterable miseries. He is at the head of perjured soldiers, who desire to render *war eternal.* Europe is again threatened; it cannot suffer the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal Empire to be the object of his continually renewed wars; who *confounded all moral principles*, by his continued breach of faith; and who can therefore give the world no security for his peaceable intentions. Again, therefore, arise to the combat. United with all Europe in arms, we again enter the lists against Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents. Arise then, with God for your support, for the peace of the world, for order, for morality, for your King, and your country."† This noble appeal was not made in vain. Prussia came forward with an alacrity which made Daru, his piratical comrades, and many a guilty bosom in France tremble.

In the meantime, the unfortunate King of France had left Brussels, and removed to Ghent, where he was joined by many

* Report of the Committee of Congress, May 12th, 1815.

† King of Prussia's address, Vienna, April 7th.

of his faithful adherents. From thence, he kept up a correspondence with his friends in different parts of France; but who were too narowly watched by the jealous eye of their revolutionary adversaries, to arrange any general plan for his assistance. It was obvious, however, that they had the best inclinations to do so—From Ghent he at different times issued proclamations to the people of France, in which there is nothing very remarkable, but his pointing out to them their errors and their dangers, and promising pardon and forgiveness to all but incorrigible offenders. These, however, France laughed to scorn, as she did every thing else that was worth her attention.—Marmont, Victor, and Clarke remained with the King. Talleyrand was at Vienna, and Berthier at Bamberg with his family.

Events were now rapidly approaching to a crisis. Fresh and important treaties were concluded betwixt the allied powers at Vienna, the substance of which was, that all the powers should unite all their strength, if necessary, to overthrow the system established in France, by the violation of the treaty of Paris. Great Britain, by way of subsidy, was to pay five millions sterling to the different powers, in order to assist them in increasing and accelerating the march of their armies. Numerous insidious reports had been spread, of jealousies and divisions amongst the confederate powers, on the subject of the situation of France, and the propriety of going to war with her. These, however, were most fully and satisfactorily set to rest by the publication of the treaties, and the clear and decided letter of Lord Clancarty to the British government. "With regard to France, subsequent to the return of Bonaparte," said he, "but one opinion has appeared to direct the counsels of the different Sovereigns. They adhere, and from the commencement have never ceased to adhere, to their declaration of the 13th March, with respect to the actual ruler of France. They are in a state of hostility with him and his adherents, not from choice, but *from necessity;* because past experience has shewn, that no faith has been kept by him, and that no reliance can be placed on the professions of one who has hitherto no longer regarded the most solemn compacts, than as it may have suited his own convenience to observe them. They are at war then

for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the re-conquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted."*

Europe was at war then once more, with Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents. Late in the month of May, this important question came to be discussed in both Houses of the British Parliament, whose deliberations had so often upheld and decided the measures of the Continent of Europe. The bounds of this work prevents me from giving any thing but a very general outline of these important and interesting discussions:—On the 23d, Lord Liverpool, in the House of Peers, opened the debate, by stating that the "subject was the most momentous that could possibly come before them." His Lordship went over nearly the same ground that the last important document issued by Congress had done. He dwelt at great length upon the principles and facts therein contained. He shewed that the treaty of Paris had been religiously observed by all the allies; but had been most wantonly broken by France in the act which recalled Bonaparte to her head. He denied that there had been any violation of the treaty as against him; and pointed out that even if there had been, "that it was only upon a complaint being made, and a refusal of justice, that could justify a violation by the opposite party." "Bonaparte had made no complaint to the allies, and they never, therefore, could have refused him redress." He pointed out, that, even in his first proclamations, Bonaparte made no such charge, even against the King of France; and that the whole was an after thought, when he sought for some reasonable ground as an apology for his undertaking. He pointed out also, in strong terms, the *justice* and also the necessity of war against him. He asked, "if the ambition evinced by the present Government of France was that common ambition which had given rise to the ordinary contests between the European powers?" On the contrary, it was, as every one knew, "an ambition which no success had ever satisfied, which no disappointments had ever forced to abandon its views." He detailed at length the aggressions of France, from the earliest dawn of the revolution, every step of which pointed out to what they at length openly avowed was

* Clancarty's letter, Vienna, May 6th, 1815.

their object—" the absolute subjugation of all the powers of Europe," and " universal Empire." He denied that Bonaparte had been recalled by the unanimous consent of the French nation; but said, that he was only so by the discontented and military part thereof. He shewed that the age and experience of Bonaparte, as some had imagined, would not make him wiser or more moderate; and that his ambition was not of that sort which could be chastened by age, or corrected by experience. That with regard to the boast that France was now under a limited monarchy, he shewed " that there was no individual under whose sway it was so totally impossible that any thing like a limited government could exist, as that individual, whose title depended upon the sword; whose fame, whose power, and all that rendered him distinguished, arose from, and was connected with war and conquest." He pointed out the commanding situation in which the powers of Europe stood; that they never had a juster cause, more formidable means, and greater hopes of success. He shewed that the powers of Europe were unanimous in the contest, arising from a conviction of their own insecurity under a different system, and that they were not goaded into it by Great Britain, as was the malicious insinuation of our enemy. He acknowledged that all the allies would be glad to see Louis XVIII. restored to the throne of France, as they were satisfied that with him they could remain at peace, in the spirit thereof; but denied that they had any intention to force either him or any other government upon the people of France, as had been wickedly charged against them. They fought for their own security and peace. They had made up their minds on the subject, and the arts of Bonaparte could no longer shake them.

Lord Grey, however, took a different and very remarkable view of the subject: He stated that " he was by no means satisfied as to the point of right in this instance." In order to render war necessary, it ought to be shewn that redress of any grievance had been amicably demanded and totally refused. " Had," continued he, " any aggression then been made upon the country? Had any demand of reparation been made, and not listened to? Upon what, then, does the right of going to war rest?" He allowed that the general right of nations to

choose their own government, might be qualified by some modifications. To the principles laid down, that "no nation should exercise it in such a way as to be dangerous to the security of other nations, he gave his full assent." But his Lordship went into a long dissertation upon the coalition against France, under the auspices of King William, to shew that the present case was different, the danger remote, and principles unjustifiable. With regard to the danger with which we were threatened, "it was a danger arising from the personal character and personal existence of one man." "In the whole history of modern war," said he "pregnant as it was with the falsest pretences, fertile as it was in examples of the most rapacious views, covering themselves under an affectation of liberal principles, and a love of independence, there was at present no instance of a war commenced and conducted on such a principle. There was not even an instance of any writer on public law, excluding an individual from supreme power, on account of his personal qualities, let them be good or bad."* Vattell alone had supposed such a case, but had been forced to have recourse to fabulous history to support it. He stated that "it certainly appeared that the treaty of Fontainbleau had been entirely broken." He contended, "that although it might not have been in the contemplation of the British government, still it was obvious that it was the intention of some of the other powers to remove Bonaparte from Elba. As the right of nations to choose their own government was sacred, so he held that no internal change of government could abrogate treaties with foreign powers, unless that change was specifically excluded. He contended also, that there was no article in the treaty of Paris which prevented the French people from choosing any form of government they might wish; "be it republican, military, or despotic." That if they chose they might justly vest the authority in Carnot, Barrere, Massena, or Caulincourt, nay, even in Bonaparte, as abdication was not "*specifically named*" in it. He contended farther, that the declaration of the 13th March, expressly pointed out the "dagger of the assassin," as justifiable; and that even if this horrid infer-

* The French nation denied this; they had excluded not only Louis XVIII. but his family, because they said he was bad.

ence was not to belong to it, that "it was irreconcileable with all the established principles and practices of modern and civilized warfare." It had, whether done with an evil intention or not, "given to the enemy all the advantages of its wickedness." It left us no possibility of compromise; but either to secure complete success, or the deepest and most unprecedented humiliation. He contended besides, that as securities for the future repose of Europe, had been dispensed with when the Bourbons were restored, so "that no new securities ought in point of policy to be now demanded." He continued and said, that the Revolution accomplished by Bonaparte "was not a military Revolution." That there was a general feeling amongst the people in his favour, and against the Bourbons. He insisted that the case was much altered from what it was on the preceding year. That then the disposable force of the allies was 540,000 men, exclusive of garrisons, Swedes and the Landwher, to oppose which, France had only 165,000 men,* who were harassed and worn out with two disastrous campaigns. Yet, that though France was thus attacked by more than double her numbers, still the contest had been doubtful, and that the allies at last only escaped destruction and obtained success by "*a mere accident.*" We never could expect to see the contest renewed upon "equally favourable circumstances." He asserted that the Duke of Wellington could not obtain an army like what he formerly had; and which had been "dispersed and exhausted by the impolitic war with America." He dwelt upon the improbability of any assistance from the 40,000 brave Saxons, who had "so gloriously contributed to the success of the *last two campaigns.*"† He pointed out the great increase of Bonaparte's strength, from prisoners returned, the number from Great Britain alone being 170,000 (perhaps 70,000.)

* Bonaparte's army, and that which defended Paris, alone amounted to this number. Soult besides had 90,000 Suchet, 30,000. Augereau, 40,000.—Beauharnois, 89.000. Maison, 20,000, and above 200,000 in Garrisons. Why should his Lordship err so widely? Bonaparte himself stated his force remaining on the 1st of April, 1814, at 450,000 men.

† The Saxons occasioned the loss of the fruits of the battle of Lutzen. But for their joining Bonaparte the battle of Bautzen would never have been fought, 12,000 left him at Leipsic, after his fate was decided, and when they could do no better. Not one was at the capture of Paris.

Austria he contended had her hands completely full in taly, between the attack of Murat and disaffection there. He contended that Bonaparte's conduct would be altered; and that even if his "nature" were not so, still his "policy" might be so. That he was now become advanced in life, when he could no longer follow with the energy he had done, the measures which had formerly secured him success. His Lordship next adverted to the impossibility of our finances supporting the contest, and next hinted at the probability of a renewal also of hostilities with America, and concluded "by opposing a war which appeared indefinite and interminable."

Lord Grenville, however, took a more just, manly, and decided view of the subject. Bursting from the trammels of party, his Lordship stood forward in all that energy and strength which characterised his conduct, when in the midst of the dark and devouring tempests, raised by the Goddess of Reason, he stood by the Pilot which weathered the storm, and when by their firm example they saved Europe. His Lordship began by observing that the delay which had taken place in bringing forward this important question, had afforded him the consolation of deferring the "*fatal necessity*" which he had of totally differing in opinion from those with whom he had coalesced. He observed with regard to the question before them, that if any State could be found in a *State of Nature*, the rights of that State to regulate its affairs, unconnected with those of its neighbours, would be absolute and undeniable; but as this was not and could not possibly be the case, consequently that every State "must be contented to see their individual rights regulated with respect to the mutual rights of all. There was no country, he observed, "which had not tried the effect of a treaty with Bonaparte, and experienced that to restrain his power or to diminish his aggressions, treaties were of no avail whatever." If France had the right of choosing her own Government, so she had also the right of concluding the treaty of Paris, upon which principle it was concluded. In civil cases "certain forms were necessary for the regulation of a contract, which he who did not act upon, neglected at his peril." In affairs between nations, all that could be required was "to impose on both parties the duty of performing what they under-

took. The intention to perform the contract must be made known to all parties, and this was the case respecting the exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from the French throne." The question now was not for the abstract right of interfering with the internal concerns of France, but the clear and undeniable right of enforcing a solemn treaty. France had a right to make that treaty—the allies to enforce its observance when broken. France does break it, and retracts from her part of the bargain, which was the exclusion of Bonaparte. "The moment that this violation was committed, a just cause of war ensued." There was, therefore, "no option left us, nor any ground for long deliberation; we were forced by imperious necessity to do what could not be avoided." It was a lamentable prospect after twenty-five years of war, to find in France that passion still remaining which had occasioned those calamities, and which she was preparing to act upon anew. France alone could not be admitted to have the right to examine a question, and cancel treaties without assigning any reason.—Europe could not tolerate her principles of destroying treaties as she had done and as she now attempted to do, in renouncing her contract, "by one of the most *insulting* papers ever known in the annals of diplomacy."* France had shewn that she would not abide by any treaty. She gloried in violating treaties—she scattered them to the winds. By twenty-five years experience she had taught Europe how she appreciated treaties. "Other securities must be found for her than those of solemn compacts." Bonaparte had flagrantly violated his word—he could offer no security for the observance of any treaty. His Lordship contended that this was a more favourable moment than ever could again occur, for uniting the common efforts of Europe against the ambition of France. "No words of which he was master, nothing that the page of history recorded, appeared adequate to impress on their Lordships minds the situation in which we were now placed." He would not enumerate how many violations of treaties Bonaparte had been guilty of, "but he would ask any one to shew him one country which, for the last ten or twelve years, had sought peace or safety with him, that had not found itself visited with the

* Caulincourt's letter to the Sovereigns.

aggravation of the very evils it so attempted to ward off." Bonaparte was replaced by the active exertions of the military; and so far from age and experience lessening his activity of ambition, the last act was the strongest example of his restlessness and ambition. Louis XVIII. "*was the victim of peace.* He was the sacrifice of his good faith." Therefore was he hated by a soldiery, "accustomed to rapine;" and who had been raised by their former chief "to principalities and powers," at the expense of the just rights of other people. By them he was recalled, by them he was to be maintained in his regained power; and to keep them in humour with him, said his Lordship, Bonaparte, whatever his wishes might be, must "lead them on to some fresh aggression against some foreign nation." There was no peace between us and Bonaparte, and he could not tell upon what grounds we could now negociate with him; for "in that overture, as it was called, that Bonaparte made to this country, he mentioned nothing about the peace of Paris, *nor even condescended* to say any thing about the terms on which he was disposed to treat with us." In the proposal, however, forwarded to Vienna, he had expressed himself ready to abide by the treaty of Paris—which treaty gave France a right to enterfere in the settlement of the affairs of the Continent, and particularly of Germany, and which in the hands of Bonaparte would be made use of to undo all that the Congress had done —to oppose their measures, and to plunge Europe into fresh troubles. His Lordship concluded an admirable speech by approving of the measures of Government, and the necessity of war, which was carried by 145 against 44 who voted for Lord Grey's amendment.

On the 25th of May, the same important subject came before the House of Commons for their decision. The results were similar to what had been in the House of Lords. The ground taken up by the different speakers, was generally the same as what had been in the other House, and many of their arguments perfectly similar. Lord Castlereagh began by stating the perfect unanimity which reigned among all the allies, upon this important business. He shewed that the decisions of Congress, had gone upon the principles and opinions of Mr. Pitt, whose general knowledge of European policy and

European safety had never been surpassed. He contended that if the restoration of Bonaparte was the act of the whole French nation; that so much was the greater danger to Europe, and greater the offence against the allies. The question now was not whether they should go to war with Bonaparte, but whether or not they should open negotiations with him. He stated that the principles and conduct of the allies would, no doubt, as usual, be misrepresented and distorted. But peace could not be expected with Bonaparte. The greater his talents the greater the danger. "In war or in peace, also in prosperity or in adversity, still the same perseverance and unrelenting system of policy was distinguishable." He exposed the base, insidious and dangerous conduct of Bonaparte, in the negotiations at Chatillon.* He shewed that Great Britain had not excited the Continent to war. That she had earnestly recommended to them caution and an attention to their own interests and safety, not to hers; they "had deliberately decided on war, as necessary to their existence." The result of all their deliberations was, that "no safety for the world was to be hoped from negotiations with Bonaparte." The means of the allies to commence war were of the most formidable description. While the issue of the contest was in the hands of an overruling Providence, he contended that France stood in a very different situation to what she did in 1792. The Revolutionary spirit had perished, "through the horrors to which it had given birth." France in her former wars had been accustomed to calculate not so much upon her own means, as upon "*her external resources*," namely, the plunder of foreign nations.—These she could calculate upon no longer. While the energies of France were thus paralized, "a great moral feeling was spread throughout Europe." The population and the Governments felt that French ambition and wickedness had been the cause of all their misery. "At no period had they ever been disposed to put forth their hostilities against France with more ardour." The armies of the allies were not only augmented to a number beyond what they had been, but most important measures had been resorted to in the event of failure, to guard against the recoil of the blow which was meditated

*. See former Narrative—Appendix.

against the power of Bonaparte. Such was the unanimity and formidable preparations against him; and since he had resolved upon his daring enterprise, no period more favourable for the safety of Europe could ever have occurred. "Had Bonaparte," however, "delayed his return for a single month, he believed it would have made a vast difference in the attitude of the allies; and instead of their applying now the arms in their hands, they would have to re-create their armies at a vast expense. While his Lordship lamented the disappointment of all our hopes of a lasting peace after twenty-five years of labour, thro' toil, through danger and blood; yet he could not help from congratulating the country upon the commencement of a struggle, in which we stood in a very different situation to what we had formerly done. Instead of no allies, we had Europe awakened to a sense of her danger, and also to a knowledge of her strength. "It was therefore evident," continued his Lordship, "that we started from a different point." Every thing was calculated to animate and to encourage us to preserve that peace which our arms had conquered from that individual, who once more weilded the Sovereign authority in France. No one, said his Lordship, could now approach the Sovereigns of Europe with any counsels which might tend to discourage their efforts. On these grounds his Lordship solicited the House to assure the Prince Regent of their wish to concur in those measures, which in conjunction with his allies he might see it advisable to adopt in the present emergency.

Lord George Cavendish moved an amendment, and stated that he conceived, that the allies had now altered their language. "It was now clear that their sole object was to overthrow Bonaparte, and to restore the Bourbons. He could not, therefore, give his consent to such an interference and to such a war." Mr. J. Smith seconded the amendment, and stated, that although he considered the French army as "little better than a banditti," still they could only be reclaimed by a period of peace and not of war. He gave Bonaparte no credit for his intentions beyond what suited his interests. He contended, however, that his power was so formidable as to render success impossible. He had been re-enforced by an immense number of veteran soldiers, formerly cooped up in

garrisons, and by 200,000 prisoners from Russia and this country, 100,000 of whom returned from the latter, were animated with the most enthusiastic attachment to him, and who "betrayed a resentment against this country that was truly extraordinary." He conceived that the war might continue for several years, when our finances would be ruined. Sir Francis Burdett followed on the same side, but with open declarations in favour of Napoleon. He was not, he said, convinced of the justice or expediency of this war. "The question was respecting the re-imposing upon France a family proscribed and twice expelled." "Bonaparte appeared to be, as far as possible, more than any known King elected by a very large majority of the French people. The declaration of Vienna was as plain as possible. It designated the French as rebels, and the French Emperor as a fit object for the dagger of the assassin. It was impossible to get rid of this declaration. It was absurd to make the breach of a treaty by Bonaparte, the cause of a war with him. Besides the breach of treaties was synonimous with the very name of the Bourbons." The allied powers were now pursuing the same ambitious course which they had opposed in France. "They attacked France for the cause of the Bourbons, pretending it to be for the sake of liberty." "Bonaparte," said he, "did a *just and magnanimous thing* in throwing himself into France. The war now entered upon seemed perfectly unnecessary. The conquest of France was absurd, and war for the Bourbons ridiculous. We had given Belgium to an *upstart* King, who could not maintain himself, but would throw the burden upon us." For these and other reasons, as usual, equally extraordinary and irrelevant, the Baronet deprecated any attempt to trouble Bonaparte, or France, with him at her head. Mr. Ponsonby supported the same side of the question, and stated, that "it could not be doubted but that the real object of the present war was to restore the Bourbons;" and he conceived that the invasion of France would unite the whole population in the favour of Bonaparte, when France, who was not any longer very formidable as an attacking power, might become the reverse by being attacked.

Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunket, however, took a nobler and

a more manly course. Escaped from imprisonment in those disgraceful fetters, in which party spirit had chained the moral feelings and energies of the proudest pursuits of the human mind, throughout the most arduous struggle which ever right had against wrong, these personages appeared in a situation which gave the finest scope to their abilities and eloquence; and which, while it cheered Europe, confounded the powers of their former associates. Mr. Grattan began, by stating, that he was perfectly satisfied that the present war was not for the object of restoring the Bourbons to the throne of France. "The only alternative," said he, "which is now left us seemed to him to be, whether we should have a peace without security, or a war without allies. The Constitution of France was war, and Bonaparte was the man best able to cherish and support it." If time was given him to restore his finances, recruit his forces, and consolidate his power, at present "tottering to the very base," he had no doubt but that if the space that intervened between the two countries was land, that he would endeavour again, as he had done before, to confer the same benefits upon England that he had done upon Holland, Portugal, Spain, and other places. England had constantly been the particular object of his rancour and hostility; and after having reduced the Continent of Europe to his sway, "he contrived to place her between two fires; that is, between one Continent in Europe, in which was the army of France; and another Continent in America, which was her great rival for the palm of commercial greatness; and by these means to effect our utter destruction." The same reason urged him to endeavour to drive the Emperor of Russia and his people into the Frozen Ocean—to put the King of Prussia, after the most shameless and aggravated insults, out of the list of crowned heads. Yet, after all these acts of "ferocious enmity, malignity, and hostility," the allies had generously given France liberty, and Bonaparte life and the island of Elba. France, during his absence, had enjoyed a better constitution than any of those cobwebs of Jacobinical manufacture, whose votaries exercised their talents this way, till "the Goddess of Liberty was turned into fury, and the Goddess of Reason into frenzy." In the midst of the peace bestowed upon France, Bonaparte breaks the treaty of Fontainbleau, and

"now modestly comes to know whether you will trust him again, and shamelessly avows in the face of Europe and the world, that his abdication was merely an act of convenience on his part: that it could not be binding, because it was not with the consent of the people. Mr. Grattan ridiculed the idea that France was a match for all Europe. He denied that Austria had her hands tied up by the affairs of Italy. Her forces amounted to 500,000 men. Those of Russia were immense. The affairs of Poland would neither embarrass her, nor would those of Saxony curb the exertions of Prussia. Bonaparte was not now what he had once been. He could no longer overawe nations by "the imposing march of his armies." The people of France never regretted his absence. It was impossible they could break their oaths "to a mild and merciful Sovereign, for the purpose of saddling themselves with the eternal damnation of a military despotism." His return from Elba, and unmolested march through France, was by no means a foundation on which to judge that the people was in his favour. It argued their silence, but not their consent. Bonaparte, who was called the Champion of Liberty, kept it all to himself. Italy, Spain, and Holland, never knew what liberty was, under his sway; nor would France now enjoy more than suited his views. The liberty which he seemed to value was, that of uniting himself to any set of men whom he considered as most likely to promote his own selfish and arbitrary views. At present "he held forth the curious anomaly of a man who could bear no liberty, uniting himself with a Jacobinical party, who could bear no government." His decree in favour of the liberty of the blacks was a blind; and at any rate did not warrant assistance in enabling him to take away the liberty and independence of Europe. We were now going to war with him, "as a person whose character is such, that no regard to treaties could bind him. As to the partitioning schemes of the allies, they were not like the efforts of Bonaparte, who threatened to take all Europe; and who "presented himself ready for that object, covered with the blood of millions, and covered with the means of gigantic efforts. There was about his character a sort of a theatrical grandeur. The fire of his genius, inflamed the world. He was a military hero to France, and a public cala-

nity to Europe." As to the government of Louis XVIII. he looked upon it rather as "interrupted than subverted." There was, said Mr. Grattan, "a sort of monstrous unreality in the revived system of government, that stated nothing as it is, and every thing as it was not. The whole state was corrupted." He wished to know if, by a treaty, that House would agree to confirm in the heart of France a military dominion, whose object was to triumph over civil rights, which had governed a mighty nation, without any religion, and whose object was to govern Europe, "by means of breaking oaths and deposing Kings." If, said Mr. Grattan, "they would agree to confirm that system—degrade the honour of England—forget the value of morals, and despise the obligations of religion—if they would astonish all our allies by such a confirmation, would not they exclaim, is it England who at the most urgent moment draws back? In vain have you supported the fallen fortunes of the world—taken the eagles from the hands of the invaders—and snatched invincibility from the standards of the foe, if now, when all Europe is ready to march, you, who were in the front before, are the foremost to take the lead in desertion!" With regard to financial questions, "it is not what money you are to spend," said Mr. Grattan, "but what fortunes we are to keep, that is the object claims our attention. Besides, money is not the national strength. The name and post you have hitherto borne, preclude you," continued he, "from taking a secondary place. *Whenever you cease to be the first among nations, you will sink to the condition of the last!*"

This speech was received with reiterated cheers by the House. Mr. Plunket followed in the same animated strains. He stated, that he should have little confidence in the judgment of any, who should consider peace with Bonaparte as a sufficient security to this country. He contended, that, in conjunction with our allies, we ought to prosecute the war against Bonaparte. That if it was admitted we ought to negotiate with our allies, it must also be allowed that, if those negotiations were unsuccessful, we must go to war in concert with them. That, granting these allies had previously, and in some instances proved faithless to us, still "that faithlessness did not apply to the present question." It was no answer to the accu-

sation against Bonaparte, to say that other powers *had been* faithless too. When the internal regulations of one country threatened "the peace and security of the others, it appeared to him, as clear as the light, that interference was justifiable." The peace of Paris was accepted by France, and by Bonaparte, with gratitude; and now, when that was broken by a licentious soldiery, for the purpose of fresh aggression, was Europe to be told that she had no right to interfere in the internal arrangements of such a nation? The just and legitimate Sovereign of France had been driven from his throne, because his unambitious virtue made him appear to the soldiers not to be a proper instrument to wield the "unsocial and unnatural energies of the French Empire." The universal feeling of joy at the abdication of Bonaparte, argued how much the feelings of mankind were against him. Bonaparte was reduced by necessity to make professions contrary to his very nature. The storm pressed hard upon him, and bent his utmost strength. The combination of the allies, acting from moral feelings, was most formidable; and if "we were foolish enough to throw away those means, we could never hope to recal them." It was vain to expect that a more favourable opportunity could ever arrive; and even those with whom he differed, acknowledged that when a great blow could be struck against the enemy, it ought not to be neglected. "He considered that we had no option between peace and war. That peace, under the present circumstances, would only be a peevish unrefreshing dream, continually haunted by the spectre of war. If we did not now invade the territories of France, the day might come when this country would be the theatre of war; and, added he, if we now turn our back upon our allies, we should deserve that in the hour of our calamity, all nations should turn their backs upon us."

Such is a faint outline of the different speeches made by the leading members upon this important subject, and at this momentous occasions. Mr. Tierney said little, except by a few hasty assertions against the measures of the government, in which there was nothing either new or remarkable. Mr. Whitbread, on this occasion, said nothing. The motion, similar to that in the House of Lords, was then carried by a majority of 239. Next

day, Lord Castlereagh brought forward the question of the subsidies to be granted to the Foreign Powers, when five millions were demanded and voted for that purpose, to be divided between the three great Powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. His Lordship stated the forces to be brought into actual service by the different powers to be 1,011,000 men, independent of a Russian army of reserve of 150,000 men,* ready to march, if necessary; and all the remaining resources of the other powers together, perhaps an equal number to the former. Europe, indeed, at this moment, was a perfect camp; and, independent of the enormous military power of Russia, above one million of men were in arms in Germany alone.† In this arrangement, as Great Britain was bound to bring into the field 150,000 men, or to pay for the deficiency at a certain rate per man; she had £2,500,000 to pay for the 100,000 men in which she was deficient. To this grant Mr. Whitbread objected, and opposed the measures of war; in which he said it was not so much the object of the confederates to put down Bonaparte as to restore the Bourbons. It was impossible, he said, to look for the termination of the war within one year, as some sanguine persons were led to expect. That even if Bonaparte were destroyed, his destruction would not put an end to the war. He was of opinion that the cordial co-operation of the allied powers could not be relied on, and that they would "split upon their own views of aggrandizement." He further asserted, that the opinion of all mankind was outraged by the conduct of these powers towards Saxony and other places.

Notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Whitbread, the vote for the subsidies was carried; and, certainly, considering every circumstance, it was the most favourable contract this country ever entered into. The conduct of the British ministers at this moment was highly meritorious, and most skilful. In

* Austria, - - - 300,000
Russia, - - - 225,000 and army of reserve of 150,000
Prussia, - - - 236,000
States of Germany, - 150,000
Great Britain, - - 50,000
Holland and Belgium, - 50,000
1,011,000

† Lord Castlereagh, House of Commons, May 25th, 1815.

all the former contest, France eagerly inculcated the doctrine, that it was England that led all the powers of the Continent into war; not for their interest and safety, but for her own, and out of hatred and animosity against France. False as this assertion was, there was a great majority in France, and millions in Europe, which believed it. In this instance, however, no such accusation could possibly be brought against her. She entered into the war, not by calling upon the allied powers to join her, but from their demanding and soliciting her powerful aid and assistance. It was for the interest of all, but for theirs in a more particular manner, as they openly acknowledged, that the contest was now to be commenced. The animosity of enemies, and the machinations of party could no longer, however, falsely load the character of Britain with being the instigator to resistance and war. I have thus detailed the previous speeches at considerable length, in order that I might shew to the reader the sentiments of the leading political characters in Great Britain at this important moment, and upon this momentous subject, the greatest and most extraordinary ever interested the world. I have shewn, without favour or affection, the sentiments of both parties, in order that the reader may judge to whose counsels and advice the safety of Europe is now owing. Had the counsels of a Grey, a Burdett, a Ponsonby, a Tierney, or a Whitbread, been followed—had their doubts, their fears, their judgment prevailed, Napoleon might have sat secure in the Thuilleries till the angel of Death had summoned him to the bar of the Almighty. To them Europe owes nothing. Their counsels were her bane—their advice, if followed, would have been her destruction. They loaded her cause with reproach; and endeavoured, by the most erroneous calculations and descriptions, to infuse the *cold poison* of fear into the bosoms of her brave defenders.

This tremendous decision of the British Legislature, dissipated, in a moment, all those doubts and fears, of the lukewarmness of any power in the Coalition; and destroyed all those idle dreams of peace and concord, which the creatures of the French government daily fabricated, in order to frighten its enemies, and encourage its friends. The clouds blackened—the tempest approached. Deception could conceal the danger no longer.

Ten thousand workmen, employed in surrounding Paris with defences, 300 pieces of cannon planted on the heights of Montmartre, more arriving from all quarters, and the water of the surrounding streams preparing to lay their environs under water, convinced the Parisians that there was danger approaching from some quarter. Reserve was then thrown off—the professions of peace and moderation were thrown away—France appeared in the garb and constitution of war, her native character. The Champ de Mai, so often promised, so often delayed, was summoned—was convoked. The new Constitution was sworn to; and the ceremonies of dancing, singing, swearing, and plays, with eating and drinking, once more, for the moment, served to turn the attention of the thoughtless inhabitants of Paris, from the deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms of the approaching battle, and which now surrounded them on all sides. On the evening of the 31st of May, the preparations for this national festival—this solemn and touching ceremony, as the Parisians called it, took place. The theatres were thrown open to the public; which act forms an absolutely necessary appendage to all French ceremonies, however solemn, touching, or interesting. At eight o'clock in the evening, a salute was fired from the cannon placed on the terrace of the Thuilleries, which was returned from Montmartre and the other batteries. This served to inform the inhabitants that cannon surrounded them on all sides; and as they knew Bonaparte was an excellent hand at using them, therefore it was unnecessary to inform them further how they were to behave next morning. The morning came. At six o'clock, the cannon of the Thuilleries gave the signal for a new salute from all the batteries which surrounded Paris. At the same time, the Imperial guard and the Gens de armes occupied the avenues to the Champ de Mars and the military school. At eight, the deputations from the army repaired to the Champ de Mars. At nine, the Electoral colleges, the Court of Cassation, and various public Bodies repaired to the same place. At eleven, the Emperor, in his carriage drawn by eight horses, and accompanied by the Commandant of Paris, Heralds, Ministers of State, Grand officers, &c. &c. in carriages drawn by six horses, left the Thuilleries and repaired to the military school. Salutes of artillery were

fired at the Emperor's departure from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the place of the ceremony. At the Champ de Mars, the troops, consisting of 50,000 men, were *drawn up in the order of battle.* The Emperor's throne was erected in front of the military school, and in the centre of a vast semicircular inclosure, two-thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. The other third was open. An altar was erected in the middle. Further on, and about 100 toises distant, another throne was erected.

The Emperor having arrived in the midst of general acclamations, took his seat upon the throne; to the foot of which the members of the deputation of the Electoral colleges, 500 in number, advanced, and ascended some of the steps, in order that they might have a nearer view of the Emperor, and be better seen by him. The ceremony then commenced. Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by Cardinal Bayanne and four other Bishops. The deputation of the electoral colleges were then presented to his Majesty by the Arch Chancellor. After this, one of the members (M. Doubois d'Angers, Elector and Representative for the department of the Maine and the Loire) pronounced, with a loud and animated voice, an address in the name of the French people. It was, as usual, in the true French style. It exculpated France from wrong, and charged all others with it. It threw down the gauntlet of defiance, in the name of the French people, to assembled Europe. "The French people," said d'Angers, "had denied you the crown which you abdicated without its consent; its suffrages now impose upon you the duty of resuming it. Our words shall be *grave* as the circumstances which inspire them. "What," said he, "is the object of the league of the allied Kings, with that warlike preparation, by which they alarm Europe and afflict humanity? By what act, what violation have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we, since peace was concluded, endeavoured to give them laws? *We merely* wish to make and to *follow those which are adapted to our manners.* We will not have the Chief whom our enemies would give us, and we will have him whom they wish us not to have. They dare to proscribe you

personally: you, Sire, who so often master of their Capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. They menace us with invasion! and *yet contracted within frontiers* which nature has not *imposed* upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory and even *peace* had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had *not signed*, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass *that narrow boundary*. Do they ask for guarantees? they have them all in our institutions, and in the will of the French people, henceforth united to yours. Do they not dread to remind us of times—of a state of things lately so different, but *which may still be re-produced?* It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us. Because France is determined to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered? and is the fate of Poland reserved for us? In vain would they cloak fatal designs under the mask of the sole intention of separating you from us. One million of functionaries, 500,000 warriors, our strength and our glory, and 6,000,000 landed proprietors *invested by the revolution*, are not the Frenchmen of the Bourbons. Is not the triumph which has not cost a drop of blood, sufficient to undeceive our enemies? *Do they wish for more bloody ones?* Well Sire, expect from us every thing that an heroic founder has a right to expect, from a nation faithful, energetic, generous, not to be shaken in its principles, *invariable in the object of its efforts*, independence abroad, and liberty at home. And, meanwhile, if we be forced to combat, let one sole cry be heard from every heart. 'Let us march against the enemy, who seeks to treat us as the last of nations! let us muster round the throne, where sits the father and chief of the people, and *of the army.*' We say it to nations—may their Chiefs hear us! *Every thing will* be attempted—every thing *will be done* to repel an ignominious yoke. If they *accept your offers* of peace, the French people will expect from your administration, strong, liberal, and paternal motives, to console it for the *sacrifices* which peace has cost us; but if they will leave us only a chance between war and shame, the whole nation rises for war, *it is ready to extricate you from the offers, perhaps too moderate*, which you have made, to spare Europe a new convulsion. Every

Frenchman is a Soldier. Victory will attend your eagles; and your enemies, who reckon upon our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us."

After this harangue, in which the "*sensibility*" of the Speaker communicated itself to his hearers, the arch-Chancellor declared the acceptance of the new Constitution by the French people; and at the same time he gave to Prince Joseph a pen, which the latter presented to the Emperor, who invested with his signature the act of the promulgation of the Constitution. This done, the Emperor seated, and spoke as follows:—"I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in the Council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and intentions. Like the King of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her natural integrity, her honour, and her rights. Indignation on beholding those sacred rights, *acquired by twenty-five years of victory*, slighted and lost forever, the cry of insulted *French honour*, the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me; because it is the palladium of the independence, of the honour, and of the rights of the people. In my progress to my capital I had reason to reckon upon a long peace; *nations are bound by treaties concluded by their Governments, whatever they may be.* I was soon apprised, that Princes who have violated all principles, design to make war upon us. They mean to increase their kingdom of the Netherlands, by the addition of all our Northern frontier fortresses; and to make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among them Alsace and Lorraine. It was necessary to prepare for war. Tell the citizens, when you return into your departments, that circumstances are arduous!! Tell them that foreign Kings, whom I raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns, who all in the time of my prosperity courted my alliance, and the protection of the French people, are now aiming all their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their disposal this life against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the

French shall retain for me the sentiments of love, of which they gave me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent. Frenchmen, my will is that of the people; my rights are their rights, my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

After this speech the Emperor took the oath upon the New Testament, to observe the Constitution of the Empire, and to cause it to be observed—and, after him, all the Deputies and the Dignitaries next took the oath to the Constitution, and of fidelity to the Emperor. The assembly repeated with one voice "we swear it." The eagles and the national colours were next presented to the troops, who swore, with general acclamations, to observe them as their rallying sign—to defend them with their blood against all enemies, and never to betray or desert them; and the national guards of Paris swore at the same time, never to suffer an enemy to "*pollute again the Capital of the Great nation.*" The Imperial Guards also swore to surpass themselves in the Campaign about to open; and never to allow foreigners to dictate laws to them. After this the ceremony concluded, and the multitude dispersed—the people to their homes, the Soldiers to their quarters, and the Emperor to the Thuilleries; perfectly satisfied that what they had done had rendered themselves invincible, against the efforts of those who opposed them, and that it had paved the way to make themselves again masters of Europe.

It required, in all the previous proceedings, but little sagacity to see that in the midst of what concerned France there was much more that still nearer and more deeply interested Europe. The cobweb invention of French duplicity could not disguise the fact; nor conceal the cause which led them on, nor the motives that prompted their present undertaking. But it required the brazen effrontery of the stoutest champion of Jacobinism, to claim merit for what they had done—to tell the inhabitants of Europe, that it did not concern them, and that it was at their peril that they should dare to take cognizance of these measures. But Europe was not to be terrified by French oaths. Her resolutions had been formed in a manner more durable and more solemn. Her words were also *grave* as the *circum-*

stances which inspired them. The answer to all the menacing iteration of M. d' Angers, was contained in a short compass and in a few words; " France wished to make and to follow measures adapted to her manners—she was determined to have him for a ruler to whom Europe was adverse. Europe for the best of reasons was determined she should not. She was also well aware that the " *manners*" of the former could only be *perfected* by her destruction, and she was resolved to teach them another system. This was the point fairly at issue between them. If France did not, or would not, understand it; Europe could and did. She was not afraid to recal the remembrance of times indeed very different, when French treachery, tyranny, and principles, crushed her to the ground, and trode her under foot, and the recollection of which now nerved her arm and edged her sword to battle. She searched her records, and found that disunion and evil counsellors had been the cause of her overthrow; and experience now taught her the road to escape the evil consequences of both these errors. She feared not France united, and with Bonaparte at her head. She had met both in their proudest days, and found their strength could be vanquished; and, she was perfectly aware, that the policy of the French nation was at all times ready and willing to " *extricate*" Napoleon from any too " *moderate offers*" which he might at any time make. She also needed no person to rise from the dead, and tell her that the French nation conceived their ancient boundaries were too narrow for them; and that these were not such as nature, *alias*, the Goddess of Reason, had taught them should be imposed upon them. Of all this Europe was perfectly aware; and therefore, this " *grave*" appeal made no impression on her obdurate heart, which, ever since the Russian Campaign, had been hardened to such a degree, that the fine climate of France, could not relax or soften it. She did not doubt, that all the feelings of Bonaparte in the Council, on the throne, and in exile, were solely occupied upon the *glory of France*; and was convinced that he was not the man who would for a moment sacrifice his glory for nothing. She well knew the indignation which struggled in every bosom in France, at the loss of the fruits of twenty-five years of victory, and the feelings created by their being vanquished, or in other

words, their "insulted honour." She also knew, that nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, and was determined to force obedience to this great national law. With Napoleon at the head of the French nation, and with that party entire which had counselled them to desolate Europe, she was well aware that the kingdom of the Netherlands could not be safe; and, therefore, her own interest and security demanded that it should be made so; and if the French people resolved to have Bonaparte as their leader, in defiance of the faith of treaties, Lorraine and Alsace might become a lawful prey, and a very moderate demand made from her. Europe at the same time cared little whether Bonaparte sacrificed his life for the safety of France or not. It was her own security and safety, not the security and safety of France, which was her first object; for she knew that Bonaparte would sacrifice the life of thousands for the glory of France, before he sacrificed his own. Besides, twenty-five years of misery and wo had taught her what was the meaning of French glory and French honour, which could not be distinct from that of Bonaparte—she knew it well, and wanted no more lessons on the subject. She, therefore, wisely turned the adders' ear to all these French lamentations, accusations, and menaces. Her resolution was taken in a manner very "*positive*," and her opinion pronounced in a manner very "*solemn*." That God whom her people revered was witness to their resolves. Their vows were not made to be broken.

As usual, after the conclusion of such ceremonies, the population of Paris were amused with plays, shows, and other idle works, of which they are distractedly fond. The Sabbath, as usual, was particularly set apart for that profligate purpose: and although the ceremony which we have recorded took place on Thursday, the principal rejoicings were deferred till the following Sabbath; in order that these might be entered into with greater spirit, and be more general, particularly amongst the lower classes of people. The day was so remarkable, and the occasion so memorable, that I shall trespass upon the patience of the reader, by detailing the sports, for which the French people forgot the worship of their Creator, and with which they celebrated their new dawn of liberty. In the grand square,

there were stationed two theatres of dancers and rope dancers, two theatres of amusing physical experiments; six bands for dancing; a theatre of singers; a circus, where Franconi's troops were to exhibit; fire-works; and, above all, that most delectable, and truly French sport, two "*Matts de Cocagne.*" The Matt de Cocagne consists of two long poles, near the tops of which are suspended various articles of cookery, such as roast fowls, ducks, &c. The poles are soaped, and rendered slippery at the bottom, and the pastime consists in the ludicrous failures of those who climb to reach the eatables. Also, in the square, Marjuy: two *Matts de Cocagne*; four bands for dancing; a theatre of rope dancers; a theatre of amusing experiments; a theatre of singers, &c.; and fire-works. These amusements were to commence at two o'clock, and last till night. Along the avenue of the Champ de Elysees, there were erected thirty-six fountains of wine; twelve tables for the distribution of eatables, such as pies, fowls, sausages, &c. The distribution of the wine and eatables took place at three o'clock. At nine o'clock there was a grand fire-work at the *Place de Concorde.* Immediately afterwards a detonating balloon ascended from the centre of the Champ de Elysees; the detonation took place when the balloon was at the height of 500 toises. In the evening all the theatres were opened gratis, and all the public edifices were illuminated."*

Such was the official list of the *public* amusements for the first Sabbath after France had received the greatest blessing ever had descended upon the nation. Such the way she, openly and exultingly, spent that sacred day. Such were the ways in which France was accustomed to spend the Sabbath. In most parts of Europe, such proceedings would be looked upon as the wreck of religious order, and would strike the minds of the beholders with terror and alarm. Not so are these things ordered in France—not so does she view them. The cause interests but herself alone—the consequences are felt by herself and by all her neighbours.

Although the present was about the 20th Constitution which France had received within about the same number of years, still there were persons who were weak enough to believe, that it would be attended with better consequences, and be longer

* Programme of the *fete*, Moniteur, May 30th.

lived than its predecessors; as it was headed by Bonaparte, and planned by that old staunch friend of liberty, Carnot. It was described as a model of its kind; and the manner of its acceptance, was held up as a scene worthy of the utmost attention and admiration. "The mercurial character of the French people," said the Morning Chronicle, "mix the influence and exhilaration of *spectacle*, with the most important duties of life; and even this *devotion is animated by the imposing sublimity*, with which the rites of religion are solemnized. We are too apt to imagine, that these repeated shows of Constitution-making, make no lasting impression on the public mind of France."* The world, indeed, in general, were very apt to suppose, that such scenes made no impression; nor had any thing happened in this that could make them alter their opinion. It too was to have its little day—another monument of French folly. Europe, however, was not to be deceived on the part of this new Constitution, and usual pretences which concerned her. She had been taught by experience, most dearly bought, that every *act additionel* to a French Constitution, and *Matt de Cocagne*, that was jumped at on Sunday in Paris, was only the prelude to the dislocation of her Constitution, and the precursor of a flood of iniquity, misery, and wo, which issuing from that polluted source, inundated all her borders.

The ease with which this farce was played off at Paris—the satisfaction which was displayed, amidst a multitude guarded by 23,000 regular troops, and 27,000 national guards, the latter as well as the former consisting of the firmest votaries of the Jacobinical school, all drawn up in *battle array*, was hailed as an incontestible sign of that awful unanimity, which was to secure France, and overthrow Europe. We were told now as we had been told before, that the wanton and unjustifiable conduct of the Confederate powers, had called forth the invincible energies of the French nation, and such a spirit of revenge, as would again bind Europe in chains, and drag her captive at the chariot wheels of Napoleon; who was alone the man of whom France made choice, the hero whom alone she would permit to lead her. The coalition against France, with Bonaparte at her head, was described as undertaken not so much against him as

* Morning Chronicle, July 7th, 1815.

against the spirit of liberty. "This," said the Morning Chronicle, "the great body of the English *patriots* believe; and it is felt by all the considerate part of the British Empire, that it is *not so much against Bonaparte, as against the spirit of Liberty*, that the Potentates of the Continent unite; and every truly British bosom must feel that if they should succeed in extinguishing the last spark of Liberty in France, our own happy system would present the next object to their jealousy and fears."* When such were the ideas of an inhabitant of Britain, upon this subject, we cannot wonder at the daring attempts of the French press, to mislead the minds of the people of France and of Europe. "Let well informed men say," said the same authority, "whether from all that has been demonstrated, it is not manifest that the whole people believe, that it is not so much against the person of Bonaparte, as against the spirit of Liberty, that the potentates of the Continent are armed; and that in fact it is more for the re-establishment of feudality, of tythes, of the privileged orders, and of the Bourbon family, that they threaten to invade the territory of France."† It baffles human reason, to discover from whence could proceed such a desire, and anxiety to pervert the most obvious facts as we here witness. What the people of France might choose to believe, was a matter of no importance to the point at issue; but that there could exist one man, in any other quarter of Europe, who could deliberately and elaborately require and advise them to believe such things, may be said, but will scarcely be credited, but by those who have seen the columns which contained these statements. How far even the French people believed those things here asserted, a short period will also determine.

The finances of this country were the next object of attention and lamentation, on the part of those who viewed the deliverance of Europe with a jaundiced eye. Much, no doubt, depended upon their stability, but not all. The spirit which animated Europe, would have found means and resources, had ours been deficient and unequal; which however, they were not. On the 14th June, the very day on which Bonaparte said,

* Morning Chronicle, May 29th, 1815.
† Do. do. July 7th.

"Let us march to them," and which meeting was, as usual, prognosticated to be fatal to Europe; the Chancellor of the Exchequer contracted with the Merchants in London, for a loan of no less than £36,000,000 sterling, viz. £27,000,000 for England, and £9,000,000 for Ireland. This mighty sum, shewing in such a conspicuous light the wealth and resources of Britain, occasioned no alarm, no uncertainty in the public mind. It was sought after with avidity, and contracted for on the following terms, viz.

130 reduced 3 per cents,
10 ..... 4 .....
44 ..... 3 ..... consols. } for every £100, Sterling.

and which was worth as follows, viz.

130 reduced 3 per cents.	£71	.. 3
10 ..... 4	6	.. 19 .. 9
44 ..... 3 ..... consols.	25	.. 15 .. 2¼
	£101	.. 15 .. 2¼
Discount upon prompt payment in full,	2	.. 13 .. 7¾
	£104	.. 8 .. 10¼

The day on which this bargain was made for the public, this loan was at 4 per cent premium. In the House of Commons, on the same day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved their sanction to this loan; and which was granted with the addition of a vote of Credit for £6,000,000 more, making altogether £42,000,000 sterling, placed at the disposal of Government for this eventful year. The supplies requested for the year, without including the interest of the National Debt, amounted to £89,728,900, which was met by the War Taxes, Loan, &c. These stood as under,

Navy and Transports,	£14,897,255	
	3,746,945	
		18,644,200
Army,		39,150,756
Ordnance,		4,431,643
Foreign payments, including bills of Credit,		9,000,000
Vote of Credit,		6,000,000
Army prize money,		942,347
Miscellaneous,		3,000,000
		£81,368,926
Separate charges—Sundries,		8,366,000
		LS9,728,926
Deduct Irish proportion of joint charges, &c.		9,760,814
Remains to be born by Great Britain,		£79,968,112

Ways and Means,

Annual duties,		£3,000,000
Surplus Consolidated fund,		6,000,000
War Taxes for the service of this year,	(a)	22,000,000
Lottery,		250,000
Naval Stores,		508,502
Vote of Credit,		6,000,000
Exchequer Bills funded, and loan in 5 per cents.		18,135,000
		27,000,000
	(b)	£79,893,500

The decrees of fate proceeded to their accomplishment with fearful speed. The tempest, gloomy with the wrath of heaven, was collecting—was collected—and the messenger who was to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm," waited the command which should order him to give its fury vent to shake a guilty land. From every part of Europe they were arming, marching, and ready to march. From the Rhine to the Oby —from the Po to the Atlantic ocean, one terrible hourra of indignation rose from assembling millions.

"Bella, horrida bella,
Et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno."*

The prospect was magnificent but alarming; surely Europe can behold such movements and commotions no more.

Before proceeding farther, I shall here endeavour to enumerate, as particularly as possible, the strength of the respective armies; and, as distinctly as possible, state their positions, and the objects which they had in view. I shall be the more particular, as already French vanity is at work, with the aid of their admirers, to lessen their resources, and the strength which they called into action, in order that they may lessen the glory of their adversaries, and take away from their own disgrace. France was, in reality, much stronger than was generally supposed. In former contests she had but to state her force to make it appear irresistible. In this her vanity rather led her to adopt a different course. When she saw war inevitable, she endea-

(a) Amount of War Taxes, including estimated amount of the Property Tax, was L32,945,451. The Assessed Taxes or Consolidated Fund, applicable to interest of debt, &c. was about L40,000,000 more. Such was the power and resources of Great Britain after twenty-three years of war.

(b) Budget.—House of Commons, June 4th, 1815.

* Eneid, Book VI. verses 86 and 87.

voured rather to keep within than without the number of her effective strength; because, if victorious, she would claim the greater merit—if vanquished, she would sustain the less disgrace. It is only by attending minutely to all the details that we shall be able fully to appreciate the strength which she brought forward; and by which we will perceive that the means of Bonaparte, in reality, were still of a very formidable kind. M. d' Angers, as we have already seen, stated the military force of France, at 500,000 men. He was certainly very near the mark, and at the same time alludes only to the regular army. St. Jean de Angley, in his expose,* stated the total number of the army to be 375,000 combatants of every description; but to this we must add the Imperial guard, which, he immediately adds, amounted, as a separate force, to 40,000 men. This gives 415,000; and, before the first of August, the whole, he said, would amount to 500,000 regulars. There can be little doubt, however, but that at the commencement of hostilities, the French regular force on the frontiers, and throughout France, amounted very nearly to 500,000 men. Besides, all this number was disposable for the field; because the fortifications were almost entirely garrisoned by national guards. According to the official decree, calling them out for that purpose, the number allotted to each is specially mentioned,† and the total amounts to 185,220. These

* June 13th, Chamber of Representatives.

† Thuilleries 10th April, 1815.—Moniteur.—as under, viz.

Pierre Chatel,	100	Iles St. Marcouf,	450	Conde,	2,500
Fort l'Ecluse,	100	Fort Lahougue,	150	Gravelines,	1,800
Fort Bauraux,	600	Hes Taleron,	150	Dunkerque,	8,000
Embrun,	1,500	Phalsbourg,	2,000	Bergues,	1,500
Briancon,	4,000	Marial,	1,000	Maubeuge,	3,600
Mount Dauphin,	1,200	Toul,	600	Avesnes,	1,000
Fort Queyras,	300	Verdun	1,000	Aire,	1,000
Sedan,	1,000	Montmedy,	1,000	Calais,	2,500
Mezierres, Charleville	2000	Steney,	600	Boulogne,	1,000
Givet Charlemont,	8,000	Metz,	10,000	Bethune,	1,000
Philipville,	1,500	Thionville,	3,500	Ardnes,	1,000
Rocroy,	1,000	Sarre Louis,	2,000	Arras,	1,500
Auxerre,	1,200	Bitche,	900	Navarriens,	600
Besancon,	6,000	Longwi,	2,000	St Jean Pied du Port,	800
Fort de Joux,	350	Lille,	12,000	Fort Socoa,	200
Saint Hippolete	350	Valenciennes,	8,000	Bayonne,	8,500
Maucompte,	350	Bouchain,	1,000	Chat de Lourde,	300
Blaye,	1,000	Lequesnoy,	1,800	Bellegarde,	1,000
Grenoble,	1,200	Douay,	6,000	Mont Louis,	2,500
Cherbourget depes,	5,520	Cambray,	1,500	Callioure,	2,000
Perpignan,	3,600	Landrecies,	1,800	Pratz de Mollon,	1,000

numbers united, taking only the smallest number of the regulars, or 415,000, amount to 615,000 men. But this is not all. The number of national guards liable to serve was, by the same decree, stated at 2,255,000, out of which, it was well ascertained, that above 500,000 were actually on duty. To these must be added the marine, at least 60,000; so that the grand total of men in arms in France was thus nearly 1,000,000. Besides these, which may be considered as an efficient force, as ready either to assist the regular armies or preserve the peace of the interior, we must add the levies *en masse* in several provinces—the *Federes*, or confederated inhabitants of different places, the number of whom was considerable, and whose efforts were of great service in crushing the rising spirit of the opposite party. Although all the population of France were not well affected to Bonaparte's cause, still a very great number were; and all the efficient part of the population, that is, those who were most capable of, or inclined to resistance, were so, or at least inimical to foreign invasion; these, though they cared little for Bonaparte, would not, however, oppose him; but on the contrary, very readily united under his banners, to recover the conquests which they had lost, and to revenge upon Europe the disgrace which they had sustained. The vast force already mentioned, were not only ardently and enthusiastically his friends, but absolutely furious in his cause. They were ready, by their own account, to face every difficulty, and to court every danger on his account. It is necessary to be particular on this head, because, to support the idea of French invincibility, it has been said, and will be said, that France was callous to the cause she was at present engaged in. Part, no doubt, were so—but the most efficient, active, and powerful part was far otherwise. What was achieved by European bravery must not be set down to the account of

Fort-les Bains,	300	Haguenau,	1,200	Fort Vauban,	1,000
Fort-Saint-Eline,	150	Lauterberg,	1,200	Lichtenberg,	100
New Brisach,	4,000	Weissenbourg,	600	Toulon,	6,000
Befort,	2,500	Schelestadt,	3,000	Antibes,	2,400
Huninguen,	3,000	Landau,	5,000	St. Batonneau et Peningues,	350
Landscron,	350	Strasbourg,	15,000		

Total, garrisons 185,220

Besides many other places on the coast and in the interior—the whole national guards amounted to 5,150 battalions of 720 men each, or 2,255,000 that were liable to serve, and of which about 600,000 were in actual service.

French apathy. But let them speak for themselves. As early as the middle of April, the Moniteur* informed us that the French army consisted of 120 regiments of the line, of infantry; each regiment having five battalions, the latter of which remained in depot, and the rest were ready for the field. Their numbers were 500 battalions of 720 men each, or 360,000. The cavalry amounted to 14 regiments of carabineers, or cuirassiers, 20 regiments of dragoons, and 30 light regiments, each of 1000 men, in all 64,000. The artillery, engineers, and sappers, consisted of 18 regiments, or 30,000 men. The national guards, destined to man the fortifications, amounted to 200,000. The whole of this force, by the 2d May, was calculated to be on the Alps, on the Rhine, and on the frontiers of Belgium. At the period calculated upon, the same paper† expressly told us, that, *exclusive* of the battalion depots, the infantry of the army consisted of 120 regiments. The cavalry amounted to 70 regiments, besides regiments of volunteer cavalry in many places. Alsace had furnished two regiments of lancers of 1000 men each. The levy, *en masse*, had taken place in Alsace, Lorraine, Messen, Franche Compte, Burgundy, Daupheny, and Picardy. Six hundred thousand national guards were armed, equipped, and employed. The marine force, of 60,000 men, were appointed to man the ships of war, the fortifications of the different ports, and the remainder to join the army of reserve. One hundred and fifty batteries of artillery had joined, or were on the roads to the different armies. Three hundred pieces of cannon were on the heights round Paris. In France it was said that they had 30,000 pieces of cannon, 10,000 pieces of which were mounted on carriages. Free corps were organizing in several departments. These were to be commanded by officers of the line; and had for their pay and encouragement what they could take by force of arms. These, it was afterwards found, were not only very numerous, but very troublesome. The regular force, already enumerated, was divided into eight armies, viz. the army of the North; the army of the Moselle; the army of the Rhine; a corps of observation collecting at Befort; the army of the Alps, formed at Chambery; the corps of observation of the Var, formed at An-

* Moniteur, April 17th, 1815.

† Moniteur, May 3d,—Paris, May 2d, 1815.

tibes; the corps of observation of the Pyrenees, which was formed at Perpignan and Bourdeaux; and the army of Reserve formed at Paris and Laon. Independent of these, were the Imperial guards, 40,000 strong, and always stated as a distinct body. The force included in each of these armies was as follows, viz.

Army of the North	190,000
Army of the Rhine, under Rapp, 5th corps	30,000
Lecourbe's, at Befort, 7th corps (*a*)	30,000
At Besancon,	30,000
At Chambery (*b*)	30,000
At Antibes, &c. under Brune (*c*)	30,000
Between Lyons and Geneva (*d*)	20,000
South of France, army, Pyrenees, under Clausel (*e*)	60,000
Lamarque in La Vendee	25,000
Total regulars,	445,000
Marine,	60,000
National guards in fortified towns	200,000
Do. do. over the country, organized (*f*)	400,000
Grand total,	1,105,000

Besides partizans and free corps, and the levy, *en masse*, in several places.

From the previous enumeration, therefore, (and we shall see, as we go along, that they were in reality not exaggerated,) it is clear that the force under the control of Bonaparte was very powerful; and not only sufficient to keep down the discontented in France, but also to form a formidable barrier against his adversaries. This force was also daily increasing. "All is in motion," said the Moniteur, "in every part in France. If the coalition persist in the project which they have announced, of making war upon us, and if they violate our frontiers, it is easy to foresee what will be the fruit which they will gather from their attack upon the rights of the French people."*

Such was the force of France. That of the allies was still more considerable, and consisted of, and was disposed of nearly as follows:—The army under the command of Wellington and Blucher, consisted of British, Prussians, Dutch, Belgians, troops of Nassau, and Brunswickers. These occupied the Nether-

(*a*) Moniteur, May 28th, 1815. (*b*) Do. do.
(*c*) Journal de Paris, April 20th. (*d*) Moniteur, May 28th.
(*e*) Gazette de Paris, June 5d—to be on the month of June. It is difficult to say how far this is correct. The force under Clausel, was not the army at Bourdeaux above, but included all the forces from La Vendee to the Pyrenees, and from the sources of the Loire to the ocean. These were, no doubt, very numerous, but suppose them only one-half what is here stated.
(*f*) Thirty thousand were to defend Paris.—Paris Journals, May 5th:—27,000 attended the Champ de Mars.

* Moniteur, Paris, May 2d, 1815.

lands, the forts in it, and lined the French frontiers from Ostend to Luxemburg. The total force for this point was not much short of 320,000 men. The Grand army, under Prince Schwartzenberg, with whom were the Sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, consisted of Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, and the roops of the other German States, not under the command of Lord Wellington, and of the Prussian Guards. These lined the French frontiers from Luxemburg to the Rhine, occupied different forts, and extended along the Rhine to Basle. Their numbers could not be less than 465,000 men. Switzerland, though yet neutral, had an army of from 35 to 40,000 men upon her vulnerable side, and in front of Besancon. On the frontiers of Savoy and Piedmont, General Frimont, with an army of Austrians and Piedmontese, joined to some English troops, held the fortifications in that line, and lined the French frontiers from Switzerland to the Mediterranean. Their numbers could not be fewer than 120,000 men. On the side of the Pyrenees, Spain had about 60 or 80,000 men, but these not well prepared: the whole may stand thus:

Army under Wellington, including Garrisons, &c. .	120,000	
Blucher, 7 corps, and the reserve	205,000	
		325,000
Austrians on the Rhine, at least	100,000	
Three Russian armies of 80,000 each	240,000	
Bavarians, Badeners, Hessians, Wirtemburghers, &c....	100,000	
Prussian guards	25,000	
		465,000
Austrians, Piedmontese and English, in Piedmont and Savoy,		120,000
Austrians in South of Italy		50,000
Spaniards		60,000
Swiss, joined the coalition		40,000
Total		1,060,000

all veteran troops, and under experienced leaders. It must be observed, however, that all these were not assembled in the immediate neighbourhood of the French frontiers; but were cantoned at a considerable distance in several places; while others, as yet, had a considerable way to march, but all were hastening towards France, or were stationed at no great distance, as it was found most convenient and easy to procure forage and provisions.

Although their insidious professions of peace restrained in

some degree the usual menacing boasts, and predictions of the French nation, still the latter were too strong to be entirely kept concealed; and, in defiance of prudence, and their earnest pacific professions, these from time to time shewed themselves. Europe was daily reminded how generous France had been, when she had repeatedly conquered their united strength. It was plainly stated that France was more able than formerly to do the same thing. "The French army," said the Gazette de France, "is ready to accept the challenge."* Wo to those who shall intermeddle with our affairs," said the Usurper upon his arrival at Paris. The allies, said the Moniteur, will "no more succeed in disuniting than in conquering us. They will learn, to their cost, what 29,000,000 of people, 500,000 veterans, and 30,000 officers, who have triumphed in more than 50 battles, are capable of performing."† In the Chamber of Representatives, said a Deputy, "the allies may find too soon how faithful the French army will be to the oath it has taken." The overthrow of the allies was not only confidently predicted and anticipated, but a recurrence to the same system of aggrandisement, on the part of France, was confidently looked forward to by her rulers and the generality of her people. Nor were they singular in their predictions and in their hopes. These met advocates and supporters in other places. "Most assuredly," said the Morning Chronicle, "the same *outrage* on their territory will produce the same exasperation, the same enthusiasm, the same spirit of revenge; and then it will be seen that, with all its suffering, *France has prospered by the revolution—That it has more physical force—more fighting blood*—and that many millions more than heretofore are interested in preserving the soil intact. The French, with a revenue of twenty millions sterling per annum, above the interest of their national debt, would be able to call forth the levy *en masse*, to resist our *unprovoked and unmeaning attack*."‡ Continuing a similar strain, the same Journal again proceeds: "With more than six millions of men, individually interested in the preservation of their estates, with fourteen fortresses on their frontiers, fully garrisoned, and with 600,000 armed soldiers, led by experi-

* Gazette de France, April 15th, 1815. † Moniteur, Paris, May 8th.

‡ Morning Chronicle, April 14th, 1815.

enced Generals in the field, can it be believed that France will be subjugated in one Campaign? and if not in one Campaign, what will be the fate of Europe? We shall not be able to feed the Continental powers with money, and they cannot maintain themselves. The French *people will be ready to disengage Bonaparte from the offers he has made, and Europe may be again overturned.*" So certainly thought—nay, such certainly were the views and the intentions of France. It was in vain to tell her or her admirers, that the spring which produced their success was broken.—No! the times lately so different, said M. d' Angers, "*may yet be reproduced.*"

Let us examine this point a little more closely. Can the times that are past, and in which the throne of oppression stood firm, be reproduced? Can the days which are fled, and in which unlimited ambition ruled triumphant, be recalled? All the experience of history—the whole constitution of human works—all the express declarations of revelation, were forgotten by those who could maintain or hope for this. The individual nation, which, by the fraud and injustice of its neighbour, has lost its independence, may regain it; but can the Empire, founded by ambition and extended by violence, when once it is broken to pieces and divided, resume its former sway? It cannot. The Emperor and the French nation, in order to lessen their disgrace, asserted that they were only worsted by contending against "*the age.*"* This was a new name, invented by that denationalizing jargon which the French revolution produced, in order to corrupt and mislead the moral and religious principles of the human mind; and which alone form, or can form, to man, the secure guide for his footsteps or rule of his conduct. They may give their unparalleled disasters any name they please; but we, as Christians, know, that them and their Emperor contended against a just and unerring Providence; against those eternal laws of justice, morality and truth, immutable as their Author, and omnipotent as their Judge. Seconded by the French nation, their Emperor endeavoured, without reason, and in open defiance of justice, to extend the French Empire, by human strength and human wisdom misapplied; till its extension produced, to use their own significant phrase, a *re-action*, which

* Moniteur, April 5th, 1815.

shook the building to its foundations. Him and them, with hearts cankered by resentment, and with feelings dipped in the spirit of revenge; from the basest, most useless, and most unworthy motives, endeavoured to extend a system of fraud and violence, peculiarly their own, and incompatible with the enlightened state of Europe, and in opposition to the dictates and commandments of the Most High, till its violence and injustice arrayed against it, and drew down on their heads, the anger of man, and the wrath of Omnipotence. Their Head and themselves fell in the mighty contest. His dominion and his power vanished with him. He was driven from his throne and from his glory; in his fortune a warning to every age. He spurned his fate. He returned; and in doing so he still contended against the age. He still dared to enter the lists against his former adversaries. He endeavoured to revive the dominion which he had lost—to reproduce the gigantic fabric, which the united energies of Europe, in furtherance of the decrees of the Almighty, had broken to pieces. Vain effort! The proud diadem was torn from his brows by that invincible power, to whom, in the days of his prosperity, he scorned to acknowledge that he owed it. By a decree, as just as it was irreversible, the kingdom was departed from France, never to return. Such has been, and will continue to be, the fate of all similar Empires, raised, as this was, by violence, and supported by injustice.—Justice follows, with a proportionate speed, the proudest State, and the most profligate individual. We have an unerring rule for our guide in these matters, provided we will attend to it. Man may despise and forget this rule, but that does not alter its precepts nor impair its strength.

> "Can length of time on God himself exact,
> Or make that fiction which was once a fact?"*

The history of the world, through every age, affords numerous and striking examples of this important truth. The nations that extended their sway with the extension of knowledge, and conformable to just laws, remained stable, while others were shaken from the earth. Even when the former forgot their honourable pursuits, though their power perished, their name and their institutions lived. Not so was it with those whose

* Cowper.

Constitution was the sword. They left nothing behind them that claimed the attention of mankind, except to load their name with reproach. If we search the records of profane history, how strongly is this exemplified? The Carthaginians, Parthians, Vandals, Goths, Huns, Saracens, Tartars, and Turks, who alternately covered this earth with misery, and millions with mourning; what stupendous fabrics they reared!—To be feared, and to be lost. Except the Saracens, whose power is destroyed, and the Turks, whose empire is declining fast, not a vestige remains to trace the nations which produced them, nor do mankind wish that they could. If we turn unto sacred history, where our way is clear and our ground is sure, we see the character and fate of insatiable ambition traced in inimitable characters. Egypt, which overawed Africa, and contended for the Empire of Asia; who perpetrated every crime, and followed every superstition; who said, "My river is my own, and I have made it for myself;"* has been and still is, what the terrible denunciation of Ezekiel, 2400 years ago, threatened that it should be, namely; "*a base Kingdom.*"† The Assyrian and Babylonian, as they were similar in their conduct to each other, so also they have been similar in their fate. Where are they! Though the historian may with difficulty record a few of the deeds of the latter—the geographer trace its limits—can the traveller find the nation that created it, the spot where its capital stood? Evil cannot approach me; "I will be like the Most High,"‡ was her impious boast. Therefore, "I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of Hosts."§ The Persian Empire, still more powerful, is vanished. The nation, indeed, yet remains; but how changed and enfeebled? Yet, in its humble and degraded state, it affords a remarkable instance, that as its political conduct was in general less oppressive and unjust to its neighbours than that of the others were, so the fate of the nation has been less disastrous than theirs. The name, and a separate people, still exist. The Macedonian Empire, still more formidable and violent, is also disappeared from the earth. Its power, once feared to the rising Sun, is known no longer. The parts which composed it are sunk

* Ezekiel xxix. 3.
† Ezekiel xxix. 14.
‡ Isaiah xiv. 14.
§ Isaiah xlv. 23.

amidst the mass of mankind, beyond the power of human wisdom to distinguish or unite them again. The Roman Empire, still greater and more terrible, where is it? It is gone. It is remembered. Amidst Italy divided, and amidst the stupendous decayed and decaying monuments of Rome, is wrote in legible characters, "*it was.*" Yet though her power, her tyranny, and the nation is gone; still the knowledge that she spread is found amongst mankind, and is remembered with gratitude; and it is only when departing from the maxims of Justice that she accelerated her own ruin, and that she ceases to merit our regard. As it has been with these and many others, so too must it be with the French nation and with the French Empire. Severer, perhaps, will be the fate of the latter; inasmuch as her power was raised by more odious principles—as it was supported by a more flagrant violation of justice—by chains more unjust and galling—by oppression more severe, more destructive, and more cruel than what any of the former were. For them, therefore, has been reserved, a more sudden, a more dishonourable, and, perhaps, yet is, a more disastrous fate. A decree more irreversible than the laws of the Medes and the Persians, while it determined the limits of their power, also fixed its doom. Its fate, like the fate of all those which have gone before it, is and must be subject to that power, and to those laws, which all their founders are. These are born—increase—decay and die; while violent passions and unjustifiable pursuits bring on premature old age or an untimely end. But, while the works of the good survive them, the memory of the wicked is lost. They and their ways are marked by the anathema of the Almighty; and till man can recal the days that are past—till he can guide the Sun in his course, the Stars in their orbit, and the Comet in its career, will he attempt without success to reform the oppressive power that is scattered—to re-establish the tyrannic Empire that is broken. Let the French nation examine their conduct; let them take a review of what it has been for a century, but particularly for the last thirty years; and all callous and thoughtless as they are, let them, if without fear and trembling they dare, contemplate from the records of that history, which no sophistry can falsify, no time can impair, the doom that waits them—the punishment there decreed for commiting and

persisting in national crimes like theirs. Let them peruse the history of every nation under heaven, that have existed in ancient or in modern times, and see if they can find one where a contempt for every thing moral or religious, civil or sacred, ever reached such a height as those things have done amongst them. There have been tyrants and Governments, which despised religion, and treated the existence of a Deity with derision and scorn: but these were few in number; and even these in all their turpitude never commanded their subjects to follow their example. In France alone the world was destined to behold this monstrous phenomenon, of slow but mighty growth, arrive at the climax of folly and madness, in publicly arraying themselves as a nation under the banners of Atheism, in arms against the Creator of Heaven and Earth. They will search in vain, I believe, into the history of any other nation, but their own, for a perfect similarity in their conduct, actions, and proceedings, to what we are told by unerring wisdom, was to arise in these latter times in the world, and which was to brave his anger and to be crushed beneath his power. As in their conduct has been united all the violence and all the crimes of the first and the last great Empires, (the Babylonian and Roman, including that fearful tyranny which sprung up amongst the scattered parts of the last in modern times,) to which we have referred, without any of the honourable qualities which long distinguished the latter; so we may apply to them at this moment, the same threatenings, and the decrees of the Most High, as were directed against those, and recorded by his servants in ancient times. Addressing Babylon, Isaiah, by command of his Maker, says, "I was wroth with my people; I have polluted my inheritance, and given them into thine hand: Thou didst shew them no mercy; upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid the yoke. And thou saidst, I shall be a Lady forever: so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it. Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly; that sayest in thine heart, 'I am, and none else besides me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children:' But these two things shall come to thee in a moment *in one day*, the loss of children and widowhood: they shall come upon thee *in their perfection*,

for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments. For thou hast *trusted in thy wickedness*: thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, *it hath perverted thee*; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else besides me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know."* This is but too accurate a description of what the conduct of France has been, and of what her situation is. The next addressed to the great successor of Babylon, an arrogance and tyranny which is to appear in modern times, is equally so. "For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her, even, as she hath rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: with the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, *Thus with violence* shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down, and *shall be found no more at all*."† Such is the end of the Power of "THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY," or in other words, that great and terrible system of fraud, force, violence, injustice, immorality, and irreligion, raised in latter times. Such its punishment from the Almighty. It "shall be found no more at all."

Low in the deep the stone for ever lies,
Lash'd by the flood and covered by the waves.

The opinions of mankind in some countries were divided upon the issue of the approaching conflict. All were convinced that it would be severe; some that it would be long and bloody; but the general opinion was, that it could not from its means and its object be of long duration. One party, with France herself, contended that it was impossible to conquer a warlike nation, with a condensed population of 29,000,000 of people. Forming their judgment upon what she had before done, they contended that she could do as much again and with greater ease, inasmuch as she was wiser from experience, better instructed in the art of war, and more united than she was at the Revolution. They calculated that the daring arm of Napoleon would carry the horrors of war out of the French

* Isaiah xlvii. 6—11. † Revelations xviii. 5, 6, 21.

territories, where he would as usual live at the expense of his adversaries; and when the glare of conquest would again, as it had done before, crush the voice of disaffection in France, and raise the nation to follow without feeling or reflection their darling pursuit. Thus employed, they were aware that the French people would trouble their heads very little about who governed them. On the other hand, if this could not be carried into effect, they relied upon the strength of her armies and her frontiers; but above all upon that spirit generally prevalent in France, of devotion to the integrity of the country, to unite all hands and all hearts in its defence, which they conceived sufficient to repel the invaders, when by discomfiture in their views, and the effects of intrigue and jealousy sown in their councils, France, they prophesied, would at length break up the formidable confederacy. Then she would be able to resume her former dictatorial situation and arbitrary dominion. So the rulers of France, and those who advocated her cause, considered the matter; so, calculating upon human energies as all on the side of France, they prognosticated the issue of the approaching contest. Another party, however, argued that France was not so powerful as she was in 1792. That though her territory remained unimpaired, that her spirit and her resources were broken, and could not be reproduced. They beheld Europe from necessity become a military people—her leaders, from long experience, wise—her armies from principle brave; they saw the armed population of Europe, driven by every sentiment or feeling that can touch or animate the human soul to exertion, to attack the regular armies of France; and not the armed population of France, roused into frenzy, attacking the regular forces and disunited Councils of Europe. They considered the immense means which the allies possessed—the spring which gave life, vigour, and unanimity to their Counsels, and they had, no doubt, but that these were superior to any thing that France, however condensed, unanimous, and powerful could bring against them. They considered that bitter experience had taught the allies the fatal effects of carelessness and disunion; and that as one interest animated the Sovereign and the subject, that, therefore, the insidious machinations of France could make no impression upon their

resolution, and find no entrance into their Councils. They therefore, augured well of the contest. It might be bloody—it might be long, but it could hardly be unsuccessful; while its duration and violence would only draw down on the head of France, wider destruction and deeper humiliation. A third party, while they so far coincided in opinion with the second class, carried the matter further, and took a still more particular view of the subject. They admitted the strength of France; but they were at the same time aware that nations equally strong had been beaten, overthrown, and dismembered. They considered the justice of the cause on the one side, and the injustice which supported the other. While they looked upon the proceedings of France without fear—while they beheld the preparations of the allies with satisfaction, they looked with confidence for the assistance of a mightier power than either, who can save by many or by few; and who, while man remains worthy of himself, never deserts him. They examined the conduct of France by these unerring rules which he has given mankind for their guide, and they beheld it most openly and flagrantly at variance with and in opposition to them. They reflected that the Almighty in his moral Government of the world, acts with the strictest and most impartial justice. That from him no action can be hid—no motive can be concealed. They reviewed the condition of those nations which by their conduct had rendered themselves obnoxious to his justice, and which brought down his indignation on their lands. They compared the conduct of France with what theirs had been, and found in all its parts a too striking resemblance. They were aware that whatever pompous drapery mankind might draw over their works to deceive the eye of their fellows, that they could not deceive him, to whom the Universe is open. That robbery, murder, fraud, violence, and violation of solemn treaties, though cloaked under the name of glory, are abhorrent to his nature, and remain the marks of his displeasure. They considered this attentively; and while they lamented the daring perversity and folly of mankind, while they trembled at the evils France was preparing for herself, while they wept at the miseries she was about to endure, they looked forward with the firm hope that the cause of justice would be vindicated in a conspicuous manner by punish-

ment falling on the head of the guilty. At this moment was seen the fearful consequences of French folly, ambition, and wickedness, returning on their own heads, with a strength that was irresistible. They had outraged Europe, past forgiveness—they had violated their promises so often, that the strongest professions of moderation and good faith, however sincere these might have been, were treated with contempt, and received with distrust and disdain. What they conceived their security; was, by the counsels of unerring wisdom, made the most certain and severe weapon for their own punishment. Their joy was soon to be turned into mourning; and the punishment of those who call evil good, and good evil, now stood arrayed against them; and filled their minds with confusion, anxiety, and alarm. Yet they saw not their error in its true light—yet they reflected not on their danger, nor perceived whence their difficulties came.

Most important events now crowd upon our attention, and demand our consideration. The hour, big with the fortune of Empires and the fate of millions, advanced with accelerated speed. Immediately upon the conclusion of the ceremony of the Champ de Mai, Soult, who was advanced to the rank of Major General of the French armies, the situation formerly held by Berthier, addressed a proclamation to the French army, in which he informed them, that a "new oath" united France and the Emperor; and that all the efforts of an "*impious league*," would not be able to separate the interests of the people from "the Hero who was the admiration of the Universe." "What," said he, in that haughty tone which Frenchmen had long assumed, "is the hope of this new coalition?" He told them that their object was to "erase France from the list of nations," to impose slavery upon twenty-eight millions of men, which he hinted might again, as it had done before, add to their "aggrandizement and their glory." He told them that their enemies were "numerous," but that the contest was neither beyond the genius of Napoleon, nor their strength; and that the number of their foes would only render "victory more glorious," and "their defeat more conspicuous." "To arms," therefore, said he. The signal for battle will soon be given; and while Napoleon guides "our steps," and we fight for "our

beautiful country," we will be " invincible."* " We will rally round the Emperor, the protector of liberal ideas; around a Prince who, *educated in the revolution*, advances with the age in which he lives, and wishes to *extend* the dominion of the mind, *instead* of circumscribing it. Instructed by misfortunes, he will see the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Marengo, and of Jena, march *anew* under the colours which so often led them to victory, *and the event will not be doubtful.*"† So, no doubt, fondly anticipated the votaries of vanity and ambition. The decision of the question was rapidly approaching.

In the meantime, the new Legislature, under Bonaparte's Constitution, assembled at Paris. In the House of Representatives, which should have consisted of 629 members, only 427 were present, being thus almost one third deficient. This arose from the disturbed state of France, and from several departments either neglecting or refusing to acknowledge the Constitution. Scarcely were they assembled, when their turbulent conduct shewed, in strong colours, to which part of the friends of the people they belonged. The first day of the meeting, M. Sibuet began by desiring the assembly to consider " that they were all equals," and that they ought not to " recognise two orders in the state." On the one side, he said, he " saw seated Princes, Dukes, Counts, and Chevaliers; and on the other those formerly called the *tiers etat.*" " The most odious privilege," continued he, " is that which tends to humiliate the greater number to the advantage of a few."‡ This proposition was, however, got rid of, by the President, *pro tempore*, observing that the member was *reading* his speech, which was not allowable by the Constitution; and it being determined tha the assembly was not constituted, and therefore could not proceed to business. Immediately after this, a letter from Carnot announced, that the list of the Chamber of Peers, by the Emperor's orders, would not be published till after the Session was opened; to which M. Dupin, amidst murmurs, proposed to reply, That they would not commence their sitting till that list was furnished to them. " If," said he, " we are to defend the

* Soult's Address to his army, June 1st. 1815.

† St. Jean de Angley's, Exposé, June 13th.

‡ Chamber of Representatives, June 4th.

liberty of our constituents, let us begin by being *free* ourselves."* This question was got rid of, by stating, that their present business was the election of a President; which, after some discussion, ended in the choice of Lanjuinais to that situation. When this nomination was notified to Bonaparte, by the president, *ad interim*, (de Branges) for his approval, he kept him waiting for a length of time before he could gain admittance; and then informed him, that "if he, (the president,) would write next morning to the page upon duty, he would make known his decision."† This cavalier treatment gave great offence to the assembly, which conceived that "a *chamberlain on service*," was not a person of sufficient dignity to communicate between them and the Emperor. This, however, was endeavoured to be explained away on the following day, by the Emperor stating that he regretted that de Branges had been kept so long waiting in the saloon; and that to have prevented this, "you ought," said he to de Branges, "to have sent me notice by a chamberlain" that you were there. The Emperor would scarcely at this moment have attempted to treat the assembly in this manner from design; but in reality, these things were so new to him—Constitutional ceremonies, where freedom existed so unknown, that there was no wonder he forgot himself, and committed this oversight and dangerous mistake. Lanjuinais was, however, approved of in the way prescribed, which settled this dispute. Another dispute immediately arose, upon M. Gen. Carnot, proposing that the chambers should "decree that the army had deserved well of their country." This was met with murmurs, and general disapprobation; and got rid of by stating that the assembly was not yet constituted.‡ From these proceedings it was not difficult to see, that the old Jacobinical leaven was deeply mixed with the present assembly, whose principles went upon their governing the state; and their conduct at this moment could by no means have been satisfactory or pleasant to Bonaparte. In fact, neither them nor him had any great regard for each other, though the circumstances in which both were at present placed, obliged them to coalesce with the best grace possible.

* Chamber of Representatives, June 4th. † Do. do. June 5th.
‡ Do. do. June 6th.

The Two Chambers being at length constituted, Bonaparte, on the 7th, went in great state to open the Session, which he did by a speech from the throne; very different, indeed, to any he had been accustomed to deliver from that station. In this speech he informed them, that for the last three months, "existing circumstances," had "invested him with unlimited authority;" but that, on this day, the "dearest wish of his heart" was fulfilled; for, "I now commence a Constitutional Monarchy." He told them, that to guarantee the liberty and prosperity of France, "Monarchy was necessary." He also impressed upon their minds, that he was not the all powerful, all connecting, and invincible being which they had formerly thought him. "Mortals are too weak to ensure success," said he; and "it is solely the legal institutions which determine the *destinies* of nations." He told them, that their constitution and laws were "scattered;" expressed his wish, that France should enjoy "all possible liberty. I say all possible," continued he, "because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government." He next informed them, of the "formidable coalition of kings" against them; that "blood had been shed in time of peace, "by the capture by the English of the French frigate Melpomene; and civil war was fomented by assemblages at Ghent." He recommended the liberty of the press to their consideration—told them that the present circumstances would render an increase of expense necessary; but that they could still "face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget were all realizeable within the year."* He informed them, that the "first duty of a Prince," would probably soon call him to "head his armies;" that him and them would "do their duty;" and calling upon them all to swear to die, rather than to survive the dishonour of France, he endeavoured to comfort them, by assuring them, "that the sacred cause of the country shall triumph."†

In perusing this document, we cannot help being struck with the altered and humbled tone of this disturber of mankind. Yet, while fear for the future compelled him to acknowledge, that mortals are too weak to ensure success; still the old spirit

* In plain language—If he could make the two ends of the year meet.

† Speech, June 7th, 1815.

breaks through the gloom, when he proudly asserts, that his present cause "shall triumph." The first part of his speech, in which he plainly stated, that he had for three months been invested with *unlimited authority*, was a death blow to all the rhapsodies which had been published, of France, from his return, having any more than formerly enjoyed constitutional liberty; and his declaration, that from that moment only he began a constitutional Monarchy, was the severest satire upon his past life, and the bitterest rebuke for his past conduct ever was penned; and silences forever, all the arguments and assertions brought forward by his friends and admirers, that he had always governed France without violating her laws or her privileges. He, however, had long been accustomed to say any thing which suited his purpose, and his friends to believe him. Even now they did, or affected still to do so, when he told them that he was to commence a constitutional monarchy. A constitutional monarchy! and Bonaparte the head—how doubtful—how changed—

> Is this Napoleon—him the great, the proud,
> The Conqueror of Europe!

Those men who were so eager for the return of Bonaparte, and who considered themselves perfectly secure for the future, under his invincible sway; were eager to let the world know their satisfaction. They were quite gay and confident; and in all their actions and their words, told the surrounding spectators—who shall dare to trouble us—how secure we are! M. Garnier de Saintes, in the House of Representatives, proposed, that it should be entered in the *proces verbal*, that the oath to the Emperor had been unanimously taken. "In this glorious object," said he, "we make but one with the Emperor, as the Emperor makes but one with us—*the Man of Liberty, the Man of the Nation, no more to be separated from her.*"* But their satisfaction did not rest here. Felix Lepelletier, in the same sitting, demanded, that they should declare him, "THE SAVIOUR OF THE COUNTRY." This motion was, however, met by murmurs, and cries for the order of the day; but Lepelletier insisting warmly upon it, Dupin darted to the Tribune, and told him, that it was too soon to suffer "the poisoned breath of flattery

* Chamber of Representatives, June 8th, 1815.

to enter within these walls;" and that, if they "*forestalled events,*" what means of gratitude would remain, when the Emperor *had* saved the country. The motion, after a great tumult, was got rid of, by the order of the day being supported. Of the proceedings of the other House, we have no accounts. They were less noisy, but, perhaps, more obedient and tractable: for it was evident, that in the Chamber of Representatives, they were not so; nor could it be expected, composed as it was of the supporters of the Revolution, many of whom had sustained the most prominent characters in its most bloody scenes. Such was Garnier de Saintes, Barrer, Lepelletier, and many others. Indeed, there was a great similarity in the present proceedings, and those which characterized the period, before the commencement of those bloody tragedies which disgraced France, and degraded human nature. They now, as at that period, talked of liberty; but did they enjoy it? Even at the moment when Garnier was celebrating the praises of the "*Men of Liberty;*" domiciliary visits, the worst engines of Republican madness, were making in Paris. "The furnished lodgings in Paris were searched last night," said the Courier Extraordinary.* On the 10th, a petition was presented from a person of the name of J. P. Gaspard Gouve, stating, that he had been "*denounced*" to the Extraordinary Commissioner; sent by Bonaparte into the 6th Military Division, *stript and arrested.* But all the answer he could obtain, was, that this was done by the order of the administrative authorities. This petition was attempted to be got rid of by the order of the day; conceiving, no doubt, that it was beyond their cognizance, as it had been done during the period, when Bonaparte was entrusted with "*unlimited authority.*" It was, however, voted to be taken into consideration, though the President reminded them, that, by the 65th article of their excellent Constitution, it must ultimately be referred to the Emperor; which was as much as to say, that their present labour would be lost. Gaspard's case also was not the only one of this sort. Such was French liberty.

It was several days before the Chambers could muster up words, to return an address to his Majesty's gracious speech on this occasion. Indeed it was no wonder. The situation in

* Paris, June 8th, 1815.

which they were all placed, was quite new; and so different from what the sentiments of Bonaparte's government had always been; that, quick as French ingenuity is in supplying machinery for any scene, it required some time to fit the old materials, to suit exactly the scenery in the new tragedy, studied in Elba, and acting in France; and which all Europe was on foot to see. At length these addresses made their appearance; and on *Sunday*, the 11th June, the Emperor, being seated on his throne, and surrounded by the Princes his brothers, the Princes, grand dignitaries, &c. he first received, *before* mass, the deputation from the Chamber of Peers; and, *after* it, the deputation from the Chamber of Representatives. In the name of the Chamber of Peers, Cambaceres informed him, "that the peers of France came to offer him their homage;" after his anxiety to submit to Constitutional forms, and his eagerness to lead himself into "the dangers the army was about to brave." They assured him, that while he was on the "frontiers," that they would "zealously concur in every legislative measure which circumstances required, to compel foreigners to acknowledge the national independence, and to cause the principles consecrated by the will of the people, to *triumph* in the interior." To comfort his heart, and to cheer his spirits in the dangerous situation in which he was placed, and in the arduous task that he had to perform; they assured him, that "the interests of France were inseparable from his: should fortune fail your efforts," said they, "reverses, Sire, shall not *weaken* our perseverance, and shall *re-double our attachment to you.*" Considering their cause as just, and anticipating corresponding success; they informed him, that "their institutions guarantee to Europe, that the French nation cannot be drawn on by the *seductions of victory.*"* Europe, however, was not so weak as to pay any attention to such professions; she was well aware what the seductions of victory had already infused into the minds of Frenchmen. In reply, Bonaparte thanked them for their tender sentiments expressed for him; but reminded them that the contest in which they were engaged was *serious*, and that it was not the *seductions of victory* which threatened them at that moment. He told them that the justice of their cause, the spirit of the nation,

* June 10th, 1815.

and the courage of the army, held out a powerful hope of success; but that if it were otherwise, he should calculate upon, and "*delight*" to see all the "*energies of that great nation*" brought into action. In their address, the House of Representatives told him, that they were "astonished and afflicted at seeing *some* sovereigns in arms, to call France to account for an internal change, which is the result of the national will; and which attacks neither the relations existing with other governments, nor their security." "To attack the monarch of their choice," said they, "is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence." Conscious that their word had been so often violated, that few could be bold enough to trust it, they reiterated the assertion, that "no ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people; the *will, even of a victorious Prince*, would be insufficient to draw on the nation *beyond* the limits of its own defence." Clinging to the hope of success to the last moment, they still calculated upon divisions among the allies, which might benefit their cause, and enable them to resume their preponderance. They still hoped that "these warlike preparations, formed, perhaps, by the irritation of pride, and by illusions which every day must weaken, may still *disperse*, before the want of a peace, so necessary to all the nations of Europe; and *which shall restore* to your Majesty a spouse, to the French the heir of a throne:" but should not this be the case, continued they, "*May the calamities of war fall upon those who shall have provoked it.*" In answer to this, Bonaparte informed them that their sentiments were in unison with his—that the war was "imminent"—and that he intended to depart and put himself "at the head of his armies." He directed them to consider the Constitution as their rallying point—as their "pole-star in these stormy moments;" and called upon them to recollect, that the "crisis in which they were placed was great." He presumed to hope, that their conduct would not be like that of the lower Empire, which made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by employing itself with *abstract discussions*, while the Barbarians with their battering rams *were shaking the gates of the city.*" He recalled to their minds, that while he was employed in battle, their best and safest employment would be, to

collect and organize such laws as were most desirable to put the Constitution in motion; and informing them, that "in all affairs, his march should be *still straight forward* and firm." He implored them, "to assist him in saving the country." With promises of future good behaviour on his part, he concluded this first and this last appeal to his *Constitutional Legislature.*

Next morning, at three o'clock, he left Paris by the barrier Villatte, and took the road for the Netherlands. His equipage, guards, and head-quarters had preceded him. Next evening he joined the army, and, on the 14th, he established his head-quarters at Beaumont; before which, and further towards the frontiers of the Netherlands, the army had previously been assembled. The decrees of fate were now nearly accomplished. Napoleon had reached the zenith of his last appearance. Armed with the energies of a mighty nation, he was again about to commence the work in which only his soul delighted. But how different was his tone, to that which exactly three years before made the distant waters of the Pregel tremble. "Fate drags them on, let their destinies be fulfilled," was now changed to the more humble expressions of, "the contest in which we are engaged is *serious*—the war is *imminent*—it is not the *seductions of victory* that threatens us now." No, these were all gone to a greater distance, than even he was willing to allow. Europe, as formerly, was not at present collected under his banners, and obedient to his nod. No; from the confines of Asia, to the banks of the Sambre, she was now arrayed against him. Still with a resolution not easily shaken, he braved her united anger. He calculated upon the fidelity and the affection of France. These were strongly promised to him. "Reverses, Sire," said they, "will but redouble our attachment to you." These professions and promises, were quickly and severely to be put to the proof.

"*May the calamities of war, fall upon those who shall have provoked it,*" said those men who styled themselves the legal Representatives of the French nation. How severe the retribution—how dreadful the calamity which they here invoked. Be it so, said Europe; on the heads of those who have provoked this contest, fall the calamities of war—the retribution for the

misery and wo experienced during the last twenty-five years by the world. The departure of Bonaparte to the army, announced the approach of hostilities; the route he took, decided the point where these were to take place. Before his footsteps marched discord with her flaming torch.—Around his paths echoed the din of battle; and from his tent ambition scattered the horrors of war. The attention of Europe was deeply fixed, and her eyes instantly turned to the Sambre. There her fate, for years, perhaps for ages, was once more suspended in the mighty balance; and there the greatest talents and courage which she could produce stood opposed to each other, in order to turn the mighty scale. How deep the anxiety—how terrible the suspense which overspread the nations, while their fate and that of France were poised in the mighty scales. The most callous felt interested—the thoughts of the most careless were arrested; all ranks and degrees stood breathless with expectation, while they listened to those alarms which struck the Meuse with fear and the Sambre with dismay.

The situation of the affairs of Napoleon demanded immediate activity. It was in character with him to display it. His army was numerous, picked, well appointed, and eager for battle. His adversaries were opponents worthy of his proudest days, and his greatest glory. The terrors of the Sun of Austerlitz were beheld by them without fear—his utmost strength created in their minds no alarm. Blucher and Bonaparte had before met. The bloody banks of the Marne, and proud frontiers of Laon, bore witness with divided praise. Napoleon had encountered Austrians, Germans, Prussians, and Russians; but British troops, and their leader, Wellington, he had never met. The latter had again and again, and in every instance, vanquished his best generals, and his choicest troops. The British General was hailed, by the general voice, as the first leader of the age. "It is yet doubtful," said Bonaparte, "We have never met." The question, however, was now about to be fairly and finally decided. The meeting approached, and in the issue of which the civilized world was interested. The prowess of British troops, and the skill of her gallant General, so often established on bloody fields, was still to be more gloriously and decidedly so. To him and to their

country, which had so unchangeably resisted, withstood, and overcome, the utmost fury and indignation of France in her proudest days, was reserved the immortal honour of deciding this third Punic war—the fortune of their bitterest foes—the political life of Napoleon.

The allied armies, in countless numbers, continued to press forward to the French frontiers. On the side of Italy and the Upper Rhine, they formed an immense barrier along the French borders. Still, however, several of their armies were not yet up in line, and it would still require some time before they could be so, particularly on the Upper Rhine, where the most formidable army of the allies intended to enter France, and where the grand head-quarters of the allied Sovereigns were established. Their plan was understood to be not to make any movement on the offensive, till their whole forces were in line from the straits of Dover to the shores of the Mediterranean. This done, and before the sword was unsheathed, a solemn appeal was intended to be made by them to the French nation, calling upon them to return to a state of amity, by abandoning the man who had brought so many calamities and this fresh war upon Europe, and to remould the treaty of peace which they had violated. This offer unsuccessful, as they calculated it would be, their intention was to enter France at every point with an overwhelming force; and from every quarter to advance without delay upon Paris, which again in their power, they supposed would disorganize and scatter the Government and resources of Napoleon. Of this, Bonaparte was perfectly aware; and also deeply sensible how unable he was to oppose an effectual resistance, on every point, against the vast force advancing against him. He, therefore, determined to take them in detail, and before their plans were matured and completed. In furtherance of this object, the allied armies stationed in the Netherlands, under the command of Wellington and Blucher, engaged his earliest attention, as being those nearest the capital of his Empire. He, therefore, resolved to attack them first. In this resolution he seems to have had four great objects in view. The first was the gratification of French ambition, cupidity, and vanity, by the conquest of Belgium, so generally wished for in France. The

second was, if possible, to remove the danger of invasion to a point as far distant from his capital as possible. The third was of still greater importance, namely, if he succeeded in forcing back the armies here stationed, he would then have it in his power to menace the rear of the right wing of the grand allied army, which was to enter France by the Upper Rhine, thereby either retarding or endangering their forward movements. If he succeeded in these important operations, it was of less consequence at what expense he did so. He conceived that he would thereby crush the voice of disaffection in France, and call forth once more around his conquering standards, the energy and unprincipled ambition of the nation. Last, and not least, as the surest road to ultimate success: by gaining the first point he was certain that he would succeed in removing the war from the French territories, and make other Countries, as formerly, support the expense; without which he was aware France would not long bend with perfect satisfaction to his sway.

To accomplish this point, however, he must have totally destroyed the armies of Wellington and Blucher. Any partial victory obtained over them, though it might have compelled them to retreat, and thereby have given him the possession of a tract of country, would have been of no solid advantage, so long as their armies remained unbroken and united; because their loss would have been quickly supplied from the numerous re-enforcements pushing on to join them; and because the advance of the grand army across the Upper Rhine, where Bonaparte had confessedly no force equal to oppose them, would not only have laid his right wing open to their efforts, but his Capital also. This alone would have compelled him to relinquish any hold which he might have gained in the Netherlands; unless in his usual phrase, he had in reality *annihilated* the armies of Blucher and Wellington, when a small part of his force would have been sufficient to guard the quarter where they were, and the remainder of his force would thus have been disposable to watch the movements or attack the columns of the grand army. Such, no doubt, were his calculations. Still nothing but French vanity and arrogance could have led him to suppose, that he had any chance to ob-

tain this great object, but at an expence which on his part would have rendered even victory but a temporary relief, if he could obtain it at all. He, however, thought otherwise. It was the only measure in which he had any chance of that success which could materially benefit his cause—the only measure which was likely to have a serious influence upon the plans of his adversaries—a beneficial influence on the recovery of his military character, and the re-establishment of his former power. Half measures were not the weapons with which he fought. All or nothing was his watch-word in every operation. No lesser matters occupied his thoughts. It animated him at this moment, it prompted every movement—directed every motion and guided him to cast every thing upon the issue of one terrible attempt. What he had in view he must also do quickly. The allied army in the Netherlands were at this moment, dispersed over the country, for the sake of procuring, more readily, the necessary supplies, for such vast bodies of men. About half, or rather more than the half, of the Prussian army, were upon the banks of the Rhine, a considerable distance from the remainder and from the frontiers. On his part he had it in his power, when acting on the offensive, to choose his point of attack, with greater security than the allies could; because he had a much more formidable chain of fortresses in his line to support his operations, and behind which he, no doubt, calculated that he would be able to retire, if he found he could not accomplish his object. A decisive victory over him, by the arms of Wellington and Blucher, was an occurrence which never once entered into his mind, or into the thoughts of his admirers.

With the mighty force of 190,000 men, as is elsewhere more particularly mentioned, and not only formidable in point of numbers, but more so from the quality of the troops, he commenced his operations. These men were the flower of France, and of his military strength. They had their characters to regain—their glory to re-conquer—their fortunes to re-establish and their future repose to secure. Perjury and treason had lowered them in the eyes of honour and worth. These feelings combined, stung their souls, and goaded them to fury. The utmost exertions were to be expected, from both

them and their leader. Their fate, their fortune, and their fame, they had altogether to re-create, and these were all irretrievably committed in this dreadful struggle. They marched to it with a resolution which the utmost strength of rage and despair could inspire. The infamous attempts of their profligate Government, to inflame their hearts with the deadliest animosity and resentment against the allies, and particularly against the Prussians, by publishing falsehoods about the intended cruelties to be committed by the latter in France, had but too well succeeded. Their anger was thus goaded to madness; and they were prepared to act in a manner which was certain to drag down on their heads at last the most unrelenting vengeance. "It is particularly against the Prussians," said an article in the Moniteur, "that the French army manifests an *implacable hatred*, and we have *some reason* to fear that it will not be willing to *make any prisoners of that nation*." Why they should entertain this implacable hatred, it would be difficult to tell, but from the reason already mentioned. Their guilty consciences, no doubt, bade them remember the miseries and cruelties, which without any cause, they had inflicted without mercy on that gallant nation. Wherefore they feared those they had so cruelly injured; and because, if situated as the Prussians were, they would have acted to them as their Government had succeeded in persuading them the Prussian soldiers intended to do in France, they were resolved to shew them no mercy. The consequences, bitter and distressing as these might be, were incapable of meeting with consideration in their hardened hearts.

On the 13th, Bonaparte having joined the army, the head quarters was established at Beaumont. The 1st corps, under D' Erlon, was at Soire on the Sambre; the 2d corps, under Reille at Ham-sur-Heure; the 4th corps, under Girard, at Philipville; the 3d, under Vandamme, on the right of Beaumont, the position of the 6th, under Lobau, is not stated. The advance of the Prussian army were on their front, occupying the banks of the Sambre, above Namur, in the neighbourhood of which the main body was assembled. On the extremity of their left was posted the Belgian, Dutch, and part of the Brunswick forces; and behind them, in cantonments towards Brus-

sels, and in that city, the British and Hanoverian troops were stationed. In marching to the frontiers, and while living in their own country, the French soldiers were guilty of the greatest excesses. They boldly told their own countrymen, things could not go on without them, and that they would do as they pleased. They plundered and robbed every thing that came in their way; and destroyed what they could not use. In these scandalous scenes, they were abetted by their Officers; who carelessly answered to complaints, that "the Soldiers must live." The Soldiers accordingly *lived*, and the Officers had *abundance*. Such, however, was always the conduct of every army under the command of Napoleon. By allowing them to do as they pleased, he made them enthusiasts in his favour. In this instance, wherever they marched they left desolation behind them. In an instant the crops on the richest fields disappeared, under the edge of the scythe; to be used as forage for the Cavalry and thatch for their canteens. The Guards, who were the most devoted servants of Napoleon, treated the rest of the army with the greatest arrogance and contempt, in consequence of which a deep enmity was produced betwixt them. The Cavalry and Infantry were also on bad terms, and it was only when in battle they were united—In the work of death they all cordially joined, and hence their leader hastened to lead them into it.

On the 14th Bonaparte commenced offensive operations. This day was the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, and therefore in all probability was chosen by him as a propitious moment to encourage his troops, and to commit his fortune to the decision of the sword. On this day, once more,

> *Napoleon* calls and *France* obeys his call,
> "Not to the dance, that dreadful voice invites,
> It calls to war, and all the rage of fights."*

He, accordingly, addressed a proclamation, of that date, to his army, reminding them of these events, which twice before "decided the fate of Europe." "Then," said he, "as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous." Those Princes, continued he, whom we left on the throne, have violated their oaths, have coalesced among themselves, "to destroy the independence and most sacred rights of France.—

* Pope's Homer's Iliad.

They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. *Let us march then to meet them. Are they* and we no longer the same men? Soldiers," continued he, in that lying and bombastic style for which he was so remarkable, " at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were *one against three*, and at Montmirail *one against six!*" Pursuing this false declamation, he turned to those whom British bravery had oftener than once compelled to yield, though in reality sometimes six to one, and endeavoured to heighten that animosity their corrupted hearts entertained against that country, before which in valour, in honour, and in morality, they felt themselves humbled and subdued. " Let those among you," said he, " who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered!" Having thus, as he conceived, awakened their appetites, keen at all times for vengeance, he proceeded to inform them that *friends every where* awaited their advance, to render them assistance and bid them welcome. " The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the Soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of all nations." Describing their ambition as so insatiable, that after having devoured 12 millions of Poles, 12 millions of Italians, 1 million of Saxons, 6 millions of Belgians and the German States of the 2d rank, their next object was France. " The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will find there their tomb. Soldiers," continued he, " we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but with steadiness, victory will be ours; the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered."* In this document we discover the same characteristic disregard for truth, which had distinguished the former productions of its author—the same arrogance and self-consequence were visible, though shorn of their power. The power, not the will, was wanting. " We have battles to fight, dangers to encounter," was not exactly the style which predicted, in a few days we will be in Vienna—the next day

* Proclamation, dated Avesnes, June 14th, 1815.

in Berlin—and at the return of Spring, we will finish the contest upon the Confines of Asia.

"*Let us march to meet them; are not they and we still the same men?*" said Bonaparte. A short time decided this important question. With this menace, and his collected strength consisting of five corps of his army, and the *several* corps of his Guards, with nearly all his Cavalry,* he burst upon the Netherlands; with the fury of the mountain torrent, when increased by the Equinoctial deluge; it rolls its billows to the ocean, sweeping before it all feebler obstacles. From Beaumont he dashed forward to the Sambre. On the 15th his force advanced at all points by Thuin and Lobez, along both banks of the river; upon Charleroy, Marchienes au Pont and Gosselies; where the first corps of the Prussian army, under the command of the brave General Zeithen were stationed. Various engagements here took place, attended with considerable loss on both sides; but the Prussian General succeeded in repulsing the enemy, so far as to effect his retreat unmolested, to the point of concentration allotted to him on the plains of Fleurus. The enemy in his usual style of dispatch writing, carried on these partial skirmishes, by informing the world that his battalions sabred here 400 Prussians, and cut to pieces there 500 more, and so on, till the result of the day was a loss to them of 1000 killed and wounded and 1000 prisoners. His own loss "was 10 killed and 20 wounded." Yet this small loss was "sensibly felt by the Emperor, on account of the dangerous wound received by General Letort his *Aide-de-Camp*."† At Charleroy he asserted that considerable magazines fell into his hands. The Prussian advance retiring before this superior force, fell back upon their main body as the enemy came on. After these partial affairs, in order to animate his hardened band, Bonaparte caused the Prussians who had been taken prisoners to be formed in small parties, and paraded in front of the different divisions of his army, and whose approach the troops saluted with the cries of "*Vive le Empereur.*" These unfortunate men were thus held up to the mockery of a whole army of unfeeling Frenchmen, in whose bosoms the misfortunes of the vanquished never met with pity or consolation.

* Prussian official account. † Dispatch, Charleroy, June 15th, 1815.

Degraded and barbarous race! whose fall and whose misfortunes no principle of humanity or justice can lament.—This was one French exhibition on the banks of the Sambre. These were soon destined to see another, wherein the actors had changed places, to the general satisfaction of mankind.

Immediately upon entering the Belgian territory, the enemy would have us believe, that he was received with the greatest joy, and welcomed as a deliverer. "The joy of the Belgians," said he, "it would be impossible to describe. There were some villages which, on the sight of their deliverers, formed dances; and *every where* there is a movement which proceeds from the heart."* That this was in some degree, and in some instances the case, is extremely probable; though coloured, no doubt, by the enemy, with his usual address. The reason of this conduct, on the part of these degenerate Belgians, was not difficult to comprehend. They had not only been demoralized in the French school, but many of them had gained their property during the Revolutionary times, by the most infamous and criminal means; who, of course, trembled at the return of the reign of justice; and rejoiced when, by the approach of their former deliverers, they were set free from that fear. It was characters such as these, who formed dances to welcome the French locusts—dances and joy, which were soon to be turned into mourning. At this time, General Bourmont, Colonel Clouet, and the chief of the squadron Villontreys, and also the lieutenant of the 10th chasseurs, deserted the Imperial standards, and went over to the Prussians. The army, however, according to the enemy, viewed the defection of this small number of traitors, as "a fortunate event."

The actions of the 15th, were but the prelude to a more extensive and sanguinary action on the following day. Bonaparte advanced with all his force, and on the 16th, occupied the position of Fleurus. In front of it, the Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the latter place; occupying at the same time in great force, the villages of St. Amond and Ligny on their front. The whole, under the immediate command of Blucher, consisted of three corps, amounting to 80,000 men. On their right, was stationed

* Dispatch, Charleroy, June 15th.

a considerable force of Dutch and Belgian troops, 12 or 13,000 strong, under the command of the Prince of Orange; who, on the 15th, had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the position of Frasne. Against this force, the left wing of the French army, under Ney; consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, under the command of Erlon and Reille; and the 2d of cavalry, consisting of four divisions under Lefebre Desnouettes, Colbert, and count Valmy, (Kellerman,) the whole commanded by this last named officer, advanced. These could not be less than 60,000 men, as Ney expressly says, the 1st corps was from 25 to 30,000 strong.* All the rest of the army, under the immediate command of Bonaparte, advanced against Blucher. The right wing, under the command of Marshal Grouchy, consisting of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and 3d of cavalry, occupied the height in the rear of Fleurus, and were destined to march upon Sombref. The 6th corps, with the remainder of the cavalry, and all the imperial guards, advanced from Charleroy. Bonaparte determined to attack; but upon advancing near the Prussian army, he found some change of his dispositions necessary. He " changed front, the right in advance, and pivoted upon Fleurus."† The 3d corps, under Vandamme, marched upon St. Amand. Girard, with the 4th corps, marched against Ligny; Grouchy upon Sombref; while the reserve, or 6th corps, with the rest of the cavalry, the guards and the curassiers of Gen. Milhaud, were drawn up on the heights of Fleurus. The whole were under the immediate command of Bonaparte; and amounted " to *above* 130,000 men."‡ Such were the positions, and such the strength of the contending armies on the 16th. Bonaparte, with the much superior force of nearly two to one, and full of confidence, advanced to the combat. His intention was to turn the principal part of his force against the Prussian General, before he could be supported by all the force under Wellington. To this army he calculated upon giving a decisive defeat, separating it from the British General, and forcing it back upon Maestricht. Blucher, though so much inferior in numbers, resolved to accept

* Ney's Letter: but see general enumeration of this army,

† French Official Dispatches of the battle of the 16th.

‡ Prussian Official Account of the battle of Ligny.

the battle. He was informed, that Wellington had put all his army in motion to his support; and he was not without hopes, but that the 4th corps of his army, under Bulow, might reach the field in the evening.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, that both armies were ready for action; when an engagement began, which proved long, sanguinary and undecisive. It might "be considered," said Blucher, "as one of the most obstinate recorded in history."* At least 210,000 men, and, perhaps, 500 pieces of artillery on both sides, were here employed in the work of mutual destruction. The French army began the attack. The first effort was intended to turn the right of the Prussian army. Lefol's division of Vandamme's corps, attacked the village of St. Amand, "and carried it at the point of the bayonet, after a vigorous resistance."† The combat here was close and severe. The Prussians at this point, "fought in considerable force," said the enemy. Bonaparte maintains, that his troops kept possession of the burial ground and steeple of St. Amand, throughout the day. But this was not the case, they were driven out after having occupied part of it. Again they returned, and got possession of the place. Again, and again, they were driven from it. Above 30,000 men, on the side of the enemy, attacked this village. It is obvious, that the combat, at this point, was long maintained in this manner; for the enemy merely says, that "General Girard, as reserve to Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and there fought with his accustomed bravery."‡ Each side, at this point, was supported by 50 pieces of artillery. The combat here, was, in reality, peculiarly obstinate and bloody. "After a resistance, which cost the enemy very dear, the village was taken. It was again recovered by the Prussian troops, and again taken by the enemy. It was stormed a third time by the Prussian troops, and, at last, each party remained in possession of one half of it; so that the part called little St. Amand, and La Haye, remained in the possession of the Prussian troops."§ From time to time, the action also extended along the whole line; as Bonaparte directed a vast number of troops against the third corps

* Prussian Official Account of the battle of Ligny. † French Official do. do.
‡ French Official do. do. § Austrian Official do. do.

of the Prussian army, stationed at Sombref. It was at Ligny, however, that the combat was most severe and destructive. Having been repulsed in endeavouring to turn the right, here the enemy attempted to force the centre of the Prussian army. This memorable village stands upon a small river of the same name, a tributary stream to the Sambre. It was large and solidly built, and in the centre of the Prussian line. The utmost efforts of the French were directed against this important point; the utmost bravery, on the part of the Prussians, was exercised to defend it. Two hundred pieces of cannon, from both sides, were directed against this devoted spot. The battle round this was terrible and bloody. It was maintained hand to hand, and man to man, for seven hours. Both sides continued to bring up fresh troops, and while the contest, from time to time, continued to rage in other parts of the line, it never ceased for one moment at Ligny. Alternate attempts were made to wrest this place from each other, for upwards of four hours. "Prince Blucher, in person, sword in hand, continually led his troops to the combat."* The artillery of the enemy was planted on the right bank of the rivulet, and that of the Prussians on the left bank. Each side had behind that part of the village which they occupied, great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and whose ranks were continually renewed by re-enforcements, which they received from the rear and also from the heights, both on the right and on the left. The movements on the bloody field were confined to a very narrow space. The enemy asserted, that the village of Ligny "was taken and retaken several times."† This was not the fact. "Villages," said Blucher, "have often been taken and retaken, but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves, and the movements were confined to a very narrow space."‡

"Neither gain, nor yield,
One foot, one inch, of the contended field;
Thus obstinate to death, they fight, they fall;
Nor these can keep, nor those can win the wall.
Their manly breasts are pierced with many a wound,
Loud strokes are heard, and rattling arms resound;

* Austrian official account. † French Do. do.
‡ Prussian official account.

The copious slaughter covers all the shore,
And the high ramparts drop with human gore."*

The charges of the cavalry were numerous, severe, and destructive. In one of these charges on the part of the Prussians, which was led on by Blucher in person, but which proved unsuccessful, that brave General had a very narrow escape, from either death or captivity. The enemy, in their turn, advanced. A shot struck the Marshal's horse. Furious from the pain, the animal darted forward, till exhausted it dropped down dead. It fell, however, upon its gallant rider, who, stunned by the fall, lay entangled under it. The French cuirassiers advanced—the last Prussian horseman had passed their chief, without knowing his situation. One adjutant alone remained. He alighted beside him, resolved to share his fate. The enemy pursuing the charge, passed rapidly by without seeing the veteran chief. The Prussian cavalry returned to the charge. The enemy were driven back, and again passed him without perceiving his helpless situation; and then, and not till then, the gallant Blucher was extricated from his perilous state. "Heaven," said the Prussian account, "in this instance watched over us." Blucher thus extricated, mounted a dragoon horse, and the first words he uttered were "well my brave fellows let us charge them again." Brave chief! Had he fallen, or been taken, the loss might have been most disastrous to Europe. An invisible power preserved his invaluable life. In the meantime, the combat continued at all points, with unabated fury. "Part of the village of St. Amand was retaken, by a battalion commanded by the Field Marshal in person."†—The recapture of part of this village; and, in consequence thereof, of a height adjoining thereto, seemed to throw a gleam of hope on the Prussian arms. From the map, it appears, that Blucher was here very near separating the enemy's line, and turning the left of his main body, which was attacking him. This bright prospect was, however, but of short duration. At this moment, accounts were received, that the English division, destined to support them, was violently attacked by a French corps, and that it could barely maintain itself at Quatre Bras. The 4th corps, under Bulow, had not

* Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book XII. Verses 515—520.

† Prussian official account.

made its appearance, as had been calculated upon; and no prospect remained of deriving any benefit from its assistance during the day. The Prussians "invoked, but invoked in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary."* Ligny was still held—there the combat raged with the same fury, and with an equality of success. The Westphalian and Berg regiments fought at this point. A whole company of the former fell in the court yard of the church, and on the terrace before it lay fifty dead. Each side made a fortress of the houses occupied by them. The enemy held one end of the village, and the Prussians the other. The French were driven out four times, and as often resumed the ground which they had lost: at length the village was set on fire by the enemy, and the combatants fought amidst the burning houses: All the Prussian divisions either were, or had by this time been engaged. No fresh corps remained at hand to support them. The enemy, on the other hand, continued to pour forward fresh troops to the combat. But even his strength, numerous as it was, had been nearly exhausted. "By seven o'clock," said he, we remained masters of all the villages situated on the banks of the ravine, which covered the Prussian position."† Part of these he had obtained, but not yet all. On the heights of Bussy and Ligny, the Prussian masses still remained unshaken. A desperate effort became necessary, to decide the bloody day. "Almost all the troops," said the enemy, "had already been engaged in the villages."‡ How hard he was pressed, and how uncertain the combat long was, appears from Ney's letter, wherein we are informed that, without informing him, the Emperor took away the 1st corps of the army to his assistance, as also a division of Girard's corps, which Ney depended upon for support. These were "warmly engaged with the Prussians;" and it was "about nine o'clock before the first corps was returned by the Emperor."§ The Emperor must, therefore, have been very doubtful of the issue of the combat where he was, before he would venture to withdraw half of his force from Ney, without consulting him. In fact, the bravery of the Prussians, proved long equal to his fiercest attacks. At

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 16th.

† French official account of the battle of Ligny. ‡ Do. do.

§ Ney's Letter to Fouche, July 26th, 1815.

St. Amand, the destruction had been so great amongst the enemies troops; that Bonaparte was, in reality, forced to call forward, in the greatest haste, the 1st corps to his assistance at this point. But by the time this force arrived, the Prussians had been compelled to abandon the place. At Sombref, on the Prussian left, General Thielman, with the 3d corps, remained immoveable against all the efforts of the enemy. Nothing but the capture of Ligny could compel them to retreat; and if they had not, Bonaparte must. In consequence of this, the Emperor with his guards advanced against Ligny. Pecheaux was ordered to debouch "*with what remained of the reserve.*"* Eight regiments of guards, with fixed bayonets, Delort's and Milhaud's cuirassiers, attacked Bussy, "and instantly," said the enemy, "covered the field of battle with dead."† The combat at this moment was truly dreadful. The Prussian fire was tremendous; but the impetuosity of the French grenadiers surmounted every obstacle, and cut their way through the opposing ranks with a horrible carnage. The Prussians, continued he, were "*repulsed*" in all directions. The division of Pecheaux, supported by the cuirassiers, having made a circuit round Ligny, came from both sides at once, unobserved, upon the main body of the Prussian force at this point, which was posted behind the houses. At the same moment also the Prussian cavalry, which were posted on a height behind the village, were repulsed in repeated attacks upon the French cavalry. The village of Ligny was thus completely turned, and the Prussians forced to relinquish it. It was now dark. "The movement made by the enemy," said Blucher, "was *decisive.*"‡ Nevertheless, though thus surrounded, and in the shades of night, which heightens the idea of danger in the human mind, the Prussian columns behind Ligny did not suffer themselves to be discouraged. "Formed in masses, they coolly repulsed all the attacks made upon them; and this corps retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly."§ In consequence, however, of this sudden eruption of the enemy's cavalry, several pieces of artillery belonging to the Prussian army, in their precipitate

* French official account of the battle of the 16th. † Do. do.
‡ Prussian do. § Do. do.

retreat got into defiles, in which they fell into disorder, and "fifteen pieces"* were thus captured by the enemy. The loss of the Prussians at this time must have been very severe. Half a league from the field of battle the army formed again. "The enemy," said Blucher, "did not venture to pursue it."† The village of Brie remained in the possession of the Prussians during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps; and from whence, at daybreak on the following morning, he began slowly to retire upon Genbloux, where the 4th corps, under Bulow, had arrived during the night. Next morning, the first and second corps proceeded behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. The combat had been so severe and bloody, and the Prussian soldiers retreated in such an orderly manner, that the enemy did not attempt to pursue them. As might have been expected, however, he claimed a great and decisive victory over them, and which he related in his usual boasting style. Yet it was evident, with all the colouring he could give it, that there was a deficiency from what he anticipated. "At half past nine o'clock," said he, "40 pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, were in our power; and at ten o'clock the combat was finished, when we found ourselves masters of all the field of battle. General Lutzow, *a partisan, was taken prisoner.* Blucher is reported to be wounded."‡ Soult, however, in a dispatch to the minister at war, took higher ground; and soaring above the Pyrenees, he claimed 8000 prisoners, and stated that the enemy had sustained "a terrible overthrow." In this engagement, he continued to state that the proportion of their army to the Prussian was as "*one to three.*" The fact was, the latter were more than one-third inferior in numbers. Soult either believed, or made himself believe, that this temporary success had completely accomplished their object. "The last charge," said he, "separated the enemy's line. Wellington and Blucher saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical."‖ It was one act indeed of a bloody tragedy, the completion of which was truly theatrical. As yet it was not finished;

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 16th. † Do. do.

‡ French official account of the battle of the 16th.

‖ Soult's letter, Fleurus, June 17th, half past four, A. M.

and how far the enemy succeeded in separating Wellington from Blucher, a short period will shew us.

Early in the day and while this sanguinary contest was carried on by the Prussians; opposed to the French right wing and centre, the left wing, under Ney, made the most desperate efforts against the allied troops, consisting of Belgic, Hanoverian, Brunswick, and afterwards of a few British troops, stationed at Quatre Bras, and before the arrival of the British commanded by the Prince of Orange. On the preceding day, there was only a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince Wiemar, to oppose Ney in that quarter. These he attacked on the evening of the 15th, at Frasne, and compelled them to fall back to the farm house called "les Quatre Bras," situated on the same road. The whole force, when *united*, according to the statement of the enemy himself, did not exceed 25,000 men, and it was certainly considerably under this number. Against this force, Ney had the 1st and 2d corps of infantry of the French army, above 60,000, and the 2d corps of cavalry, at least 10,000 more.* The first corps, he asserts, were never engaged; but even admitting that point, he was still far superior in numbers. Ney and his master gave very opposite accounts of this serious affair. "We marched," said Ney, "against the enemy, with an enthusiasm which it would be difficult to describe. Nothing could resist our impetuosity: and victory was not doubtful."† Unfortunately for the Marshal, there are three to one against his veracity in this instance. Bonaparte, the Prince of Orange, and Wellington. The French official bulletin states, that Ney was attacked by 25,000 men, partly English and partly Hanoverians, under the Prince of Orange; and that he was compelled to retire upon his position at Frasne, which he maintained, after a multiplicity of combats. These accounts, so completely at variance with each other, are also at variance with truth. The fact was, that as early as five o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the troops under the command of Prince of Weimar, which the preceding evening had been forced back from Frasne to Quatre Bras, were attacked by part of the force under the command of Ney.

* French official account of the battle of the 16th.—Ney's letter says, eight divisions infantry, and four divisions cavalry.

† Ney's letter, Paris, June 26th, 1815.

The Prince of Orange immediately re-enforced him, with another brigade of the same division, under General Preponcher. With this force, early in the morning, he regained so much of the ground that had been lost, as to command the communications, leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher.* From that time the combat continued, without any result, till noon; when the French were greatly re-enforced, and quickly returned to the combat with overwhelming numbers. The Prince of Orange, in his turn, was forced to give way; and by two o'clock had fallen back to Quatre Bras. Here the torrent was arrested.

The Duke of Wellington having assembled his army at Brussels, during the night of the 15th, and having ascertained the real object which the enemy had in view, he commanded them to march with the utmost expedition towards the above point. He himself, with his suite, set out soon after; and arrived at the point menaced before the troops did. Before the rest was the 5th division, consisting of two brigades; the right, composed of the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th, regiments, under Major-General Sir James Kempt; and the left, formed by the 92d, 44th, 42d, and 3d battalion of the Royals, under Sir Denis Pack. Sir Thomas Picton commanded the whole, having arrived on the field during the action. Never did a finer body of men, than this division, take the field.—About sun-rise they left Brussels in high spirits, amidst the prayers and benedictions of the inhabitants, who showered flowers on them as they passed. Before the day was closed, how many of them were laid low! But they fought like heroes; and like heroes they fell an honour to their country. This heroic band were immediately followed by the corps of troops under the command of the Duke of Brunswick; and after them marched the Hanoverian infantry, and the Contingent of Nassau. The whole did not exceed 14 or 15,000 men, and that without either cavalry or artillery. The gallant British division, already mentioned, arrived at Quatre Bras at the critical moment, when the attack by the enemy was about to commence, which would have put them in possession of the great road to Brussels, and separated the British from the Prussian army. The

* Prince of Orange's official dispatch, Nivelles, June 17th, two o'clock, A. M.

troops composing this division had previously marched above 20 miles, in a warm summer day; and as scarcely any water was to be found on the road, were both thirsty and weary. They had no cavalry with them. Their defence and support consisted only in their spirits and in their bayonets. Little time was given to refresh themselves, before immense columns of the enemy, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, amongst the latter of whom were a great body of cuirassiers, were seen approaching their position. The numbers were truly formidable; but as they advanced, the British line eyed them with an undaunted look, and firm resolution to conquer or perish. They had no entrenchments, no cavalry, scarcely any artillery, and no assistance to expect for some time.

"Their native lands,
Far, far from hence their fate was in their hands."

The enemy came on with resolution and fury; confident of success, and thinking only on victory. They came forward with the audacity of the conqueror, and with loud shouts of "*Vive l' Empereur;*" which, however, so far from intimidating the British soldiers, only roused their *fiercer* indignation, and stimulated them to greater resistance. The enemy came on till the British bayonets resisted their progress, and drove them back with a terrible carnage. However, being superior in numbers, in proportion to the British almost five to one, they again came forward with fresh troops and increasing fury. Again they were repulsed. Again and again they attempted to force their way, but in vain; and the combat continued in this manner from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine in the evening. The British regiments threw themselves into squares, and remained firm as rocks of adamant.

"Each man contends as his was all the war,"*

while their foes retired from each rude shock in confusion. The French troops fought with the most desperate fury; enraged to find themselves thus successfully resisted by an handful of troops. The attacks of the cuirassiers, in particular, were most impetuous and dreadful. They surrounded the British squares with such temerity, that it frequently happened that in their defence the squares had to charge their desperate enemies

* Pope's Homer Iliad, Book 15th line 853d.

on three sides at once. But every effort of the foe was fruitless. Though they suffered severely, the British troops stood firm; and the only difficulty that their officers had was to restrain their impetuosity, which against such numbers might have proved fatal. The general wish of the soldiers was to charge the enemy with the bayonet, without waiting for his attack; but the superior judgment of their great leader commanded it otherwise. The fire of the French was incessant and severe: that returned still more destructive. Nothing was seen in the French columns but men and horses tumbling over each other. It is impossible to convey an idea of the obstinacy with which the contest was maintained. Every regiment, every man did his duty. "The troops of the fifth division," said the Duke, "and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged; and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry."* "The British guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scotch brigade," said General Alava, "covered themselves with glory on this day; and Lord Wellington told me on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better, during the number of years he had commanded them."†

The brigade under the command of Sir James Kempt was the first which was warmly engaged. For some time they succeeded in arresting the progress of the enemy in the centre. The foe, however, redoubled his efforts, brought forward fresh troops, and made a furious attack against this brigade, both with cavalry and infantry. The Royals and 42d, who were sent to their support, came in for their full share of the business and suffered severely. The 44th was next ordered to that point. For three hours the troops in the centre were warmly engaged, and during that time with alternate success. From half-past three till six in the evening, the enemy kept up a very heavy fire, and twice attempted to carry the right of the British position. The Brunswick troops in advance had been compelled to abandon the post committed to their care, and were falling back before overwhelming numbers. Fresh columns advanced to their support. At this time their brave

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th, 1815.
† Alava's do. June 20th, 1815.

leader was killed. He was leading on his men amidst a horrible fire of grape shot, when his ardour carried him into the thickest of the fire. A ball passed through his bridle hand and entered his belly. The liver was penetrated: he fell: and in ten minutes breathed his last. The fall of this brave Prince, in the prime of his life, was generally regretted. The treatment which his father had received from the hand of Bonaparte, and his own misfortunes, had created a general feeling in his favour. Both himself and his troops had made a vow to wear mourning till they had avenged his father's death. The fields where he fell did so, though he did not live to see it. He terminated his life, however, on a memorable occasion, and before the eyes of one who could appreciate his bravery and his worth; and whose regret, so forcibly expressed, is sufficient to hand down his name to the latest posterity with honour and applause. Their leader thus lost, his troops were compelled to give way. The enemy advanced after them, conceiving that he had gained his object. He was mistaken. The brave 92d regiment, which was posted behind a ditch, on the right of the road from Brussels to Fleurus, and in the centre of which band of heroes the Commander in chief was stationed, stood ready to receive them. They allowed nearly all the Brunswick troops to pass, when they opened such a fire upon the enemy's cavalry as stretched them on the ground in numbers, and compelled the remainder to retire in disorder; and not only so, but the repulse of the cuirassiers, and the great number of wounded which were carried to the French rear, created alarm, confusion, and flight, among the numerous attendants of their army. The enemy asserts, that in this charge, though unfortunate in its issue, a private of the 11th French regiment, took one of the colours of the English 69th. About four o'clock, however, the enemy re-enforced returned to the charge, and by another furious attack endeavoured to gain the right of the British position. Again he was driven back with great loss. The conduct of every regiment at this moment was most truly British. The 79th regiment charged through and through the French line, and afterwards returning to its former position repulsed the repeated desperate attacks of the enemy. It suffered severely

Its brave commanding officer, Colonel Douglas, who had been previously hit by three balls, was severely wounded on the knee, towards the close of the day; but still he maintained his post. Of the estimation in which the Commander in chief held the conduct of that gallant body of men, it is sufficient to say, that on their Colonel was bestowed two high military decorations, from those sent by the Emperors of Austria and of Russia, to the Commander in chief, to be bestowed upon such Officers as he conceived were best deserving of the same. Three field officers of this regiment were also created, by their own Sovereign, Companions, of the Most Honourable *Military Order of the Bath.* The Royal Scots were led to the charge by that gallant Officer Sir Thomas Picton. They advanced through a corn field, the grain upon which was so high, that it reached the shoulders of the tallest man. During this time the enemy continued to pour the most destructive vollies of shot upon them. They, notwithstanding, surmounted all difficulties; charged and routed the columns of the enemy. They then formed in a square to resist the cavalry, who were advancing against them; and, though charged by them six or seven times, they remained immoveable. The utmost efforts of the enemy were never able to make the smallest impression upon them. At one time the gallant 42d regiment was almost overwhelmed by the fury of the torrent which rolled against it. They opened to the right and left, the cuirassiers went through, but they never returned. They were cut to pieces. The 42d, however, at this moment suffered severely. The cuirassiers came so close that they cut down some of the Officers with their swords. The gallant Colonel Macara, and many other valuable officers were, at this time, killed and wounded, and also a great number of men. At one period a part of the enemy's cavalry very nearly reached some guns close to Quatre Bras, and near the spot where the Duke of Wellington stood. This force, however, was immediately attacked by a battalion of young Hanoverians, and entirely cut off. The 92d regiment distinguished itself in a particular manner. This heroic regiment, led on by Colonel Cameron, performed prodigies of valour. It repeatedly repulsed the enemy's columns in their most furious attacks, and with great slaughter. The 44th, 33d,

and 32d, also greatly signalized themselves. The 28th charged at one time on three sides at once. Two sides were opposed to the cuirassiers and one to the lancers. Both they repelled. Afterwards they advanced against a column of infantry, drove them back, and after deploying, charged in line, and cleared the whole front of skirmishers.

In this manner the combat continued for many hours without any prospect of its termination. The enemy continued to bring forward fresh troops; the British to resist their fury.

> " Unmov'd and silent the whole war they wait;
> Serenely dreadful, and as fix'd as fate."*

The third division, and part of the first division, had by this time come up. The third division moved to the left, in order to threaten the enemy's right, and operate in favour of the Prussians, while a brigade of guards and part of the first division remained at Quatre Bras. The enemy appeared still to direct his principal efforts against the right of the British position. About seven o'clock the combat raged with the utmost fury. The fire of the French artillery was tremendous, and which was the forerunner of another most formidable attack. Through the volumes of smoke, the enemy was soon seen advancing with all his force for another struggle. As they came near, the fire of the artillery slackened, and the bloody struggle began. The moment was pressing. The Duke, who stood with the 92d regiment, turned to them, and said with energy, " 92d, you must charge these fellows." The order was cheerfully obeyed. They rushed against the black battalions with an ardour nothing could resist. At this moment, Colonel Cameron, and three other officers of rank were mortally wounded. In the former, his country sustained a severe loss. He was indeed a brave man. With the courage of his ancestors he fought—with the spirit of his fathers he fell.

> ——————————— " laid low,
> With his back to the field, and his face to the foe."†

The death of this brave chieftain roused the spirit of the Highlanders to fury—they pressed the enemy with such infuriated rage, that their vast columns fled before this daring band, leaving

* Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book V. line 638, &c. † Campbell's Lochiel.

the field covered with dead, dying, and wounded. The 92d followed them for a mile, till they came near the main body of the enemy, and till the re-advance of the cavalry rendered it prudent for them to retire, which they did to a wood, where they remained during the remainder of the engagement. In the meantime the battle raged on the centre and on the right. The enemy attempted to separate the divisions of the British army as these came up, but without success. He, however, still held a wood, by which he, in some measure, commanded the right of the allied position. It was of the greatest importance to obtain the possession of it. The division of the British army newly come up were commanded to drive them from this point. They advanced to the charge, and the tirailleurs of the enemy fled before them. Driven into the wood, the enemy defended himself with the greatest obstinacy, disputing every inch of ground, and making every tree a rampart, from behind which he annoyed the British. It was at length cleared; but scarcely had the British troops passed it, when they were attacked by the French cavalry repeatedly, and with the greatest fury; but the guards, imitating the heroic conduct of the fifth division, repulsed all their attacks. The enemy charged in amongst them, and were almost cut to pieces with comparatively little loss: a square of black Brunswickers, on this occasion, behaved firmly, and occasioned the enemy great loss. Their light troops, however, advanced in such numbers, that they again obtained possession of the wood; but which was, finally, wrested from them, after a very great loss. It was at this moment that Ney, being so hard pressed, wanted to order forward the first corps, as yet fresh, in order to renew the combat, when he learned that Bonaparte had called it away to his own aid. It was, however, of little consequence. It indeed saved a further effusion of blood at this point; but so many of the British troops were by this time joining the army, or very near it, that the first corps would, no doubt, have shared the fate of the second, and the cavalry. At length, towards eight o'clock, the enemy finding all his attempts fruitless, began to slacken his fire; and, by ten o'clock, the French army retired to their position at Frasne, and the British remained masters of that hard fought field, on which they had, under the greatest possible disadvan-

tage, namely the want of cavalry, and also of artillery, (for all of the latter that was at this point consisted of a few Belgic and German guns), to contend against such a disparity in numbers. Such is a faint, and I am afraid but an imperfect, narrative of the severe combat of Quatre Bras; which, in fact, by its issue, frustrated, at the very outset, all the gigantic plans and vain expectations of Napoleon. In an account published at Paris, said to be drawn up by one who was an eye witness, the Frenchman, with that characteristic disregard for truth, so inherent in that nation, with regard to their military affairs, asserts, that the British army, in the whole affair, were the assailants,* and the enemy upon the defensive; than which nothing can be more false, as every authority but theirs so completely testifies. Although I have not here particularized the deeds of the foreign troops engaged with our own, it is not to be supposed that there was none worth recording. They also conducted themselves bravely; but it is for want of details on which I can depend, that I refrain from entering into particulars concerning them and their conduct on this memorable occasion.

The number of troops engaged on this part of the field of battle were few, when compared to those where Bonaparte and Blucher were. Yet in proportion to the strength the combat was, if possible, more obstinate and bloody. The loss of the enemy, according to his own account, was 4200 killed and wounded; and there is little doubt but that it considerably exceeded 6000 men. The loss of the second corps alone, according to Lacroix, chief of the staff, was nearly 4200—That of the cuirassiers and other cavalry, must also have been very great, perhaps half as many. That of the British was also severe. The Prince of Orange was wounded; and, including the number of gallant Officers, the loss amounted to 2251 killed and wounded, and 31 missing. The Hanoverian loss was 257 killed and wounded, and 150 missing. The loss sustained at this point, by the Dutch, Belgian, and other troops, is uncertain, but was considerable, and the total loss on the part of the allies could not be less than 5000 men. The Brunswick corps alone, it is said, sustained a loss of near half that number. The

* In fact, it is just the words of Bonaparte's bulletin.

field of battle, which was confined to a narrow space, was thickly covered with the slain. The groans and lamentations of the wounded and dying, to whom little relief could be afforded, was dismal and distressing, and filled the hearts of the survivors with pain and anguish. The numbers of dead round Quatre Bras was very great. The walls of the houses were in many places covered with blood which had spouted in streams from the wounded who retired to lean against them, in order to support their dying bodies. An orchard of four acres, which was thickly planted with fruit trees, had in many of them from 80 to 100 balls. In one house, at place Nay, 300 holes were made in the walls and roof, from the number of bullets which had penetrated into it. In one cellar lay 5 of the Imperial Guards who had been dispatched by the 79th regiment. One well contained the bodies of 20 Frenchmen. Their putrid remains had completely spoiled the water. Indeed all the water on this bloody field, as late as the 25th, was *quite red*, stagnating in puddles, and the smell from it most offensive. If such was the scene at Quatre Bras, what must it have been on the banks of the Ligny, where three times the number of dead and wounded lay strewed around them. Hitherto I have refrained from noticing the loss at that point, in order that I might bring both into one view. There the loss was immense, as both sides fought with the bitterest animosity. In the village of Ligny alone, upwards of 2000 dead were found; and many also were consumed in the ruins of the burning houses. "Our loss," said the brave Prussian, "in killed and wounded is great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded."* How sanguinary the battle was, may be gathered from the proportion of killed to those wounded, which in the first Prussian corps was 2156 to 5522. The Prussian loss in this battle was at least 16,000 killed and wounded, as was particularly stated by Earl Bathurst in the House of Lords, June 23d. From the pointed manner in which the Prussian account states that the enemy took no prisoners but such as were wounded, it appears that the loss must have been considerably more. They certainly lost no prisoners, at least very few, on the 18th; and

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 16th.

but few, if any, afterwards. Yet, in an official account published at Berlin, a considerable time after, from the 15th June to the 3d July, 11,000 are returned "*missing*," and of this number there was 27 officers and 6424 rank and file belonging to the first corps, which was that which was most closely engaged on the 16th. This return will be more particularly attended to afterwards. But we shall take the number of killed and wounded only at 16,000, on the 15th and 16th, particularly as the enemy's account only mentions that number. It is true, he mentions this in an unusual manner. He says "that the flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle, and that its loss could not be less than 15,000 men:" whether he includes prisoners in that number is difficult to determine. I conceive not. These, according to Soult's account, amounted to 8000 men; but many, if not all of these, were, no doubt, wounded. The French loss was, as usual, underrated; and by the same authority is set down at only "3000 killed and wounded."* Soult, in an official letter to the minister at war, also states this as the number. "Our loss," said he, "does not appear enormous; since, *without screening it*, I do not reckon it more than 3000 men."† It is almost unnecessary to add, that this account cannot be correct; and when we come to sum up the strength and losses of the army, we will find that it was not. Fortunately we have other data to enable us to ascertain this loss. According to Lacroix, in the Chamber of Peers, July 1st, the loss of Girard's division, which was detached to assist Vandamme, was more than one half of this number, and it was only one twentieth of the force engaged. Besides, the two corps under Grouchy were, no doubt, the same strength as the rest; and this with the cavalry makes their strength on the 16th above 55,000 men. Allowing that he had 40,000 with him at Wavre, he must have lost more than 15,000, independent of the loss in Girard's division. It was this great loss which was the true cause of Bonaparte's inactivity after these bloody battles. Further, if they lost upwards of 6000 men at Quatre Bras, where so few, comparatively speaking, were engaged: their loss, upon a moderate calculation, must have

* French official account of the battle of the 16th.

† Soult's official letter, Fleurus, June 17th, 1815.

been more than double the number at Ligny; and there can be little doubt that it was at least equal in killed and wounded to that of the Prussian army. These numbers united, and joined to those at Quatre Bras, will give a loss to both armies of 41 or 42,000 men killed and wounded. The French even attempt, in a subsequent dispatch, to make this affair as bloody as Borodino. "The cannonade," said they, "was like that at the battle of Moskwa. The loss is said to be 50,000 men."* Though this account is absurd, yet it is evident that the loss was dreadful; and certainly, on both sides, amounted to 41,000 men. Fearful as this destruction was, it is trifling to what followed. These were as yet but skirmishes, as it were, at the outposts of the armies.

The repulse of the enemy at Quatre Bras was of the most essential service; and while it added the greater praise to the British troops, which effected the whole without the assistance of cavalry or artillery, against an enemy superbly provided with both; it prevented Ney, with the force under his command, from turning the right wing of the allied army, as his master had calculated upon. Had this taken place, at the same moment when the village of Ligny was finally wrested from Blucher, it might have been attended with the most disastrous consequences. "But fate," to use the words of Ney, "had ordered it otherwise."† This Officer finds great fault with Bonaparte, for not attacking the British army first, in place of the Prussian. He forgets that he was in reality sent with a force which he believed, and which was calculated would have, even according to his own accounts, succeeded in defeating it completely; for "victory was not doubtful," when he found the first corps of the army withdrawn from his assistance. But wherefore was it so? Because the Prussians were too firm for Bonaparte. It was so late before he could spare this corps from the point where he was, that Ney could make no use of it, as the remainder of the British army had come up. Ney accuses the Emperor of causing the 1st corps to march backwards and forwards during the day without being of any service to either party. In this he only shews how severe and

* Letter to the minister at war, Fleurus, June 17th.—Moniteur, June 20th.

† Ney's letter to Fouche, June 26th, 1815.

how doubtful the combat was at every point, and how much the Emperor had it at heart to gain *all* his object. It is easy to find out faults after errors have been committed; but the truth is that both Ney and his master, before the battle, had the most perfect confidence that their force was quite sufficient to carry all their objects into execution, but which were frustrated by the bravery of their adversaries. The great object of Bonaparte, at this point, was to gain possession of the road to Brussels. In this he was disappointed. He was compelled to acknowledge that all that Ney could effect was to maintain his position at Frasne.* In short, Ney was driven with great loss from this important part of the allied position; and his failure at this point was, unquestionably, the primary cause of all those terrible disasters, which afterwards so rapidly overtook the cause of treason and ambition. Therefore was he angry. Of his anxious wish—of the anxious wish of his master and all France to "destroy" the British, there is no doubt. It had been their object during twenty-five dreadful years of crimes and misery. The constant aim of that Revolutionary Junta, was expressed in the fiend-like expectations of Fouche, who hoped the republic would, like a volcano, consume "those treacherous and ferocious Britons;" and the land which "produced these monsters be swallowed up by the surrounding seas:"†—it was their constant aim from that period till this, when "the general opinion in France, and *particularly in the army*, was, that the Emperor would, in the first place, turn his attention *solely* to the *destruction* of the English army, and for which circumstances were very favourable—but fate has ordered it otherwise."‡ The people of Britain are certainly little obliged to Ney and his master, for always directing their first attention solely to their destruction. But that is not so easily accomplished.

Such were the results of the sanguinary combats of Ligny and Quatre Bras; where, according to Soult, the overthrow was terrible, and the effect theatrical. The Emperor had indeed at one point beaten, but not broken the line, so far as to compel the allies to choose other ground to reform it; but

* French official account of the battle of the 16th.

† Fouche's letter to Collot de Herbois, Toulon, Dec. 1793.

‡ Ney's letter to Fouche, June 26th, 1815.

from that he was not able to derive any material advantage; and certainly none such as he anticipated.

Although the army under Wellington had maintained their position at Quatre Bras, and were joined, or about to be joined, by the cavalry and the main body of the army; still, the retreat of Blucher with the Prussian army, rendered a corresponding movement, on the part of the British General, absolutely necessary. Accordingly, he retired from Quatre Bras, early next morning, and took up his quarters at Genappe. Instead of following up this "signal victory," as the followers of Bonaparte chose to term it, and which the Emperor would no doubt have done if he could; he, according to Soult, "*returned*" to Fleurus at eleven o'clock at night; "as it was necessary to pass the night in attending to the wounded."* This at least argued their numbers. It was not till next day "that the Emperor mounted his horse to follow the success of the battle of Ligny."† There were other reasons for the Emperor's conduct at this time, than those of attending to the wounded—other pressing reasons; or these would have got leave to remain on the field of battle, without sustenance and without dressings, as thousands upon thousands of their fellows had fared in other places. The reasons, which at this time forced humanity upon him, we know from good authority. He "*dared*" not pursue us, said Blucher. "We maintained our position also," said Wellington. "He made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sombref, in the morning, found all quiet; and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, though made in the middle of the day."‡ No; the serious business of the preceding day had taught him, that against such foes he must move with caution. Their firmness had rendered it necessary for him to remould his plans, to recruit and re-organize his strength —to be certain, that, in the next engagement, no corps of his army should march backwards and forwards, during a whole day, doing nothing; and perhaps, as at Leipsic, to stop till he get up from the rear a fresh supply of cannon balls and ammunition to replace that which had been expended. The bravery

* Soult's dispatch, June 17th, 1815. † Do. do.
‡ Wellington's dispatch, June 19th.

of the British troops had, in a particular manner, baffled his views; and till they were disposed of, he could neither turn a force against the Prussian army, sufficient to "*crush*" it, nor could he march to Brussels in safety.

In the battle of the 16th, both sides fought with the utmost resolution; but the French soldiers with the bitterest animosity. The first and second corps, which were those that fought at Quatre Bras, had hoisted the black flag, and resolved to give no quarter to their enemies. According to Soult, the French troops fought with the utmost fury and enthusiasm. The columns which marched to battle, the wounded who returned from being dressed, never ceased to exclaim, "*Long live the Emperor.*" This was well—it was brave—had their enthusiasm stopped where it ought. But it did not. The conduct of the French troops in these battles, but particularly against the Prussians, was ferocious and barbarous to the highest degree. Bravery and enthusiasm they may call it, if they please; but such acts belong not to that honourable class, when they put to death, without mercy, the enemy who could no longer injure or resist them. This was their conduct in the present instance. For what reason they were animated with such a deadly hatred against the Prussians, they best could explain. That people had, more than others, been injured, insulted, and oppressed by Frenchmen; and the guilty minds of the latter bade them, perhaps, dread the arm of those whom they had so cruelly wronged. Their government, to assist its own views, had endeavoured to instil into their minds that the Prussians were animated with passions more ungovernable, vindictive, and unjust, than their own; and which they intended to wreck on France without mercy. Their passions were thus kindled to fury against the Prussians, whom, as soldiers, their pride and self-confidence had taught them to look upon with contempt. They, therefore, refused to give quarter. The battle thus became a massacre. This statement is not taken from the accounts published by the enemies of France, but we learn it from their own documents. We have already noticed the odious fabrications which prepared us to expect this conduct on the part of the French troops. Unfortunately, it was too well adapted to the feelings of the French soldier. Their bloody threats were put

in execution. On the 15th, before Charleroy, said an official account to Davoust, several squares of Prussian infantry were broken by some squadrons. Of 5 or 6000 men, who composed those squares, " only 1700 prisoners *could be saved.*"* The Moniteur, however, comes closer and more boldly to the point; bringing forward, as usual, a direct falsehood as a justification of the deed. On the 16th, said that organ of tyranny and evil, " the firing of our troops against the Prussians, *whose government has been the principal instigator of this unjust war*, was such, that the Emperor was obliged to order the recal to be beaten *three times, for the purpose of enjoining the making of prisoners, and the stopping the carnage.*"† The policy that could dictate or tolerate such a system as this, must have been short sighted indeed. It was an evil which was certain to work its own cure: and through means which the heart recoils to think on. The consequence of this conduct, on the part of the enemy, was, that the anger of the Prussians was kindled to fury and retribution, stern and unrelenting; and their country's wrongs and their comrades blood, nerved their arms and steeled their hearts to future combats. In vain will France attempt to wipe away this horrible stain from her national character. The horrors of 1794 were surpassed in 1815. In the former the government ordered, but the armies disobeyed their bloody mandate. In the latter, thirsting for blood, the troops disobeyed what the Emperor commanded. This was the improvement of the revolution. In vain will the French nation proclaim that such deeds were only done by a few. The nation supported the system which produced it. They received with acclamations those troops and their leader, whose ambition led the myrmidons of his power to such tragic scenes. The nation took no measures to punish—none to rescue themselves from such an odious power. The people, therefore, identified themselves with it; and though amongst them, there, no doubt, was a distinction; still under such circumstances and such provocations as the Prussians had received, it was scarcely possible to expect that it was in man to make the distinction.

The retreat of the allied armies gave the French an oppor-

* Official account transmitted to Davoust, Fleurus, June 17th, 1815.

† Moniteur, Paris, June 19th.

tunity, at which they are adepts, and which at this time was peculiarly necessary; namely, to claim great and brilliant victories; and also to anticipate the most happy and decisive results in their favour. Bulletin after bulletin was transmitted by telegraph to the interior, and to the shores of the ocean, to announce that the Emperor "had *completely beaten* the united armies of Wellington and Blucher."* Three of these dispatches were received at Boulogne, on the morning of the 18th. Paris was illuminated. The most extravagant joy was manifested by the friends of the Emperor. The artillery was fired by hundreds. The waves of the Channel heard with amazement the terrible echo; and the chalky cliffs of Albion, remained in suspense and fear. The whole vanity and arrogance of the ambitious and thoughtless French people, were again brought forward to public notice. "His Majesty," said the Moniteur, "was to enter Brussels, the day after this glorious action; in which, it is said, the safety of the General in chief, Wellington, is compromised."† The official accounts published by the Minister at War, adopted even a loftier tone. "The Noble Lord (Wellington) must have *been confounded.* There were upon the field of battle *eight enemies to one Frenchman!*" Continuing this strain of exultation and irony, the account proceeds:— "Whole bands of prisoners are taken. *We do not know what is become of their Commanders.* The route is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not soon hear again of these Prussians, *if they should ever be able to rally at all.* As for the English, we shall see what will become of them. The Emperor is there."‡ Yes, the Emperor was there: and we will soon hear from his own mouth what he did with the English, and where the Prussians fled to. That intelligence reached Paris with sufficient speed.

These bravadoes, however, interesting as they no doubt are, inasmuch as they shew the true character and wishes of the French people, were nevertheless not the doctrines which at this moment demanded most the attention and the consideration of Europe. There were others of a deeper and far more serious nature. Amongst the topics which now begin to be

* This was one of the telegraphic dispatches.

† Moniteur, Paris, June 19th, 1815.

‡ Official account dated Fleurus, June 17th, 1815, transmitted to Davoust.

openly proclaimed in France, and brought forward for the consideration and sanction of the French Legislature, there were principles which more nearly interested the repose and safety of Europe. There is a passage in a speech made by St. Jean d' Angley in the Chamber of Representatives, immediately after the account of the preceding victories had reached Paris, and when a brilliant succession of triumphs were anticipated, which is very pointed; and which passage demands the serious attention of Europe. It is short, but it speaks volumes. It should be wrote on tables of brass. It should be placed in the Chamber of every Legislative body: and deeply and carefully imprinted on the memory of every individual in Europe. "Laws," said he, "are necessary, to organize our Constitution; and, to *establish the* TRANSMIGRATION OF OUR SYSTEM, *into those countries which* ARE STRETCHING OUT THEIR HANDS *to us.*"* He must be dull indeed who cannot comprehend the meaning of this. Their system, Europe already knew, was to establish "the great Empire;" the nations who were stretching out their hands to them, were those, if any such there were, who, as they said, like the Belgians, met them with songs and with dances, and with a movement which proceeded from the heart; as if every movement that proceeded from that source must be honourable and good. Thus was the promise of the French nation kept; namely, that even the will of their chief, and the seductions of victory could no longer draw them on to foreign conquest. It was like all their other promises: made and kept as it suited their interests. Here is a bold and open avowal, in the passage before us, that French principles and French ambition, were not only not changed; but that these, by laws enacted in France, were to be again organized and let loose upon Europe, wherever the discontented and traitors of any country, should again, as they did before, call for it. The famous decree, by the mad Convention, was no worse than this proposition of d' Angley's. Both had the same objects in view: and as in the former instance so in the latter, the safety, the honour, and the glory of France, would have been put in requisition, and duly organized, to justify and to accomplish this profligate purpose. In publishing the speech

* Sitting of Representatives, June 19th, 1815.

of d' Angley, the Morning Chronicle,* and its followers, struck out this important sentence, which overturned in a breath all their idle assertions, for the three months preceding, namely, that the views of the Revolutionary Junta were changed. Such is the liberty of the Press, of which these men are such strenuous defenders. Such the liberty of deceiving, with their eyes open, and intentionally, the British public, in order to support their own erroneous arguments and opinions. St. Jean d' Angley, however, told the truth. The world has to thank him for his candour in this instance, wherein, elated by a momentary success, the true sentiments of his heart burst from his lips. It was, it is, and will continue to be, part of their plan to "*transmigrate*" their odious system into every country; and that in forms and by ways more difficult to detect, than all the transmigration the Pagan school ever dreamed of. Their system is, indeed, of all perishable things, the least changeable; because it is the very essence of evil, derived from the father of falsehood and mischief; and which it is as impossible for a Frenchman of the school of the Goddess of Reason to renounce or relinquish, as it is for the Ethiopian to change his skin or the Leopard his spots. That it was their intention to transmigrate their system into Europe—that is, Revolutionize and conquer it, if they could, there is no doubt; and, the transmigration began, when the inhabitants of the villages on the Belgian frontiers, met their deliverers with songs and dances. It does not follow that these people really did so; but it was necessary to say so, in order to justify Frenchmen in introducing the blessings of their system among them. But Europe was too well aware what the transmigration of the French system was—and too sensible that it would be attempted by her foes to spread the same, for her to be thrown off her guard, and not to check with the point of the sword if necessary, the songs and dances, if really such there should be or were, which met the approach of these locusts, which bore in their battalions ruin and misery, "lamentation, mourning, and woe," to honour, truth, industry, and justice, in every part of Europe. St. Jean d' Angley, who as deputy from his master to the French Legislature, held at present the key of this bot-

* See Morning Chronicle, June 27th, 1815.

tomless pit, conceived that the hour which succeeded the battle of Ligny, was a favourable moment in which to set open this dreadful abyss. With exultation he opened this pit of iniquity.

" He opened, but to shut excell'd his power."

For a moment the cheerful light of day seemed darkened with the dark clouds of smoke which its flames sent abroad. Mankind trembled at the gloomy tempests which it began to vomit forth. But a deliverer was at hand. The arm of Wellington seized both d' Angley and his master, who fed the fatal flame, and, with that " *ascendancy which a great man possesses,*" he threw them into the gloomy abyss of their own crimes; while, with the point of his sword, he wrote at length, and in Roman characters, the word " WATERLOO," over those firm bolts which lock the door of this dreadful cavern, and thus shut it securely, and forever.

Before leaving Paris Bonaparte transmitted by telegraph an order to Suchet, to commence offensive operations on the 14th on the side of Savoy. This that General immediately did, by the capture of the town of Montmelian, situated upon the Isere. According to his account, the allies lost 300 killed and wounded, and 600 prisoners. Suchet immediately penetrated into Savoy, and overran nearly all that country, where as yet there was but an inadequate force to oppose him. He advanced with part of his army to Geneva, upon the lake of and that name, gained possession of the whole valley of the Arve, and endeavoured also to get possession of the town of St. Maurice, upon the Rhine, which commands the road that passes over Mount St. Bernard from Italy, and by that a formidable Austrian army was advancing. Another army composed of the troops of the same nation, was at the same moment, beginning to cross Mount Cenis, in the road from Turin to Grenoble. Therefore, Suchet had no time to lose, in order to attempt to gain a footing in that mountainous country. That Bonaparte had designs upon Italy, is scarcely to be doubted; and Suchet was, no doubt, directed to cross the Alps with the utmost speed, to " *transmigrate their system*" to the banks of the Po, as his master himself intended to do in the Netherlands. He, no doubt, conceived that Suchet would be met

as he was, by dances, and " a movement which proceeded from the heart;" and if he was not so, it was easy to assert that he was; which in the French school of morality and justice conferred the same privileges and the same rights. The Austrian Generals, however, as we shall by and by see, were too alert for him. They had already got possession of the passes of the Alps, and were ready to burst into the plains of Dauphiny, and along by the course of the Rhone to Geneva. The French armies stationed along the Jura mountains to Befort, and those on the Upper Rhine, from Basle to Manheim, and from thence along the frontiers to Thionville, seemed intended only to act on the defensive. In the Western departments, near the mouth, and around the borders of the Loire, the flames of civil war continued to spread; and notwithstanding the presence of a very considerable number of troops, under Lamarque and other Generals, the cause of the Royalists seemed to gain ground. The actions which took place were numerous; and, considering the numbers engaged in this irregular warfare, attended with considerable loss to both parties. The Royalists were, however, assuming a formidable appearance, and beginning to assemble in considerable armies at various points, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their enemies. Of the true state of this internal contest, however, we are so much in the dark, as to render any detailed account of the movements and operations impracticable. But these and the operations on all the other points, we must leave for a while and return to a more important and interesting quarter.

From the defile of Mount St. Giubert, Blucher, with the 1st and 2d corps of his army, fell back on the forenoon of the 17th towards Wavre; whither he was followed during the day by Thielman with the 3d corps, and Bulow with the 4th corps, from Genbloux. At the former place the Prussian General took up a position, resolved once more to face the enemy. Lord Wellington, and the army under his command, remained on the field of battle at Quatre Bras. The General was here exposed to the same privations as the meanest soldier. The open field was his pillow. Fatigued and cold towards the morning, he became anxious for a fire, which, after some difficulty, the soldiers of the 92d regiment kindled. Every one was

eager to render him assistance or comfort, and he seemed in these trifling instances to feel greatly the attention of the troops towards him. "By the morning of the 17th," said General Alava, "he had collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras, and was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a dispatch from Blucher," informing him of the unfortunate result of affairs on his side. This retrograde movement on the part of the Prussians, rendered a similar one necessary on the part of the British General. He accordingly quitted Genappe, and, in the middle of the day, fell back with the army under his command to the heights of Mount St. Jean in advance of Waterloo, a village in front of the forest of Soignies, and on the great road to Brussels, within 9 miles of that city. Thus far success appeared on the side of Bonaparte. This ground he had gained at an enormous loss; while the great object which he had in view was, if possible, more distant from his grasp than ever. Yet he does not seem to have thought so. No action of importance took place during that day between the contending armies, except that in the afternoon, a considerable body of French cavalry having followed the British cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge, gave his Lordship an opportunity of turning back, and charging them; an operation which the 1st regiment of foot Guards performed with the greatest gallantry and success. The main body of the French army was now directed against the force under the immediate command of the British General, which Bonaparte asserted, that he "*drove*" to the forest of Ligny, while his right wing went in "*pursuit*" of Blucher, who was gone to Wavre. The British army thus assembled in front of Waterloo, and the Prussian force in the neighbourhood of Wavre, communicated with each other through Ohain. During the whole of the afternoon of the 17th, the rain fell in torrents, accompanied by dreadful thunder and lightning, as if the elements also had collected to this point all their destructive engines to engage in the mighty conflict. Amidst this terrible tempest, the enemy continued to advance, and the allied armies to fall back:

> ——————— "the hosts retire,
> The God in terrors and the skies in fire."

While these elemental convulsions, seemed to assembled nations

as a fearful prelude to the shock which was shortly to take place on earth. Bonaparte found upon bringing up his troops that it was too late, for that day, to make any attempt against the position chosen by his skilful adversary. It would have required three hours more of day light,* said he, to have attacked them; in consequence of which he deferred the attack till next day. In the evening a sharp cannonade took place towards Hougemont, but without any result. On the left, the Belgian troops advanced in parties in front, brandishing their arms, shouting and firing some cannons, in token of defiance to the enemy. To this he paid no attention. Wet, weary, and hungry, the allied soldiers took up their bivouack amidst the dripping corn, mud and water, and in the open fields, with scarcely any covering. It may fairly be presumed, that the French army was similarly situated.—During the greater part of the night, the thunder and lightning continued most tremendous, accompanied by a high wind, and incessant and heavy rain; but toward the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the soldiers employed themselves in cleaning their arms preparatory to the approaching conflict, which all were convinced must take place on the ensuing day. This was, in fact, determined on by the allied commanders. All the army of Wellington was now collected. He, accordingly, wrote to Blucher, that he was resolved to accept the battle in that place, providing that the Field Marshal could spare two corps of his army to assist him. This the gallant veteran not only agreed to do, but promised, if necessary, to come with all his army to the assistance of the British General. At the same time he proposed, that if Napoleon did not attack the allies on the 18th, that they should, on the subsequent day, attack him with all their forces."—"This," to use his own words, "was sufficient to shew how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength."† The French army and their chief were also eager for battle. The head-quarters of the latter were established at Caillou,‡ a farm near the village of Planchenoit, and on the road from La Belle Alliance to Genappe.

* French official account of the battles of the 16th and 17th.
† Prussian do. do. ‡ French do. do.

Thus ended the day of the 17th. The moment was truly important; and upon a general view of the subject, not a little alarming. After twenty-five years of misery and carnage, peace had, during the previous year, spread her wings over Europe. The nations thereof were beginning to taste a blessing so long unknown to them, when the sweet enjoyment vanished. Blood and destruction began again to cover those countries, from whose frontiers the fearful torrent had commenced its course; and whose divided stream, while it beat against the rock of Gibraltar, on the one hand, at the same moment, on the other hand, bared the banks of the Moskwa, and threatened the confines of Asia. The torrent again let loose, where might it stop? All inquired, because all were interested. A decisive victory obtained by Bonaparte over Wellington and Blucher, would have rsoued to fresh energies the ambition of France, proved of incalculable advantage to him, and been pregnant with incalculable mischief to Europe. It would have called forth the exertions of disaffection in every land; and what was still more to be dreaded, it would have awakened and brought forward fear and despondency to curb the exertions, disunite the councils, and paralize the energies of the people of Europe. The times that were past might thus be "reproduced." The career of victory was begun which would not stop till it had again subjugated Europe. So thought France, and her admirers, in those nations, which were stretching out their hands to bid her welcome. But they reckoned without their host. Napoleon had only been partially successful. His great object remained yet to gain; and which if he did not gain immediately, would have compelled him to relinquish all the advantages which he had previously obtained. Numerous re-enforcements, he was well aware, were at hand to augment the armies of his opponents. Half of the Prussian army, at least three corps, were still not yet up; but at that moment at no great distance, and making every exertion to join their comrades. He had, therefore, no alternative, but to persevere before these corps joined, or to return into France before an equal force; thus, after his boasted victory, covered with shame and disgrace. This was a measure, however, which he could not possibly be brought to adopt.

It was, in fact, one that if he had followed, after what he had done, could scarcely have failed to have proved as destructive to his power as any common defeat could have been. The formidable stand, however, which his foes had made on the 16th, when attacked on one point unexpectedly, and on all points in a manner of his own choosing, gave him a tolerably correct idea of what he might expect when they were prepared for him, and had been able to choose their ground as they now were. He must thus have been aware, that the object which he had in view, was a most arduous, and even doubtful, undertaking. Nevertheless, he was resolved to persevere; and believed that, however difficult it might be, still he could carry his point. His self-confidence here led him into one of those errors which had oftener than once before proved fatal to him. He calculated that he had gained much more from the bloody operations of the 16th, than he really had. He believed that Blucher's army was incapable of any further resistance that could be serious, or impede him. "He believed," said the Prussian General, "that the Prussian army was retreating on Maestricht."* In truth, he believed this. "The Prussians," said the enemy, "are falling back *upon the Meuse in great disorder.*"† Wellington, therefore, alone remained, as he conceived, to offer any serious resistance to his progress. How dreadfully he was mistaken, the sequel will shew us. Still his strength was sufficient to make him confident. His army, after the loss it had sustained, was still from 160 to 170,000 strong. Of these, 135,000 were appointed to attack the Duke of Wellington, before he could receive any assistance from the army of Blucher. The former disposed of, he calculated he should be able to turn a sufficient force against the disordered remnant of the Prussian army, which he made sure of destroying altogether. Accordingly, he dispatched Vandamme and Girard, with the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and a very large body of cavalry,‡ under the chief command of Grouchy, to turn the left of the Prussian army, attack its rear at Wavre, and be ready to advance upon the road to Brussels; and in the rear of the

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 18th.

† Official account transmitted to Davoust, dated Fleurus, June 17th.

‡ Grouchy's dispatch, Denant, June 20th.—"The heights of Wavre was carried. I was in front of Rosierne, preparing to march upon Brussels, when I heard of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

whole, at the hour, when he calculated that he should be able to force the front of both the allied armies, and completely separate them, the one from the other, should the Prussians at all attempt to come to the assistance of the British General. Such were his prospects—such were his schemes, calculated, as usual, upon one of those vast French plans, "which command success, and decide the fate of Empires."* But should he be defeated? That never once entered his thoughts. The possession of the capital of the Netherlands, and the destruction of Wellington and Blucher, two of the most celebrated Generals of the age, were the mighty prizes for which he immediately contended. Others more remote were also in his view. His tottering power to re-establish—his tarnished glory to restore, and to disorganize the general plan of his mighty and numerous adversaries, were the next objects for which he fought. No common motives impelled him on—no common energies seconded his movements. An army, considering its numbers, more select than any France had ever before sent to the field, stood ready, heart and soul, to second his exertions. The whole were, *personally and enthusiastically*, attached to their chief. They were also known to each other; bound together by one common feeling, and one common interest; confident in their leaders; the flower of France; and composed of those veterans, returned from European prisons, who had formerly carried terror over the Continent. All were burning to wipe away the stains which the previous campaigns had heaped upon their arms; and all were eager to earn fresh laurels, honours, and rewards. Soult here again met that General who had so often vanquished him; who had the assurance to prevent him from celebrating his master's birth-day in Vittoria, and the boldness to take his commanding stand upon those "proud heights which overlook their fertile vallies." On their parts, the commanders of the allied armies were not idle. The character of Blucher, for firmness and decision, was well known. That of Wellington, many a proud day had celebrated over the world. The position of Waterloo had been previously pitched upon by his comprehensive mind, as the best he could choose to cover Brussels, and to meet the

* Moniteur, April 16th, 1813.

fury of his formidable antagonist. The untarnished fame of Wellington was now fairly and conspicuously opposed to the ruler of France, who had long been characterized, and was still believed by many, to be the greatest Captain of the age; who also in the present contest had every thing to hope from success, and absolute ruin to expect from defeat. The army of Wellington was confident in, and proud of their chief; but they were composed of five different nations, scarcely known to each other. The Dutch and Belgian troops were newly raised, and in their first assay in arms. The Hanoverians, forming a fourth of the army, were all new levies, and young troops. The inferiority in numbers was much on the side of the allies. The inexperience of some troops, and their being strangers to each other, was also a great drawback. Yet with these the Duke of Wellington resolved to face his skilful adversary. Europe watched the movements of each with fear and silence. Britain with anxiety and hope. The British General, and the British troops were thus even under very disadvantageous circumstances, pitched against the *elité* of France, and her boasted leader: nevertheless, to use the animated language of Sir John Stewart, after the battle of Maida, the result in this instance, as in that, was "*greatly and gloriously*"* in their favour.

I have already generally stated that the French army, which, at the beginning of this campaign, invaded the Netherlands, amounted to 190,000 men. The number, I am aware, exceeds what is generally believed to have formed its strength. On this memorable occasion, therefore, I deem it my duty to be more particular upon this subject, and to bring forward the authorities which guide me in forming that estimate. These in part I have already enumerated; but the reader will pardon me for the recapitulation of some, in order to connect these with the other references, and to bring the whole into one point. This part of the work I have considered as most suitable for that purpose. One great source of error in the estimation of the French army in the Netherlands, arises from including the Imperial guards in the five corps of the army. This was not the case. They formed a totally distinct body, both of infantry and cavalry. Even if we did not learn this from

* Sir John Stewart's dispatch, battle of Maida.

all the French official accounts, Blucher, in this instance, sets the matter at rest, that here they formed an additional number. He expressly says in his dispatch of the affairs of the 15th, in which he details the opening of the campaign, that "Bonaparte assembled five corps of his army, *and the several corps of his guards*, on the 14th June."* The Duke of Wellington says the same, and further adds, "and nearly all his cavalry." From the official exposé of St. Jean D'Angley, we learn that the Imperial guard formed a body of 40,000 men.† The greater part, if not all, were certainly at Waterloo; but let us suppose there was only 30,000 present. It is also generally believed that the 130,000 men which Blucher mentions on the 18th was the whole French army. This is not the fact. It was *above* 130,000 that attacked Lord Wellington, but this did not include the force under Grouchy, from 30 to 40,000 strong.‡ A similar erroneous inference has been drawn from Blucher's account of the battle of the 16th, by supposing, that the 130,000 men there mentioned, formed the whole French army: whereas, this force was the number which attacked him; while two corps of infantry and one of cavalry, together at least 60,000 men, under Ney, attacked, or were destined to attack Quatre Bras. If this was not the case, how could Blucher say he was vastly inferior in numbers to his opponents, when he confesses that his own army was 80,000 strong? Or how could the Duke of Wellington be so very far inferior in numbers to his opponent, when from 130,000, nearly 40,000 were detached under Grouchy? Taking 60,000 (for that number was destined to attack Quatre Bras) from 130,000, leaves only 70,000 to attack Blucher on the 16th, a number inferior, instead of being vastly superior. Besides, if the whole French army, on the 16th, was 130,000; how, after their loss on that day, and the detachments under Grouchy, could their force be the same on the 18th against Wellington alone? But Blucher's statement is quite clear; and as we shall presently see, from enumerating the corps, very accurate. The five corps of the

* Blucher's dispatch, affairs of the 15th.

† Exposé by D'Angley, Chamber of Representatives, June 13th.

‡ Count Flauhaut, in the Chamber of Peers, June 22d, said that Grouchy's force, after the battle of Wavre, was 40,000 men.

French army which were at this point were all full. "Every one of the corps," said Lord Castlereagh, were "complete."* Now, the force of these can be very accurately ascertained. Ney expressly tells us that the 1st corps, exclusive of cavalry, was from 25 to 30,000 strong.† Lacroix, the chief of the staff of Reille's, or the 2d corps, tells the Chamber of Representatives that this corps, on the 16th, was 25,000 strong.‡ Grouchy states that his remaining force, after all the battles, was above 25,000; and as this was the force which bore the brunt of the battle of Ligny, and lost 7 or 8000 men, if not double this number at Wavre, or on the retreat, it is quite obvious that these two corps under his command, (even allowing that the whole of what survived from the 16th accompanied him, when detached in the Prussian rear,) could not be less in number than the rest. We cannot err, therefore, in setting down each corps at 25,000 men, which makes, for five corps, 125,000. Were we to take the accounts published by the government in the Moniteur, we should find these stated at much higher numbers.§ Besides these, he had a most formidable force in cavalry and artillery. He had, said Lord Castlereagh, "*nearly all the French cavalry and artillery.*"‖ Upon turning to page 217 the reader will find all the cavalry, first stated, at 64,000; and then at a later period, at 70,000 men; and the artillery, engineers, and sappers, at 30,000 men, the guns forming 150 batteries. With the army under Bonaparte, there was certainly 40,000 cavalry: and we can scarcely suppose that there was less than 10,000 artillery and engineers present on this occasion, if not a greater number. To these must be added a great number for followers of various descriptions. It is well known that a vast multitude of rapacious individuals, of all classes and occupations, did accompany this army, in order to follow their former *pleasant* employment. This French army, from the best authority, and most moderate calculations, would therefore stand as follows, viz.

* House of Commons, June 23d, 1815.

† Ney's letter to Fouche, June 26th ‡ Chamber of Representatives, July 5d.

§ Moniteur, April 20th, states Reille's corps at 35,000 men. Sometime after it stated his corps and D'Erlon's, near Lisle, at 60,000 men. May 28th, it states the reserve, or 6th corps, under Lobau to be 30,000 strong, &c. &c.

‖ House of Commons, June 23d, 1815.

Five corps of 25,000 men each	125,000
Cavalry (*a*)	40,000
Imperial guard, say only	30,000
Artillery and engineers, suppose	10,000
Total,	205,000

which exceeds what I have rated it at; and which, after all, it is extremely probable that it amounted to. The guards were nearer the number, as stated by D'Angley, than the number here stated. When we come to the battle we will find that the reserve alone amounted to 15,000 men, with which Bonaparte made his last attack upon the British position. These to that time had never been engaged. At the same time several regiments of the old guard were at Planchenoit, and some at La Haye and Papelotte, while from 12 to 14,000 had previously been led against the British line. However, I shall keep to my former numbers, and which were divided thus:

Attacked Blucher on the 16th	130,000		
Do. Quatre Bras	60,000		
	190,000		
Lost on the 16th. about	20,000		
Remain on 18th			170,000
Attacked Wellington *above* 130 (*b*) say		135,000	
Detached under Grouchy (*c*)		35,000	
			170,000

Such is the most accurate, and most moderate account which I can obtain of this French army; and it is evident this statement is not far from the truth. I have been the more particular on this subject, because numerous incorrect and insidious accounts of its strength are put in circulation, to mislead the public mind. These accounts are the work of Frenchmen, and their friends, who want to lessen the glory of Waterloo, of men who believed Napoleon could never be beaten; and who even

(*a*) From good authority, this number passed through Charleroy in advance, 12,000 of whom were cuirassiers: from 25 to 27,000 cavalry fought at Waterloo.

(*b*) Lord Castlereagh, House of Commons, June 23d.—"The troops, said he, which fought under Bonaparte were at least 130,000 and perhaps not *overrated* at 140,000." Blucher says *above* 130,000.

(*c*) Bonaparte's captured port-folio states this force at 33,000, viz. 27,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. But Count Flauhaut is better authority.

yet, though he was in Elba, and is in St. Helena, cannot be brought to believe that he was so. These men swell the number of the allies to 205,000, and reduce that of the French army to 95,000; whilst others generously extend it to 110,000.* These French accounts are eagerly copied and circulated by the staunch supporters of Napoleon's fame, the keen admirers of Napoleon's glory.†

On the other hand, the force of the allies at this point was as follows, viz.

Prussian army on the 16th. 3 corps	80,000	
Lost till that date, say only	16,000	
Remains,	64,000	
Re-enforced by Bulow's corps	25,000	
Total on 18th		89,000

and if the number returned missing was taken prisoners on the 16th, or even if the number which Soult says were taken, viz. 8000 were so, it would then only leave 81,000 men.

Army under Wellington on 16th	98,500	
Lost on 16th and 17th	5,000	
Detached under Prince F. of Orange on 18th (a)	25,000	
Remains engaged on 18th		68,500
Total allied force on the 18th		157,50

The force under Wellington was made up as follows, viz.

Infantry, British	27,000	
German Legion	5,000	
Hanoverian infantry, new levies	24,000	
Brunswick and Nassau, about	14,000	
Belgians 5000, Dutch 5000	10,000	
	80,000	
Artillery, British, 50 brigades of 6 guns each, German Legion, Hanoverians, &c.	5,000	
Cavalry, British	7,000	
German Legion	3,500	
Dutch, &c.	5,000	
	15,500	
Total,	98,500	

In round numbers: the British, German Legion, Hanoverians, &c, cavalry, consisted of eight brigades, under the chief command of the Earl of Uxbridge.

* Courier Extraordinary, Paris, July 28th, and other Journals about that time.

† Morning Chronicle, various dates, July.

(a) This is the number, as his Lordship's speech is reported in the public papers. All the private accounts state the number detached at from 12 to 15,000, and which would make his Grace's army from 76 to 80,000 men, which latter is precisely the number which both the French and Prussian official account state it to have been.

1st,	Lord F. Somerset.	5th,	Vivian.
2d,	Ponsonby.	6th,	Arantschild.
3d,	Dornberg.	7th,	Grant.
4th,	Vandeleur.	8th,	Erndorf.

The preceding account is believed to be nearly correct. The superiority of numbers, therefore, was clearly on the side of the enemy, with this farther difference, that Bonaparte could bring from 130 to 135,000 men, to bear upon 68,500, or say 78,500, under the command of the British General, for fully five hours before he could receive any assistance from Blucher. While we give Bonaparte full credit for the talents he displayed, in the masterly manner in which he placed his army, in order to accomplish the object which he had in view, we must not forget the above important particulars, as these shew him to have been not only superior in numbers, but with regard to the British General almost double, and, therefore, it enhances the glory of his overthrow. But General Alava goes further, and states postively that Bonaparte's force was nearly "*triple*" to that under the British General. In this enumeration of both armies, I have closely adhered to official authority and what private information agrees with it, as the only sure guide. The numerous unauthenticated statements tend only to confuse the subject. If I, therefore, have erred, it is from attending to that authority which should be the only proper guide, and which I have met with none worth attending to, that invalidates it.

Considering that the allied Commanders had this great force under their command, it was hinted that they had been inattentive and not sufficiently upon their guard, in allowing Bonaparte thus to attack them unprepared, and as it were in detail with the force under his direction. There is, however, little ground for this supposition. Blucher, as we have already seen, was not off his guard. It was absolutely necessary, in order to procure sustenance to the troops, to have them in extensive cantonments. "The combined armies," said Lord Castlereagh, "it has been found expedient to distribute where sustenance could most easily be procured. The Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher could not concentrate this force, without leaving a large portion of the frontier of the King of the Netherlands open to the incursion of the French."* For

* Lord Castlereagh's speech, House of Commons, June 23d, 1815.

this purpose Brussels and the surrounding country was certainly the best chosen. From thence they could be removed, with the greatest celerity, to any point on the frontiers of the Netherlands. If Bonaparte had attacked that country from betwixt Valenciennes and Lisle, as he might have done and as his march upon Beaumont indicated that he might attempt, then the allied troops could reach the frontiers to oppose him, as soon as he could move his army from Avesnes to that point. It was by no means improbable that the enemy would make an attempt, first in that quarter; because, by doing so, he not only had the important fortresses, already mentioned, to cover both flanks of his army; but he would have reached Ghent, threatened Antwerp, and cut off the line of the advance of the British supplies from England by way of Ostend. That the Duke of Wellington, himself, thought this would most probably be the first object of the enemy, is very obvious, when he says he directed the troops immediately to assemble, upon hearing of the advance of the enemy, "*and afterwards to march to their left*, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters, to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroy, *was the real attack*." The position of Brussels, therefore, was equally good, if not better, than any other that could be chosen to guard against any attack from the enemy in this direction; because from Brussels they could reach the frontiers, towards Tournay and Valenciennes, as soon as they could have done the same point, if assembled between Namur and Charleroy, and *vice versa* to the latter place, had they been assembled at the former. On the other hand, if it was necessary to assemble their forces on the defensive before a superior force, Brussels was the only place it could be done. The official account, published by Prince Schwartzenberg, is very pointed upon this subject, and says, from the manner in which it was absolutely necessary to station the armies, "their union was not practicable in any point except in the neighbourhood of Brussels."* It, at the same time, secured the safety of the Upper Netherlands, should he have made a dash forward in that quarter. When the plans of the allies were matured, then their armies would have been collected on the point chosen by them to assume

* Austrian official account, Heidelberg, June 21st, 1815.

offensive attitudes, but this as yet they were not ready for, nor was it the policy of Bonaparte to allow them to be. His business was to attack before they were prepared, unless he meant to stand upon the defensive. In attacking on the offensive, the party first ready to commence offensive operations, has the advantage of being able to choose the point he intends to attack, and consequently to come against that part of the line of his adversaries which may be least guarded. While the great plans of all the allies remained incomplete, it was well known no single army of theirs would advance into the enemy's country; and, therefore, the advance of the French army at some point was only what might have been anticipated; but where, depended upon the will of Bonaparte. It was easy to suppose troops should have been ready at all points—these, indeed, it was not difficult to assemble in any numbers, but it was very different with regard to supplies and provisions for them. Before the force of the enemy, whose business it was to be the first to commence operations, it was probable that the allied Commanders would—nay, it might have become the height of prudence, that they should recede, had it even been to a point much beyond Brussels. But probable as this part of the subject was, equally probable was it, that the career of the enemy would soon be checked. The recoil of the allies was certain to be steady and formidable—their re-advance strong and irresistible. The mighty hosts if thus forced back, quickly augmented with fresh numbers, and increased with the terrible swell of the flood tide of European vengeance, would, it was obvious, from the point where they re-commenced offensive operations, advance with a force so vast and strong, that while it overwhelmed every thing that opposed it at its outset, would at the same sweep, lay bare the banks of the Seine, and overwhelm the bulwarks of Paris. Thus the mountain torrent, swelled by the equinoctial deluge, sweeps before it to the deep all feebler obstacles. Thus the wave recedes before its strength, and rolls back its swell but in anger. Thus the mighty billow, augmented by succeeding waves, and impelled by the furious blast, re-advances with a swell so deep and so strong that while it tears the hill from its base and the rock from its foundations, it, as a lesser object, also rolls back the feebler torrent to its

source, and overwhelms its strength forever. So steady was the recoil—so terrible the re-advance of the armies which at Waterloo caused the shipwreck of Napoleon.

This catastrophe drew near—the hour was come—the spot chosen. Wellington stood resolved—Blucher again ready—Napoleon advanced with resolution and fury. "*Fate dragged him on,*"

——— ——— "from far,
Thus issues to the sun some blazing star."

But my pen fears to enter upon this mighty subject. It wants that energy and that strength which is necessary to describe the combat and the carnage of Waterloo. A scene of glory, but also a scene of horror, which the pen of a Tacitus or a Robertson, would find it difficult to trace; and which the spirit of a Milton, or a Homer, is only able to describe. The fire of the Grecian muse could only record in numbers worthy of the subject, the events of a day which tore up from its deepest foundations the throne of ambition—which crushed the fabric like the spider's web, and scattered the parts that composed it to the four winds of heaven. Such is the event we are about to relate—the cause—the combat—the consequences were all unparalleled and unprecedented in ancient or in modern times.

An Iliad rising from one dreadful day.

But before we enter upon this terrible subject, let us for a moment attend more minutely to the positions chosen by the contending armies. Nothing that concerns Waterloo should be lost. Every spot should be dear to Britain, because every clod of earth is wet with the blood of her bravest sons. Every footstep attests her prowess, every object recals to the memory of the beholder her glory—her security, and their fame.

The army, under the command of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, was, as we have already noticed, posted about a mile in front of Waterloo, at the point where the position crossed the high roads leading from Brussels to Charleroy and Nivelles. Its right was thrown back to a Ravine near Merke Braine, which village was occupied. Its left extended to a height above the Hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In

front of the right centre and near the Nivelle road, his Grace occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, or Chateau Goumont, which covered the return of that flank, and in front of the left centre, he occupied the farm of la Haye Sainte, *(the Holy Hedge.)* On the whole position, extending nearly a mile and a half, there was about 112 guns, British and German. The left wing communicated through Ohain with Marshal Blucher at Wavre. The British troops were posted in three lines: some few light troops in front; a line of guns on the brow of the hill; the first line of infantry behind them, under the lee of the hill, in squares, each regiment forming its own: behind, more infantry, cavalry, guns, &c. with a reserve of Dutch troops on the right. The Prussian army which began to move at break of day, was placed as follows, viz. the 4th and 2d corps marched from Wavre, by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position covered by the forest, near Frischermont, in order to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The 1st corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. Their line, in the evening, extended about a mile and a quarter. The 3d corps was at Wavre, and was directed to follow the others in case of need. The French army was posted on a range of heights, in the front of the army under the command of the British General. The 1st corps was placed with its left on the road to Brussels, in front of the village of Mount St. Jean, and opposite the centre of the allied army. This corps had not been engaged on the 16th, and was consequently entire and 25,000 strong. The 2d corps had its right on the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. This was the corps which was so hotly engaged at Quatre Bras, where it lost 4200 men, of course about 21,000 remained. These two corps were still, therefore, 46,000 strong. The formidable cuirassiers, amounting to 12,000 men,* were in reserve behind; and the Guards, from 30 to 40,000 strong, or say only 30,000, in reserve on the heights. The 6th corps, or reserve, which Soult said was not engaged on the 16th, and consequently entire, or 25,000 strong; with the cavalry of General d' Aumont, under the chief command of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of their

* This number I learned from private authority.

right, in order to oppose a Prussian corps in that quarter. The rest of the cavalry were with the Guards and the other two corps of the army, and altogether amounted to at least 14,000 men, besides the cuirassiers. To these we must add perhaps 8 or 10,000 artillerymen and engineers. The united numbers, taking the Guards at 30,000, will then make 137,000 men, but from which we have to deduct the loss of the Guards on the 16th, which suppose 2000, still leaves 135,000 men. The 3d and 4th corps, commanded by Vandamme and Girard, were dispatched under Grouchy, on the preceding evening, to get in the rear of the Prussian army. They had with them "*a large corps of cavalry*,"* which must have been above 7000, when we find that 5000 survived the sanguinary affair at Wavre, and the disastrous retreat from that place. These two corps were those which suffered most in the battle of Ligny, and, therefore, were not now near so strong as any of the rest; as they must certainly have lost 10,000 men on that day. Thus the reader will perceive that Bonaparte kept all his corps that were most entire, or that had not previously suffered much, in order to attack the British army, for the corps of cavalry, dispatched under Grouchy, was also one of these which suffered most on the 16th. Over his whole position there was 60 batteries of cannon, (*Austrian Official Report.*) His front when extended to meet the Prussians, was above two miles and a half. With regard to the natural strength of the respective positions, the reader, upon turning to the map, will perceive from the course of the rivers or rather rivulets, that the country occupied by the armies was the most elevated ground in those parts, and which rises from every quarter as you approach it. The whole forms numerous ridges without any very prominent eminences. The vallies betwixt these are intersected with Ravines. For half a league in advance of Waterloo the ground invariably rises to Mount St. Jean. It is interspersed as it rises with ridges like the waves of the sea, wave behind wave. At the right extremity of the front of this greatest elevation, is situated the farm house and chateau called Hougomont, or Chateau Goumont. Around the premises is a wall, and a wood of several acres consisting of young trees about 12 or 14 feet in height. This wood is intersected with natural

† Drouet's speech, Chamber of Peers, June 23d, 1815.

hedges and ditches. In the centre of the eminence, occupied by the British army, is the village of Mount St. Jean. "The Duke," said General de Borgo, "placed his batteries on the elevated ridge, occupied the farm and the garden, and ranged his army along the eminence, protected by its height from the fire of the enemy."* The whole position was beautiful without being very strong. "It was very good," said General Alava, "but towards the centre it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the General in chief. These qualifications were, however, to be found in abundance in the British troops and their illustrious Commander." The position occupied by the Prussians, at the close of the day, joined the British at Ter la Haye. From that place the ridge which forms Mount St. Jean, turns first in a South and then in a South-west direction by Frischermont towards Planchenoit. Its front, opposite the French position, rose like an amphitheatre in several swells or ridges each higher than the other, but all inferior in height to the chief ridge. At their foot was a valley from whence the ground again rose in an elevated chain towards the position of the enemy. On the front opposite, and nearly on similar ground, with a valley between the allies and them, and also between their centre and their right wing, the French army was posted. All these eminences were bristled with artillery. The country around is generally open, groupes of trees only appearing behind Frischermont, Planchenoit, Mon Plaisir, and near the so much talked of Observatory. Several villages and farm houses rose amidst those fields, which were cultivated in the highest manner, and covered chiefly with rye, at this season of the year in the utmost luxuriance of vegetation. From the incessant rain all the ground was very soft; and, in some new plowed fields, the troops could not move without sinking to the calf of the leg. All the inhabitants had fled from the villages and hamlets for several miles round, except the gardner at Hougomont, and at the farm of Mount St. Jean, where, it is said, the farmer's wife remained throughout the day, locked up in a garret, while the combat raged with the utmost fury in the lower parts of the dwelling. In the rear of those me-

* Gen. de-Borgo's letter to Prince Wolkousky, (Russian official.)

morable fields lies the vast forest of Soigny, consisting chiefly of beeches, extremely tall and beautiful. Through this forest for several miles, runs the great road from Brussels to the frontiers. In passing the position which we have just described, the British General, on the preceding year, remarked that it was the spot which he should choose were he ever called upon to defend Brussels. Little did he at that moment imagine, that he should so soon be called upon to defend Brussels; and still less could he think that it would be against such an enemy.

Such was the ground and such were the positions of the mighty hosts, which at Waterloo contended for the fate of Europe. The shades of a short, but gloomy, rainy, and uncomfortable night were past. The morning of the 18th (*Sunday*) dawned. Like the night it was cheerless and rainy. Dark and sullen clouds obscured the face of heaven, and blackened the approach of this eventful and bloody day. No Sun of Austerlitz here shed his morning beams on those ranks, which looked upon such omens, as an infallible sign of victory. With the morning arose thousands who were destined never to see the dawn of another. Stiff, and almost motionless, from having slept in the open fields and under such deluges of rain, the officers and soldiers awoke, and began to prepare for battle. Yet in this deplorable situation, the only feeling which was uppermost in their minds, was, least they should not be able to do their duty in the combat which was approaching. The rain continued. The day advanced. But "at nine o'clock," said the enemy, "the rain was somewhat abated."* Breaking through the masses of dark clouds which rolled along the atmosphere, about ten o'clock the Sun made his appearance, and for a moment cast his enlivening rays over those fields, as yet cheerful and bloodless. What a prospect he beheld, from Braine la Leude to the Dyle! With a dazzling lustre his beams were reflected, from the unsullied bayonets and glittering helmets of 300,000 warriors, ready and eager for battle.

> "All dreadful glar'd the iron face of war,
> Bristled with upright spears, that flash'd afar;
> Dire was the gleam of breastplates, helms, and shields,
> And polished arms emblaz'd the flaming fields:

* French official account of the battle of the 18th.

Tremendous scene! that general horror gave,
But touched with joy the bosom of the brave."*

At this moment the trumpet sounded the dreadful note of preparation. The troops under Wellington were in the act of preparing their breakfast when *aid-de-camps* passing through their ranks proclaimed that the enemy was moving. The allied troops stood to their arms. The British artillery moved to the front. The enemy advanced. Every thing was arranged for attack—every thing prepared to repell! The armies brave. The leaders experienced, and famous throughout the world. The security of Europe and the general peace of mankind depended upon the issue of their exertions.

Before entering upon the terrible details of this day, it may not be unnecessary to state, for the better understanding the subject, that this battle may properly be divided into six great periods. The first was the impetuous attack upon the right, at Hongomont, which lasted from half-past 11 A. M. till 1 P. M. The second was the dreadful attack from the centre to the left, which lasted from 1 P. M. till 3. The third was the tremendous attack along the whole line, but severest towards the centre, which lasted from 3 P. M. till past 6. The fourth was the terrible attack made by Napoleon at the head of his Guards, which lasted from half-past 6 P. M. till 8. Included in these periods also is the *murderous* combat maintained by the Prussians against the French right wing. The fifth was the general attack upon the offensive, on the part of the allies, and the attempt of Bonaparte to resist it, which lasted from 8 P. M. till near 10. The sixth was the general route and pursuit, which lasted from 10 P. M. till near midnight, on the part of the British, and on the side of the Prussians all night. In each attack arose a multiplicity of sanguinary combats. Each of these grand attacks were equal in their consequences, to combats which in other wars had decided the fate of empires; and taking the loss upon an average, each cost both sides 20,000 men. Bonaparte, it is said, hurried on the contest, contrary to the advice of his best Officers. This, however, is perhaps merely a French story put forth to throw the blame on him. But the troops like their leader would brook no delay. The French masses formed rapidly. A terrible cloud of cavalry and cuirassiers hung oppo-

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xviii. lines 430, &c.

site the British right. From a deep column of infantry which was afterwards known to be composed of the Imperial Guard, and also ascertained to be the head-quarters, where Bonaparte himself was stationed, numerous officers were seen, from time to time, passing to and fro in all directions. These were carrying the necessary and the definitive orders. Immediately after this, Bonaparte passed before the line, and addressed the troops in order to encourage them to greater exertions. He reminded them of their former victories. He pointed out to them the consequences of defeat in the present instance. He held out to them honours and rewards. He pressed upon their minds the glory which they would gain by vanquishing the English, their ancient and most inveterate enemies, and the great cause of all the opposition against them. He asked them if they would suffer the newly organized troops of Holland, Belgium, and the petty States of Germany, once their servants, to vanquish them. He told them that the flower of the British army was all lost in America, and that it was only raw troops which Wellington had with him to oppose them.* Finally, he told them that a rich reward for all their toils lay before them, and was within their grasp. He promised them their pleasure in, and the plunder of the capital of the Netherlands. For, " to-night, said he, we shall be in Brussels." With such harangues, and such promises, did he stimulate his troops to fury. It was near eleven o'clock before the arrangements were complete. What a moment! The armies, for a second, surveyed each other with deep attention. Behind their artillery, the allied army, formed in numerous squares, ranged similar to the men in a chess-board, presented a determined front to the enemy. The French army was astonished, but not intimidated, at the firm countenances of their adversaries. They had been led to believe that it would have been otherwise. They conceived, from the commencement of the retreat, that the British would no more attempt to make a stand before them; and, in their minds, beheld them flying to their ships in shame and confusion. These ideas animated them in their advance, and encouraged them to proceed with indiscribable ardour. How much they were deceived, the pre-

* See Lord Grey's speech, House of Lords, May 23d.—The idea was not lost upon Bonaparte.

sent appearances convinced them. Their leader was transported, when he beheld the British line determined to oppose him. "I have them then," said he, "these English." He calculated upon a complete triumph, and their annihilation. The French advanced in terrible masses. The allies stood in close squares to receive them. The battle began;

> "Squadrons on squadrons cloud the dusky plain;
> Men, steeds, and chariots, shake the trembling ground;
> The tumult thickens and the skies resound.
> And now with shouts the shocking armies clos'd,
> To lances lances, shields to shields oppos'd,
> Host against host with shadowy legions drew;
> The sounding darts in iron tempests flew;
> Victors and vanquish'd join promiscuous cries;
> Triumphant shouts and dying groans arise;
> With streaming blood the slipp'ry fields are dy'd,
> And slaughter'd heroes swell the dreadful tide."*

With his usual shouts, and one of his corps, the enemy attacked the post of Hougomont with the utmost fury. This place was occupied by a detachment of General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear. For some time, the detachment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards by Colonel Home. The combat here was very obstinate. The place had been strengthened during the preceding night, as much as the time would allow; and it was now defended by the British troops with excessive obstinacy. The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post in the wood and in the garden. The columns of the enemy immediately surrounded the house; and, on three sides at once, attacked it most desperately. But, after losing a great number of men in killed and wounded, he was obliged to desist from the enterprise. The impetuosity of the enemy's troops was incredible, and the fire of their artillery terrible. Every tree, every walk, every hedge, every avenue, were contended for with an obstinacy altogether inconceivable. The French were killed all round to the very door of the house; but they were never able to penetrate beyond the threshold. The house and a hay stack were at length set on fire and the combat continued hand to hand amidst the flames; in which many of the wounded, on both sides, were burned to death. This part of the British line was supported by 30 pieces of cannon. The

* Pope's Homer. Book viii, lines 72, 84.

enemy had made considerable progress at this point. Prince Jerome, who commanded a division of the 2d corps, and formed its extreme right, " at one o'clock," said the enemy, " was master of the wood, and the English army retired behind a curtain."* But they did not remain in that position. The Duke ordered fresh battalions to advance, who recovered the wood and garden; when the combat, which had at the same time extended to the main body of the army which supported this post, " ceased for a moment at this point."† From this time, we hear no more of Prince Jerome's operations; who seems very soon to have got behind " *a curtain.*" Worsted at this point, the enemy then made an attempt upon the left of the allied army, in order to gain the road to Brussels. He opened an horrible fire, from upwards of 200 pieces of artillery, upon the line; under cover of which, Bonaparte, with his troops formed in two columns, made an attack upon the allied army from his centre to his right, and with such numbers, that it required the utmost skill of the British General to post his troops, and valour of the troops to resist it. The attempt against Hougomont was most severe; but " on this point," said Blucher, " he attacked with *fury*," intending to throw the left wing of the allied army upon the centre, and thus effect its separation from the Prussian army. This attack, and the combat which ensued in consequence thereof, was of the severest description. The French soldiers were ordered to carry the positions of their adversaries at the point of the bayonet. La Haye Sainte was the enemy's first object. It was assailed with the utmost vigour, and as vigorously defended. Fresh battalions advanced to its support, fresh battalions to attack it. The place, though defended with the utmost obstinacy, was at last carried, after a sanguinary contest, in which all its brave defenders were cut to pieces. In one of these attacks, said the Duke of Wellington, the enemy penetrated to, and carried the farm house of La Haye Sainte, as " the detachment of the light battalion of the (German) legion, which occupied it, had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them."‡ While the combat raged with the utmost violence at La Haye Sainte, the columns of the enemy pressed forward

* French official account of the battle of the 18th. † Alava's do.
‡ Wellington's dispatch, June 19th, 1815.

against the whole body of the British left wing, directing their efforts along all this part of the line, towards the village of Mount St. Jean. It was about one o'clock that the attack on the left became serious. Three columns of between three and 4000 men each, and 40 pieces of cannon, advanced against the line on the left, where the Belgians were posted. The fifth division, a brigade of heavy dragoons, and two brigades of artillery assisted them. The combat was severe. At the end of an hour, the Belgian infantry, assisted by the terrible fire of the British artillery, for a moment arrested their progress. Shortly after, the Belgians were obliged to give way. The 3d Royals and the 44th regiments were then sent to occupy the ground which the Belgians had abandoned. These troops, after the most gallant conduct and the greatest exertions, were in about half an hour forced to yield. The enemy had succeeded in getting to the hedge that ran in front of the position. At this moment, General Pack commanded the 92d to advance. "You must charge," said he to them; "all these troops in your front; *and do it your own way.*" The troops answered by a loud cheer—they advanced with a firm countenance—the foe became *panic struck.* They stood for a moment, looking steadily and with amazement, till the British were within a few yards, when they turned to the right, and fled as fast as possible, throwing away their arms and knapsacks to enable them to escape. The Scots Greys followed, and did terrible execution. Nothing could resist them. But their own loss was severe. This great movement of the enemy, *against the* left, comprehended one of the severest attacks made by him during this tremendous day. Multitudes arose out of it along this part of the line. "Count d'Erlon," said he, "attacked the village of Mount St. Jean, and supported his attack by 80 pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned the enemy much loss."* Much loss these occasioned, but the attack occasioned to himself much more. General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroy, was amongst the first to advance and receive them. He resisted the attack of the enemy. He led this gallant body of infantry against them. At the point of the bayonet, they charged first the in-

* French official dispatch, battle of the 18th.

fantry and then the cavalry of their adversaries. The combat here became close and murderous; but the intrepid bravery of this band of heroes; finally succeeded in repelling the utmost strength of their furious enemies. The French troops advanced in deep and solid columns, with loud cheers, and with the most perfect confidence in victory. They came on, till the musquets of the opposing combatants stood muzzle to muzzle—bayonet to bayonet.

"A long refulgent row;
Whence hissing *balls*, incessant, rain below."*

In the midst of a tremendous cannonade from both armies, General Kempt's brigade was ordered, by Picton, to charge. They advanced. The French soldiers turned from the fierce onset, but fell back steadily in close columns, suffering at the same time a terrible loss. They were in some measure put to the sword, for a moment, without much resistance. In this furious onset by the enemy at this point, his country sustained an irrepairable loss in the death of General Picton. He was mortally wounded while encouraging and leading his men to the charge. With his hat off, he was rallying and animating some Belgian troops, when a musquet ball, passing through his right temple, penetrated to the skin on the opposite side, from whence it was cut out with a razor. He dropped to the earth without uttering a word. His mighty spirit fled. Upon stripping the body, it was found that he had been severely wounded on the 16th, but which he had concealed. The wound was got into such a putrid state that he could not have survived its effects. On the 11th of June only he had embarked from England, and on the 18th he fell in the cause of Europe, at Waterloo. The memorable heights of Mount St. Jean saw him yield his breath on the bed of glory and honour. Without offence to any one, he was, next to Wellington, the best officer in the service. Through all the most bloody and glorious days in the Peninsula, Picton still was foremost. His division was known, amongst friends and foes, by the name of the "*fighting division*," and the "*right hand of Wellington*;" and the enemy dreaded them beyond all others. A memorable day, and a decisive field, now saw him terminate an honourable life,

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xii. line 311, &c. In all my quotations from Homer, the words in Italics, are altered from the original, as here, "balls" for "darts."

spent in the cause of his country. When he left England, he had a presentiment that he should never return; but "when you hear of my death," said he to a friend, "you will hear of a bloody day." The bloodiest it was in the annals of modern history. "He fell in the combat," said his illustrious commander, "*which repelled the most serious attack made upon our position.*"* In the strong language of the brave General Alava, "he was, unfortunately, killed at the moment when the enemy, *appalled by the attitude of his division, fired, and then fled.*"† Can any language be stonger? can a greater tribute be paid to Picton's memory, or a fairer wreath encircle his tomb? The attacks of the enemy, however, were reiterated with fresh troops and increased fury. The infantry having failed, the cavalry were brought forward. "Sometimes these attacks were carried on by infantry and cavalry intermixed, and sometimes *solely by the latter.*‡" In those, however, made at this period of the day, both were employed. They were resisted in a similar manner. "All our efforts," said the enemy, "were upon the *Plateaux.*"§ His most desperate attempts, and these were numerous, to drive the British from their positions at the village of Mount St. Jean, were ineffectual. The column which advanced toward it was most formidable, and the struggle most desperate. To oppose it, the Duke himself led on the infantry, and the Earl of Uxbridge the cavalry.‖ These consisted of the life guards, 1st dragoon guards, royal horse guards, Scots Greys and the 6th, or Enniskillen, dragoons. Major General Sir William Ponsonby led the charge at the head of the latter regiment, which cut down every thing before them. The enemy's troops were overthrown with great loss. The 49th and 105th regiments (French) were broken, and lost their eagles and a standard, and from 2 to 3000 prisoners.¶ It is impossible, said an eye witness, to give you any idea of the field of battle after the charge. It was literally covered with the dead and mortally wounded. The colours of the 105th were a present from the Ex-Empress Maria Louisa. The eagle of the 45th was most superbly gilt, and inscribed

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th.

† Alava's official dispatch, June 20th. ‡ Wellington's dispatch, June 19th.

§ French official account of the 18th.

‖ General de Borgo's official dispatch.

¶ Alava's official account.

with the names of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram. In the struggle to take it, it was much tarnished, and covered with blood and dirt. It was a Serjeant Ewart of the Scots Greys who captured this trophy; and in effecting which, he first killed the bearer, then a lancer, and, lastly, a foot soldier, who, at the moment, successively attacked him. The enemy fairly admits the serious effects of this charge. Of that part of the force under de Erlon, "another brigade," said he, "was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count de Erlon, by its right, and disorganized several pieces."* It was at this point, and during these charges, that the brave Sir William Ponsonby fell. Sir William's body was found pierced by seven lances. In retiring from a charge, his horse stuck in a deep field. The enemy were again advancing. Finding it impossible to escape from a column of lancers, he alighted, and was in the act of giving to his aid-de-camp, his watch and a picture, in order that these memorials might be delivered to his wife and family, when the lancers came up. Both were cut to pieces in an instant; but, the brigade which this brave man commanded afterwards amply revenged his death, by nearly annihilating these lancers. In Sir William Ponsonby, his country sustained a severe loss. He was a brave, an active, and an intelligent officer; and certainly one of the brightest ornaments of his profession. The cannonade at this moment, on both sides, was terrible. The French artillery, which was well served, vomited forth terrible showers of grape shot, which made frightful chasms in all the left of the British line, which, nevertheless, remained firm and immoveable. The British artillery did even greater execution. It cut to pieces the masses of the enemy's infantry and cavalry as they advanced. The French, exasperated at the loss which they sustained, attempted to charge the guns with their cavalry, but they were never able to reach them. In this strife, the artillerymen stood at their guns as long as they could, and then retired under the bayonets of the infantry. As soon as the French cavalry were driven back, they returned to their guns, and gave them a parting salute.

* French official account of the battle of the 18th.

During all this first terrible struggle, on the left, the scene, said a friend who was present, was indescribably grand, and terrific. The atmosphere, for sometime, was heavy and tempestuous, which prevented the smoke, occasioned by the cannon and musquetry, from rising; and while both armies fought under these gloomy clouds, they served to conceal the advance of the columns of the French infantry till they were close at hand. Hence the prospect was more terrific. The cries of the wounded and dying—the thunder of the artillery—the vollies of musquetry—the bursting of shells—the noise occasioned by Congreve's rockets—the fury of the combatants—the cries of "*Vive l' Empereur*," on the one side, and of *Vive le Roi*, and the British huzza, intermixed with the loud cheers "of Scotland for ever," from the other side, formed a scene which beggars all description.

——————— "which general horror gave,
But touch'd with joy the bosom of the brave."

The shot from the French artillery passed over the line of the British guns, and fell into the squares of infantry behind them, and occasioned a great loss to several regiments, without their having been at all engaged. In this situation several of the regiments expressed the greatest impatience, when the commander-in-chief appeared near them, to be allowed to charge the enemy. But this his superior judgment prevented. "Not yet," replied their chief, to these earnest solicitations—"not yet, my brave men, but you shall have at them soon: firm a little longer; we must not be beat; what would they say in England?"† The French army was also similarly situated with regard to the tremendous fire of their antagonists. Many of the rockets, in particular, carried destruction to a great distance, passed over the front lines, and fell amidst the equipage which was placed behind on the road, which rendered it indispensibly necessary to remove the train to a greater distance. Though repulsed in every onset, and notwithstanding the loss which the enemy had sustained, his immense superiority in point of numbers enabled him to persevere. Fresh troops were brought forward to re-enforce those which were discomfited. Each new column advanced with enthusiasm, shouting, "Vive le Empereur." But those that escap-

* Answer to the 95th regiment, see Simpson's Waterloo.

ed returned with silence and chagrin. The first column of cavalry which had been brought forward completely failed to make any impression on the British lines. Another column of French cavalry were ordered up, and at the head of which marched those formidable troops named cuirassiers. These were cavalry clad in armour. They were all chosen men, about 6 feet high. Their horses were the best and strongest which could be procured. They required to have served three campaigns, and must have been 12 years in the service, before they got into that corps. From their chin downwards to the lower part of the body, they were cased in armour. The front cuirass was made bright, and in form of a pigeons egg. The back one was made to fit the back. The inside was stuffed with a pad, and both were fitted on with a clasp. They were easy put off and on, and weighed from 9 to 11 lbs. each, according to the size of the man. They resisted in a great measure musquet balls, which striking against them flew off in an oblique direction. On their heads they had large massy helmets; and their weapons were straight long swords and pistols. These troops were now brought forward. They advanced with the utmost confidence against the British line, and particularly that point wherein were stationed the English Life Guards, who received them with the most undaunted firmness; and "the most sanguinary cavalry fight," said General Alava, "ever witnessed, was the consequence."* The shock was terrible. The noise dreadful.

> Heavy and thick resound the batter'd shields;
> And the deaf echo rattles round the fields."†

The British light cavalry broke their swords against their plates of iron, and suffered severely. "The cuirassiers," said the enemy, "charged that division of English cavalry which had disorganized some pieces of the battery of Count d' Erlon, and three regiments were broken and cut up."‡ The heavy cavalry were "ordered forward, and directed to strike only at the limbs of their antagonists. This they did with such energy, that, though wholly without armour to protect them-

* Alava's official dispatch.

† Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xii. line 181, &c.

‡ French official account of the battle of the 18th.

selves from the swords of their enemies, the cuirassiers were completely beaten, and lost one of their eagles in the conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the Royals.* Their reiterated attacks upon the infantry was also repelled with dreadful slaughter. The 28th regiment again and again repulsed their most formidable attacks. Its Colonel, Sir Philip Belson, had four horses shot under him. In this manner the engagement continued for above two hours. Neither one side nor the other would yield an inch of ground. The attacks of the enemy were incessant and severe. In all he was repulsed. Three times were the enemy upon the point of carrying the position at this point. Three times they recoiled from the rude shock.

"Thrice they fled confounded and amaz'd."†

He repeatedly charged the British infantry with his cavalry, "but," said Wellington, "he was uniformly unsuccessful." The allied cavalry then charged in their turn, and issuing from betwixt the squares of infantry, cut them up most severely, and picked up the deserted guns. But, in this arm, Bonaparte was immensely strong. Therefore, he still returned to the combat with augmented force and increased fury. But nothing could shake the British columns. They stood, firm and undismayed.

———— "Death was in his look,
Whole nations fear'd, but not a" *Briton* "shook."‡

The cuirassiers of the enemy deliberately advanced to the mouths of the British cannon. At one time they galloped along, and at another coolly walked their horses in front of the British squares, continuing to look for an opening into which they might dash. But none appeared. The ranks were filled up as soon as these were broken by the enemy's fire; while with the bayonet the foot resisted and unhorsed these armour equipped cavaliers. These bold men also frequently rushed singly out of their columns, and firing their pistols in front of the British line, endeavoured to irritate the troops so

* Alava's official dispatch.

† Pope's Homer. Iliad, book xviii. line 270.

‡ do do book xiii. line 1018. &c.

as to make them throw away their fire upon them, and that their main columns might attack with more safety. But the British paid no attention to these bravadoes. The loss of the cuirassiers was dreadful. They fell before the British ranks in heaps—"like grass cut down by the scythe," said an eye-witness to this bloody scene. In this manner the British lines resisted at this point these repeated and desperate attacks, which as soon as they had done, said General de Borgo, "the victorious troops instantly returned to their place and again re-formed."* Bonaparte asserts that he took the village of Mount St. Jean.—"A brigade," said he, "of the 2d division of Count de Erlon, took the village of Mount St. Jean."† This was not the case: or, if it was taken, it could only be for a moment; for, that it did not remain in his power we shall presently see, he admits, when he afterwards speaks of leading an attack against it. While this tremendous struggle was going on in this part of the British line, the attack upon Hougomont was renewed with greater fury than before. The enemy made the most furious and fruitless attempts to gain this place, in order to turn the right of the British position. But, he could make no impression on it; although his main strength was, for a long time, directed against it. Lord Saltoun, with his two companies of light infantry, disputed the wood and orchard most gallantly; and the conduct of the light infantry of the second brigade (Coldstream and 3d) occasioned the enemy a great loss. The house was set on fire, by shells thrown by the enemy, but it was not quite consumed. How severe and destructive the combat was at this point may be judged of by the following account derived from the best authority. An officer sent out with twenty men returned with one, and again sent with 150 returned with 50. To gain possession of this place, the enemy made vast sacrifices; but he made them in vain. The enemy, said General de Borgo, "penetrated to the farm, but were never able to obtain a firm footing there."‡ But neither on this point, nor on any other, could he obtain any footing, except at

* Gen. de Borgo's official dispatch to Prince Wolkonsky.

† French official account of the battle of the 18th.—Perhaps it was the farm of Mount St Jean, situate between the village of that name and la Haye Sainte.

‡ Gen. de Borgo's official dispatch to Prince Wolkonsky.

La Haye Sainte. "The British army," said Blucher, "fought with a valour which nothing could surpass."* Amongst these the sons of Caledonia stood in the foremost rank. The 42d, 92d, 79th, and Scots Greys, sustained the ancient glory and honour of their country. The 95th regiment, it is said, received a charge of cavalry, and after destroying nearly the whole, made use of their horses to carry away their prisoners. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was so great, his forces, said General Alava, being almost *triple* ours, that with whatever firmness the allied army maintained their position, it was impossible but that such heroic conduct, and such continued and immense exertions, must have had a limit. The arrival of the Prussians, therefore, who were known to be advancing to co-operate with them, was most anxiously expected.

Nearly four hours had now elapsed, during which the bloody combat had been maintained, with a courage and obstinacy on both sides never surpassed. Yet it was little in comparison to what followed. "It was three in the afternoon,"† said the enemy. Affairs became more urgent. The enemy, therefore, made some alteration in his plan of attack. He had first tried the right, then the left, and then the right again, in order to force his way. But in vain. By pressing the right wing of the allied army, he seemed to have in view to crush it completely in the contest; and, by turning the army by the right, to gain the Brussels road from that direction; thus throwing the whole defeated army of Wellington back in the direction of the Prussians, of whom, in the early part of the day, he seems either to have made a light account or none at all. If he effected this object, he not only gained the capital of the Netherlands, but cut off all the British supplies and re-enforcements advancing from Ostend. In this object he failed. He next made the terrible attack, we have related, from the centre to the British left, endeavouring at the same time to force the former, and to throw back the latter upon the beaten troops, and thus separate the whole from the Prussian army. Foiled, however, in both objects by the bravery and skill of his adversaries, and in a very particular manner by the defenders of Hougomont, and the heroes on the left, he was compelled to turn his attention without delay to ac-

* Prussian official account. † French do, do.

complish the defeat of the allied army by any means he could. The weakest part of the British line, near the left centre, was therefore the point against which he in future directed his utmost fury. The preceding plans were daring—fitting his genius, and marks strongly the character of the man; but all his proceedings were in extremes, and consequently dangerous when undertaken against such adversaries as Wellington and Blucher. In order to appreciate fully the nature of this contest, we must bear in mind, that the plan laid down by Wellington was to act altogether on the defensive, till the arrival of the force under Blucher. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the plan of the enemy was directly opposite. Their junction he could not possibly prevent, but he was determined to render that of no avail by the defeat of the one he dreaded most, before the arrival of the other. Hitherto he had remained on an eminence near La Belle Alliance, from whence he had a clear view of the whole field of battle. He continued walking in deep thought, sometimes with his hands joined together, and at other times taking snuff copiously; but all the while in great anxiety. The story of his standing upon the observatory, which is a mile distant, is an idle tale. At La Belle Alliance was his station during the afternoon. "It was there," said Blucher, "that Napoleon was during the battle; it was there he gave his orders, and that he flattered himself with the hope of victory." From this point he contemplated the immediate and complete success of those terrible French tactics, which had so often appalled his enemies. He thought to overpower his foes at once, by overwhelming numbers. Confident as were his hopes of success, so proportionally severe, therefore, was his disappointment, when he saw the fresh corps of his best troops, and all his cavalry and cuirassiers driven back heels over head at every onset by the British line, and with an amazing carnage. All the troops had already been engaged, except the principal part of his guards. These were in reserve, and the flower of his army, long tried and severely proven in many bloody fields, and who idolized and adored him. Necessity compelled him to bring forward those troops to renew the combat and to encourage the others, whose vociferations of "*Vive l' Empereur*," were beginning to be less frequent, and

also to grow feeble. At this moment, according to the French bulletin, the Emperor "caused the guard to advance, to place it upon the plain, on the ground which the 1st corps had occupied at the outset of the battle."* This he did, from his way of relating it, because the 1st corps was in advance. So far, indeed, it had been, that it could not stay, and required support. The real intention, however, of the movement, as he shortly after discloses, "was to lead an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, (why? Count d'Erlon had previously taken it!) from which we expected decisive success."† Yet this attack, he seemed sensible should not have been undertaken, till the issue of that against the Prussian force, which threatened his right flank, was known. It was made, however, in the face of this obvious danger; and what is still more remarkable, made, according to his accounts, in defiance of his inclination and his commands. As this is a very remarkable passage in the French account, it deserves particular notice. According to this dispatch, the cavalry of reserve perceiving the English making a retrograde movement to shelter themselves from the fire of the French batteries, this French force said he, "by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, crowned the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the English infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, ought to have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and *before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.*" The allied army at this point, continued he, shewing several masses of cavalry and infantry, "*all* the French cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. *Having no means of* countermanding it, here, for three hours, numerous charges were made; several English squares were broken—some standards were taken; but an advantage," added he, "*out of proportion* with the loss which our cavalry sustained by the grape shot and musquetry firing."‡ The result, as he here states it, was true. The movement was indeed fatal. In these attacks he lost the flower of his cavalry; but, can any one for a moment believe that this attack was made without his orders? Or that for three hours, or even if it had been but for one moment,

* French official account. † Do. do. ‡ Do. do.

that he had not the means of countermanding it? Lame and miserable excuse brought forward to palliate that rashness and self-confidence, which made him commit this dreadful error. The fact was, that having occupied La Haye Sainte, he at three o'clock, conceived that the victory was his, and dispatched a messenger to Paris with that intelligence.* The officers who surrounded him at this moment conceived that he had lost his senses. Victory was so far from being decided, that the battle was scarcely begun. The dreadful attack however which he now made with all his guards, and all his cavalry, from their overwhelming numbers and imposing strength, he conceived was perfectly sufficient to overthrow the British army—annihilate his opponents, and plant the tri-coloured standard on the towers of Brussels. Thus the movement was made, not against, but by his express orders. The moment that he knew the Prussians were approaching, he was sensible of his danger; and that immediate and decisive victory alone could enable him to secure his grand object. For this purpose he directed this tremendous attack, or rather succession of attacks, in order to carry his point against Wellington before the Prussians arrived in great strength. General de Borgo places this important movement in its true light. "The enemy manœuvred," said he, "with all his cavalry, and part of his infantry, against our right, and tried to out-flank it with 17,000 cavalry, and began with a vigorous attack."† Henceforward, the whole was a repetition of attacks, by cavalry and infantry, against the British line at all points, but severest towards the centre. For more than three hours these continued in charge after charge, from one end of the British line to the other end of it, in order to force it wherever he could. In deep columns, forming an extended line, the dark masses rushed impetuously forward:

——— "rank on rank the thick battalions throng;
Chief urg'd on chief, and man drove man along."‡

The rise in front of the British position was so gentle, that the cavalry of the enemy galloped their horses forward till arrested by the bayonets of their opponents. The combat now became close and sanguinary; not at one point only, but over all the line. The artillery of the enemy moved forward in front of their assailing columns. About three hundred pieces at

* Prussian official account. † General de Borgo's official dispatch.
‡ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xiii. line 1006, &c.

this moment opened against the British lines, the fire from which was incessant and terrible. "It, unfortunately," said General Alava, "made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position."

In order to give the reader a better idea how this dreadful conflict was carried on, it may be proper to explain at one view, how these attacks were made. In general, the whole French artillery first advanced in front, towards the British lines, pouring a most destructive fire of grape shot and shells into them. Its approach was close indeed. This "artillery," said General Alten, "played upon our squares, at the distance of 150 paces,"* (375 feet.) Next succeeded the tremendous charges of cavalry and cuirassiers; and, lastly, the bold and determined attacks of the close columns of infantry. These repelled, the enemy retired behind their guns, which again advanced, while the cavalry and infantry re-formed, and prepared to renew the onset in the same order. To separate the British army—to break through the line at this point, and to crush their firm battalions, the enemy made the most astonishing and reiterated efforts. Six times, from two o'clock to seven, said the Austrian official report, did Bonaparte make the attempt with equal courage, and as often was he driven back; *no troops but the English*, said the same important document, could have resisted such attacks. As the wave impels the wave, so column propelling column advanced to the attack, while the artillery and the mortars scattered destruction along the British line. The French cavalry repeatedly attacked, *échelon* of squares after *échelon*,† and were repulsed ten or eleven times with immense loss. One mass was no sooner repulsed and broken, than another took up its place. Another and another still succeeds, while those scattered, retired, reformed, and renewed the attack. Terrible chasms laid open their ranks, and let in the light to their deepest recesses. As often were these immediately filled up, and again swept away by the fire of the British artillery, and squares of infantry. The cavalry of the allies met with firmness the repeated attacks of the enemy, while the infantry remained immoveable.

* Hanoverian official account, transmitted by General Alten, June 20th.

† The word literally signifies, "*the steps of a ladder.*"

Nothing could shake them. "Not one of them gave way," said General Alten. "The dead were pushed aside, and the ranks filled up again."* They stood like the rocks which form the bulwarks of their native land; and which, for ages, have defied the fury of the Atlantic billows, when roused by the Western tempest, these assail their deep foundations and their lofty summits.

When from Columbia's shore the surge is hurl'd
Shakes the foundations of the Eastern world.

All the troops at this moment were equally firm as the British. Hanoverian, Dutch, Brunswick, &c. all stood rooted like rocks of granite. Not one square, though several of them were very small, ever wavered. The sight, said an eye witness, who was with the artillery, and in front, was truly grand. The blaze of the cannon, the charge of the cuirassiers, the little squares opening, and the utter contempt of danger which marked the countenances of the opposing hosts, formed a prospect truly magnificent. Aware, however, of the destruction which his artillery and his incessant attacks had made in the weakest part of the allied line, the enemy, about six in the evening, made a furious charge with the whole cavalry of his guard. These, for a moment, gained the eminence. "He reached the eminence," said General de Borgo. They took some cannon which could not be withdrawn. The Duke, who was at this point, immediately charged them "with three battalions of British (the 42d and 95th regiments it is said) and three battalions of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery; though we," said General Alava, "were unable to withdraw them for the want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them."† The British cavalry at this period made several destructive charges. "The Earl of Uxbridge," said the Austrian official report, "with the English cavalry of the King's household troops, about six o'clock made some very brilliant attacks, and cut to pieces two battalions of the old guard, into whose masses they penetrated." The fire of the artillery at this moment—the fire of every description, was tremendous. Some few guns that had been abandoned were sent to the rear. Many in the British lines despaired of victory,

* Hanoverian official account. † Alava's do.

but no one ever thought of yielding—they were resolved to perish at their post. The Duke at this moment ordered the infantry to drive the French down the hill. His orders were instantly and faithfully obeyed. The noble fellows rushed forward; two minutes brought them to the top of the ridge, and there the scene was horrible. One moment shouts—the next screams of despair, and running to the rear holding their bleeding wounds. The enemy, however, were driven back, and, for the first time, retrograded in disorder. Immense columns of the guard, however, stood ready to move forward. There seemed no end to their numbers—the allied troops saw no end to the combat.

> "Dangers on dangers still around" *them* "grow,
> And toil to toil, and woe succeeds to woe."§

In this manner the combat continued for several hours, hand to hand—sword to sword—bayonet to bayonet, and man to man. The French troops fought not only with bravery, but with ferocity—not only with resolution, but with fury. The combat on both sides was maintained with inconceivable violence. "It is impossible," said the Prince of Orange, "to depict to your Majesty the fury with which they fought for the last six hours."† The fire of the artillery and the attacks of the cavalry were so terrible, and so severe, that the allied troops absolutely looked upon the fiercest attacks of the infantry as a breathing time from their unparalleled toils. The anxiety of their illustrious chief, for the sufferings of his faithful followers, became great. "I saw him," said an eye witness, "pull out his watch several times with much anxiety, calculating, no doubt, when the Prussians would arrive."‡ Would to God, it is said, he was heard to exclaim, "would to God that night or Blucher would come."

Blucher did come. And, here, leaving them for a moment contending as eagerly as ever, let us turn to the interesting movements of that gallant veteran. Weary and unwell from the effects of the dreadful crush which he had received on the 16th, he was in bed when he received the intelligence that the Duke was attacked. He instantly arose, followed his army,

§ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xvi. line 138.

† Prince of Orange's official dispatch, June 22d.

‡ Most of the particulars in this page I had from an officer who was on the spot.

already on the advance; and, putting himself at the head of the 1st corps, he hastened to the field of battle.* The cross roads in that part of the country through which they had to pass, were, from the late incessant rains, almost impassable. It was half past eleven o'clock before the 4th corps arrived at St. Lambert, whither it was immediately followed by the 2d corps. It was half past four o'clock when the advanced divisions of the Prussian army recruited in numbers, and unbroken in spirit, began to appear, "*spreading*" themselves upon all the right flank of the French army, and threatening the rear. The enemy, from this moment, had no alternative. Victory alone could preserve his fame—perhaps save the remainder of his army. That too must be achieved in a manner that would separate the armies of Wellington and Blucher. He continued his exertions. He redoubled his efforts, but without effect. He now perceived that he had fruitlessly lost five hours, "and that in the critical situation in which he was placed, there *remained no other resource* but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the British position, and thus, if possible, beating the Duke before his right was turned and attacked by the Prussians."† This he attempted, but failed. Yet, even in this situation, it is plain that he still had the strongest hopes of completely succeeding in his daring design. "These English," said he, "are devils: yet, though they fight bravely, they must give way soon." Soult, however, who had some cause to know these devils better, told him that such an event as their giving way was not probable. "And why not?" said Napoleon, peevishly. "Because," said Soult, "they will rather be cut to pieces." His master continued, however, to think otherwise. As late as six o'clock in the afternoon, he was still confident of a complete and a decisive victory. Notwithstanding the delay which he had already experienced, he observed, jesting, that "he should yet be in Brussels time enough for supper." In vain he was told that the troops had all been engaged, and were becoming dispirited and exhausted. Forward! forward! was all the answer could be obtained—Attack and cut to pieces the English, at the point of the bayonet, was his constant command. He relied much upon the diversion which he suppos-

* Earl Bathurst, House of Lords, June 22d. † Alava's dispatch.

ed Grouchy and Vandamme were making in the Prussian rear. He clung eagerly to this dangerous expectation. In the meantime, the Prussian army began to arrive in the position allotted to it on the enemy's right. The badness of the roads, but particularly the difficulties experienced in passing the defile of St. Lambert, had retarded its march some hours. When near five o'clock, only two brigades of the 4th corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. "But the decisive moment," said Blucher, "was come; not a moment was to be lost."* The Generals were determined not to let it escape, and resolved to commence the attack with what forces were come up. Bulow, accordingly, advanced rapidly with this force upon the enemy's right wing. About five o'clock, said the Austrian official report, the first cannon shot was fired from the heights of Aguiers, from whence the Prussians advanced towards Planchenoit, against the extreme right of the French reserve, or 6th corps. "The enemy," said Blucher, "did not lose his presence of mind."† He had been aware of a movement of this description by part of the Prussian army, and had endeavoured to guard against it. From a letter intercepted on the preceding evening, the enemy had learned, that 15,000 Prussians, as he states, were to arrive on his right. This, from the number, seems to have been the remainder of the 1st corps, commanded by Blucher in person. The rest of the force he seems not to have thought of; and, no doubt, considered that Bulow and the remainder would be fully occupied with Grouchy. "This movement was foreseen," said Bonaparte, "and Count Lobau, with the reserves, was ordered to meet it."‡ A sanguinary contest immediately commenced at this place. "He instantly turned his reserve against us," said Blucher, "and a *murderous* conflict began at this point."§ Severe and murderous it certainly was; and, considering the length of time from its commencement to its close, it was equally sanguinary as any on that bloody field. The loss of Bulow's corps, consisting of upwards of 6000 men, sufficiently indicates the extent of the slaughter. The Prussians fought with uncommon courage, and the most dreadful animosity. The conduct of the French

* Blucher's official dispatch of the battle of the 18th. † Do. do.
‡ French official account of do. § Prussian do. do.

to their comrades, on the 16th, had roused their utmost anger; and the tarnish which their arms had sustained on that day, they were resolved, if possible, to wipe away. They rushed into close combat with their formidable adversaries, and both parties fought with the keenest resentment and deadliest rancour. No quarter was thought of—none was asked—None was given!

> "No room to poise the lance, or bend the bow;
> But hand to hand and man to man they grow;
> Wounded they wound; and seek each others hearts
> With faulchions, axes, swords, and shorten'd darts.
> The faulchions ring, shields rattle, axes sound,
> Swords flash in air, or glitter on the ground."*

The combat on this side continued long uncertain; while the battle, with the British army, raged with the same violence as ever. The situation of the enemy from this moment was desperate; but that despair lent strength for the moment. He brought up fresh troops, and the battle every moment became more bloody. So severe was it, that for some time all that the Prussians could do was to maintain their position. More Prussian troops, however, came into line. More were still advancing and near at hand. Bulow's force soon amounted to 30,000 men, and were still further to be increased by the remainder of the 2d corps. Bonaparte, without relinquishing his object in front, found it necessary to re-enforce the troops opposed to the Prussians. He accordingly sent General Duhesme with the young guard, and several battalions of the reserve, to this part of the line; and, as he would have us believe, with success. "The enemy," said he, "were by this means kept in check, repulsed, and fell back: he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear."† The Prussians may have been, while yet few in numbers, obliged to recede till joined by their comrades; but, unfortunately for the enemy, their having exhausted their forces was not the fact. But it was necessary for him to make some excuse for the extreme folly of his conduct, in pursuing with such obstinacy his attempts in front, while utter destruction hovered in his rear. According to the French official account, it was this moment that was indicated for an at-

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xv. line 860, &c.

† French official account of the battle of the 18th.

tack upon the centre of Mount St. Jean, and which, as we have already noticed, was made by the enemy, and proved like all the previous attacks, unsuccessful. Only the 4th corps, under Bulow, had as yet come up. Blucher, with the 1st corps, as he was approaching the scene of action, received, about six o'clock in the afternoon, intelligence from Thielman that he had been attacked, and was hard pressed at Wavre by a formidable force of the enemy, and "who were already disputing with him the possession of the town."* Notwithstanding that his rear was thus threatened, and with superior forces, Blucher, with that presence of mind which characterizes a great General, turned his attention to the more important objects in front; sensible that if the danger at this point was removed, that which menaced Wavre would give him no uneasiness. "The Field Marshal did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, *and no where else*, that the affair was to be decided."† He, therefore, directed General Thielman to do the best that he could, and not to look to him for any immediate assistance. And what does Europe—what does Britain owe to this gallant veteran for this prompt and judicious determination. Had he wavered—had doubt perplexed his mind—had he turned to secure his rear, what might have been the consequence to Europe? above all, what would have been the consequence to our own brave countrymen? How many more attacks must they have still had to sustain from those fierce spirits which Prussian bravery laid low? The mind trembles to reflect upon what might have been the consequences had Blucher even hesitated. Thanks to his undaunted soul, which banished doubts or fears from his bosom. He marched forward. The columns where the General-in-chief was, continued their movements in advance, and pressed the right wing of the French army closer and closer; and, while assailing its flank, they also threatened its rear. Yet still it stood firm—still the combat raged—still it remained undecided.

While things were going on in this manner at this point, Thielman, thus left to himself, maintained an obstinate and bloody struggle at Wavre. We must not omit this part of the subject. It formed a part, and no mean part, of the battle of Waterloo. It has been but too little attended to. Thielman

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 18th. † *Do* do.

did his duty; and had he yielded or given way early on that eventful day, Bulow's corps would have been taken in the rear, as Bonaparte had calculated that it would be, almost as soon as it was engaged. The consequences would have been, that more British and Prussian blood would have been shed at Waterloo, than what was; and the French army might have escaped defeated, but not annihilated. Though the brave Thielman was not on the heights of Mount St. Jean, he was equally well employed. On the evening of the 17th, Soult transmitted to Grouchy an order to proceed with the 3d and 4th corps of the French army, under Girard and Vandamme, and with the 3d corps of cavalry, under General Pajol, towards the Dyle, in order to throw himself in the rear of the Prussian army, which they at that time conceived to be disorganized, and incapable of much resistance. They accordingly marched with this force, from 35 to 40,000* men, by St. Lambert, and on the right bank of the Dyle. On the 18th, he fell in with the Prussian forces, consisting of the 3d corps, under Thielman, which had suffered least in the battle of the 16th, and a very severe combat was the consequence. That part of the town of Wavre situated on the right bank of the Dyle, was carried, after much resistance. The Prussians, said Grouchy, "were immediately driven into Wavre, and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged."† The enemy, however, after he had gained this point, found much difficulty in crossing the river. So severe was the combat, that Girard himself was wounded in the breast by a ball, when endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge. It could not, however, be carried. But Grouchy's orders were urgent, and his object most important. "Impatient," said he, "to co-operate with the army of your Majesty on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle, and to march against Bulow."‡ In a few words, he attempted to turn the position, which he could not force; but even that, notwithstanding his superiority in numbers, he was for some time prevented from effecting, and not during that "*important day.*" While Vandamme continued the at-

* Count Flahaut, in the Chamber of Peers, June 23d, from authentic sources, stated, that Grouchy had 40,000 men under his command *after this battle.*

† Grouchy's dispatch, Dinant, June 20th. ‡ Do. do.

tack on the town of Wavre and on the mill of Bielge, Grouchy arrived at Limale, passed the river, and, after an obstinate struggle, the French division of Vichery, consisting of infantry, and "*the cavalry,*" carried the heights. In Wavre and Bielge the Prussians, however, remained immoveable against all the efforts of the enemy; and, by the time the heights, above mentioned, were carried, it was so late that nothing more could be done. "Night," said Grouchy, "did not permit us to advance any farther; and I *no longer heard the cannon on the side where your Majesty was engaged.*"* Thus it is obvious how long and obstinate the combat at this point was. Thielman, though much inferior in numbers, was enabled by the difficult nature of the country, interspersed with defiles, woods, and ravines, to oppose an obstinate resistance to the enemy, which, from his impetuosity, must have cost him dear; but what was of still greater importance, it kept all Grouchy's force from the point where it was so much wanted; and, though the distance was only about 12 miles, it was in the words of Ney, the same to the rest of the army as if he "had been 100 leagues from the field of battle."† The loss on both sides was very severe, but I have no means of stating it accurately. Thielman's corps lost, from 15th June to 3d July, 4724 men, most of whom, if not all, certainly fell at this point; Grouchy, from the numbers he carried forward and what he brought away, must have suffered still more severely, as we shall be better able to ascertain in the sequel. Here, under the clouds of night, a long and lasting night to French expectations, let us leave him and return to those points where, with regard to the period of the contest, the sun was not set, and where the cannon was still heard as loud as ever on the field where Napoleon was engaged.

It was seven o'clock in the evening. The issue of the battle on the heights of Mount St. Jean, appeared still uncertain, and remained undecided. The British continued to resist and the French to attack, as if the combat was only beginning.

> "Thou wouldst have thought, so furious was their fire,
> No force could tame them and no toil could tire;
> As if new vigour from new fights they won,
> And the long battle was but then begun."‡

* Grouchy's dispatch, Dinant, June 20th, 1815.

† Ney's Letter. ‡ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xv. line 844.

The British army and their companions remained at their post without wavering for a moment, against every effort of overwhelming and furious numbers, led on by a skill which was of the first order, and by a spirit which neither relented nor melted at the sight of human suffering or blood. It was a dreadful moment. Many of the British soldiers despaired of victory, but made up their minds to die where they stood. Their General alone did not despair of success. His strength was impaired; but Napoleon's nearly exhausted. At this moment the 5th division was reduced from 6000 to 1800 men, and these stationed in that part of the line, against which the utmost fury of the enemy was directed. With these were the 42d and 92d regiments, the latter reduced to less than 200 men. The Commander in chief generally remained near a village in the centre, from whence he could see the whole field of battle. Near him were some of the Brunswick troops. Hougomont with its gallant guardians defied all the shells, balls, bayonets, and swords of the enemy. Nothing could move them. All personal feeling was forgot in the enthusiasm of the moment, and each individual throughout the British line, fought as if all depended upon his individual exertions. The French troops acted from a similar impulse. The rashness, self-confidence, and vanity of Bonaparte, had, however, carried himself and his army into a situation, from which there scarcely remained a chance to extricate himself without total destruction. He saw his situation. He made the most desperate efforts to remedy his rashness, and to ward off the consequences of his error. But these exertions, which in ordinary cases might have borne him through, in this instance served only to make his fate more fatal. Defeated in his previous furious attempt against the British line, he resolved to make a last desperate effort against the left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, in order to pierce the line at that point which had suffered most. It was his last stake. Like the deep gambler he had already set his fortune and his fame upon the cast of the die, and had lost both. These were gone, irretrievably gone. His throne alone remained. He staked the mighty prize. He seized the box in agony—he threw—he failed. He rashly pitched his all against the firm rock of British valour—that

rock which had withstood the fiercest efforts of his proudest days; which had triumphed over his strongest power, and which had, by its persevering efforts, undermined and overturned the mightiest throne that had ever reigned over mankind. Against this invincible bulwark, he now led his remaining strength. Against its firm base, he rolled the last collected effort of his Imperial fury. He put himself at the head of the reserve of his Guards, consisting of 15,000 men; and seconded by Ney, one of the best of his Generals, he, with the utmost impetuosity, attacked with his masses the point already mentioned in the British line. These troops with which he now came forward were the *elitê* of his army, what had always been considered as the centre of his strength, and only brought forward to decide the fortune of such tremendous days and the fate of kingdoms. At their head he marched confident and resolved to conquer.

> "Thus breathing death in terrible array,
> The close compacted legions urge their way."*

A terrible fire of artillery, covered their approach. At length through the black clouds of smoke, their dark battalions, were seen, levelling with their footsteps the corn fields, as they advanced towards the British line. These veterans advanced up the hill with the greatest intrepidity. At the same moment, Bonaparte dispatched instructions to every part of the line, that the movement, which was to decide the victory in his favour, was taking place, and commanding a simultaneous movement against the British line. "The whole army resumed its vigour, and the combat was renewed throughout the line."† The French masses came on in close order, while the artillery from the British line threw into their ranks the most destructive showers of grape shot. Bonaparte harangued his Guards and told them, that by his previous attacks he had destroyed the greater part of the British cavalry and infantry, and that the artillery alone remained, which they were to attack with the bayonet. He led his Guards to the rise of the hill, and told them that the path before them was the road to Brussels. To gain it they made the most desperate efforts. "The French troops," said Blucher, "at this

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xiii. line 187, &c.
† French account of the 18th.

moment, fought with the most desperate fury."* The fire of the British artillery made terrible roads through their ranks, which were instantly closed up with the greatest coolness.—They still pressed forward. They drove back the gallant Brunswickers on the part of the line where they were stationed," and for a moment said General Alava, "the victory was undecided and even more than doubtful."† Such were the appearances at this point where the gallant General Alava was, and he could at that moment see and judge of no other. The British line, from the furious pressure, was for a moment bent, but not broken. Still the moment was indeed most critical. All the toils of that bloody day appeared at stake. Victory yet hung suspended in the mighty balance.

> "From side to side the trembling balance nods,
> So stood the war till *Well'sley's* matchless might,
> With fates prevailing turn'd the scale of fight.‡

His Grace was perfectly aware of the importance of the moment. Let slip it could never return. It was a tide which if suffered to ebb might never again flow. He threw himself into a square of Brunswick troops. "*He spoke to them with that ascendancy which every great man possesses.*"§ Was their Prince forgotten! was his fate sufficiently avenged! No! "my brave men, *we must not be beat*," what would they say in Brunswick? Forward,

> —— "Be firm, this arm shall make your way
> Through yon square body and that black array."‖

might be the words which once more, amidst blood and death, nerved their arms to battle. They heard—they obeyed.—"He put himself at their head—made them return to the charge,"* with greater fury than before.

> "Revives their ardour, turns their steps from flight;
> And wakes anew the dying flames of fight,
> They turn, they stand."‡

He arrested the torrent—"he restored the combat, exposing himself to every personal danger."†† The nature of the ground was such that to obtain a full view of the enemy there was no

* Prussian official account of the 18th
† Alava's official account. ‡ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xii. verses 522 and 527.
§ Alava's official account. ‖ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xiii. line 205.
* Alava's official account. ‡ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book v. line 207, &c.
†† Alava's official account of the 18th.

avoiding the imminent risks which this great man ran at this moment, and indeed during the whole day. Nor did he wish to avoid danger: No! wherever that was greatest—wherever the enemy pressed fiercest—wherever the troops stood most in need of encouragement or support, there he was found. Nothing escaped him. Who fell, who fought, and who fled, came under his immediate observation.

"His piercing eyes through all the battle stray."

With his telescope in his hand, in the midst of every danger, he stood and surveyed the extent of that dreadful field, with as much calmness and self-possession, as an astronomer would view the satellites of Jupiter. His eye beheld every thing.—While the motions of the enemy were yet in embryo he forestalled them, and through the dark columns of smoke, that concealed their advance, he anticipated every movement of the foe. Like the genius of the storm, upborne on its wings, he was seen riding about, repelling the attack of conflicting elements, and directing his thunders to burst, where these could be most fatal. Yet most fortunately he escaped unhurt. Without armour, he traversed this dreadful field; where death, in a thousand grim shapes, met every footstep:—he,

——————— *Without* "a shield,
Plies all the troops and orders all the field.
As the red star now shews his sanguine fires
Thro' the dark clouds, and now in night retires;
Thus thro' the ranks appear'd the Godlike man,
Plung'd in the rear or blazing in the van;
While streaming sparkles, restless as he flies,
Flash from his arms as light'ning from the skies."*

Although the foreign troops acted with the greatest resolution, and fought with the greatest ardour; yet it was not to be expected that many of these, who, as yet, had never witnessed a contest of this kind, could stand against the flower of the French troops, led against them by consummate skill, and in overwhelming numbers. Of this the Duke was well aware; and therefore, said General de Borgo, "he took the precaution to support each body of them by English infantry, *all disposed in such a manner as to be able to succour the point threatened.*" This rendered every thing as secure as possible, and saved this important day. Yet all these troops conducted

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xi. lines 81—88.

themselves most admirably. They were forced to yield at times to the pressure against them—they suffered severely, but still returned to the combat with cheerfulness. A battalion of Hanoverians, under Colonel Von Ompteda, repelled a formidable column of the enemy, in one of his terrible attempts to break through the centre. The Prince of Orange and the Belgian troops conducted themselves with the greatest gallantry, being in that part of the line which Bonaparte attacked in person."* It was in this attack that the Prince was wounded by a ball in the left shoulder. The Nassau troops also fought bravely. The whole encouraged by the British, endeavoured to rival their fame. It was only at the point in the British position we have mentioned, that fortune for a moment seemed to beam favourably for Napoleon, but which was speedily clouded. Every other part of the British line resisted the enemy's rage. In some places they approached within 40 paces, and in others 20 yards, of the British artillery. But they could come no farther. The fire of the artillery was so dreadful and destructive, and the squares of the British so firm, that they turned and abandoned their object in terror and dismay. The first volley from the British line made them halt—the second stretched hundreds on the ground—and the loud cheer and advance of the British columns made them take to their heels, while the route and extent of their columns could be traced from the dead and wounded, and from the footsteps of blood. The charge of the heavy cavalry was so impetuous and severe, that these troops absolutely rolled back the French ranks to a considerable distance, throwing men and horses, *topsy turvy*. Terror and confusion became general in their ranks. "The fugitives," said the enemy, "re-crossed the ravine."† Till this moment the ranks that were laid open and swept away by the artillery had been instantly replaced and closed up with the greatest coolness. But the men could do so no longer. The brigade of British artillery, attached to the 2d division, fairly turned them when at the distance of twenty yards. The 1st brigade of Guards, and a Dutch brigade, under Lord Saltoun, received them with such a fire that those who escaped took to

* Hanoverian official dispatch. † French do.

their heels. In a few seconds 300 of them covered the ground at this point. Before the 92d, 42d, and regiment of Scots Greys, the ground was covered with dead. The 92d, at this time reduced to less than 200, dashed forward at the point of the bayonet into a column of the Imperial Guards, almost ten times their number; and followed and supported by the Greys, who cheered them to the charge, with huzzas of Scotland forever, nearly cut the whole to pieces. At this point lay 1000 dead. In front of the Brunswick troops arose a dreadful breast-work of carnage. The Sons of Caledonia here once more did their duty. "The repeated charges of the old Guard," said Blucher, "were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments."* In this attack the dead of the French Guards, without exaggeration, lay in sections, men and horses together. From this moment the spirit of the French soldier was fairly broken; and afterwards, in some instances, the Officers were seen fighting desperately unsupported by the men. Their *Vive l' Empereurs* were silenced. Sorrow, shame, and terror, chained their tongues. After an amazing carnage, and the loss of almost all their cavalry, the French army were again driven back at all points, retiring from the last rude shock "*in confusion.*" A shout of joy ran along the British lines at perceiving the last effort of their foes recoil before them. At the same moment, said an eye witness, the sun, which through the day, had generally been clouded, burst forth with splendour, and shed his setting rays over those fields, as an auspicious omen to proceed.

Thus terminated the last dreadful effort, which the enemy had it in his power to make against the British line. While we admire the unprecedented bravery and firmness with which it was withstood, we at the same time cannot help feeling pain and anxiety for the situation of affairs at this moment. These were indeed critical. Victory hung in the balance in such a manner, that to all appearance a grain would have turned the scale. Although the enemy had suffered out of all proportion, still his vast superiority of numbers, at the outset, left him yet equal if not superior to the army under Wellington, and the troops under Bulow. To this moment also, the Prussian Gen-

* Prussian official account of the 18th.

eral had been able to make no impression on the French army opposed to him. Besides, this his force, at the moment when Bonaparte made his last attack, was completely separated from Wellington. The enemy, calculating that the force under Bulow was the whole with which the Prussians would be able to assail him, took immediate measures not only to meet him, but prevent his junction with the British General. Bulow knew well, that assistance was marching from another quarter to complete the line; and, therefore, continued to extend his force towards the chaussee of Genappe, in the rear of the enemy. Bonaparte immediately threw forward some masses of infantry upon Ter la Haye, Pappelotte, and Frischermont, and made himself master of these places,* by which he in fact separated the armies. This took place before the last attack, and was effected by the movement, wherein he says he sent "two battalions of the middle guard to keep themselves *en potence*, upon the extreme left of the allied troops which manœuvred upon his flank."† The advance of Blucher, however, with the 1st corps, by the route of Ohain, which he had not calculated upon, quickly re-opened the communication in that quarter. The head of this corps reached Ter La Haye soon after seven o'clock, and immediately attacked and drove the enemy from these points, and completely opened the communication between the British army and the 4th corps.‡ At this extremity of the allied line were stationed the troops of Nassau, whose uniforms were so much like those of the French that the Prussians mistook the former for the latter, attacked them with the utmost fury, and drove them from their post, before discovering their error.§ At this moment, when Bonaparte made his last attack, according to the Austrian official report, the extraordinary loss of men had compelled the Duke of Wellington to bring his reserves into line, and to withdraw his artillery into the second position.‖ Things were thus, no doubt, serious, and the pressure against the British lines most severe, at the time the enemy made the last effort and failed in it. But immediately afterwards, the arrival of Blucher in line enabled the Duke to follow a course

* Austrian official account of the 18th.

† French do. do do. ‡ Austrian do. do. do.

§ Letter of Prince Bernhard of Saxe Weimar to his father, June 19th, 1815.

‖ Austrian official account.

more congenial to the feelings of his troops than acting on the defensive.

Bonaparte with grief, beheld the field of battle covered with the bodies of his best troops, and on the exertions of whom was placed his firmest and his last reliance. Ney, who had witnessed many murderous battles, declared that he had never witnessed such a scene of carnage as the field at this moment exhibited. The humanity of the British soldier, which is such an honourable and a conspicuous feature of his character, was completely exhausted, not by the resistance, but by the dishonourable and perfidious conduct of their foes. It is a fact, which has been related to me by one who saw it, that when the French soldiers were sent to the rear, in the hurry of those charges in which they were taken, that they turned and fired upon the backs of those whose faces they trembled to behold, and to whose humanity they owed their life. They also tried very dishonourable means after surrendering, to effect their escape: and when they saw danger approaching their captors, they stood sullen meditating their escape, and refused to move, in consequence of which many lost their lives. The British army, in place of giving way, as Bonaparte had fondly anticipated, were preparing to act on the offensive. The fire of the French soldier was fast drooping into darkness. To re-animate it, Bonaparte had recourse either to a direct falsehood, or else he must have been grievously and culpably ignorant of his situation. He circulated amongst the fainting troops, the news that Grouchy was, at the moment when he began to lead on his guard, overwhelming the Prussian rear. At seven in the evening," said Ney, " after the most dreadful carnage I ever witnessed, General Labodeyere came to me with a message from the Emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and was attacking the left of the *united* English and Prussian army."* This General (Labodeyere) continued he, circulated this intelligence to animate the troops. This was a manœuvre purely in the tactique of Napoleon, and was certainly circulated purely for the purpose of deception; for it is hardly credible that Bonaparte could really be ignorant of what troops these were, which were advancing against his " *extreme right.*"

* Ney's letter to Fouche, 26th June.

More than eight hours had now passed, filled up by incessant attacks and continual slaughter.

> ——————— "yet still proceeds
> The work of death; and still the battle bleeds."*

Of those who were by the side of the Duke of Wellington, only himself and General Alava escaped unhurt in their persons, or in their horses.† Around him, and before every footstep, the brave companions of his former glory strewed the ensanguined field. The manly heart of Wellington could no longer support the melancholy scene. He burst into tears—tears moulded by the finest feelings of a gallant heart. "The Duke," said General Alava, "was unable to refrain from shedding tears, on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions."‡ It was at this important and decisive moment that the veteran Blucher joined with a corps of his army by Ohain, and that the march of General Bulow by Frischermont upon Planchenoit and la Belle Alliance had begun to take effect. The whole of the 4th, and part of the 2d Prussian corps, the latter under General Pvich, had successively come up, attacking as they arrived with the greatest impetuosity. It was this force which Ney says attacked "the extreme right;" and, according to him, was from 40 to 50,000 strong. They were certainly the former. Bonaparte's account of these operations are very curious, very deficient, and very lame; and while they contain some important truths, these are so clouded and blended with falsehoods, that it requires some patience and attention to separate them. As the cuirassiers suffered much from the grape shot, "we sent," said he, "four battalions of the middle guard, (Ney says four regiments) to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, *if possible*, to disengage and draw back part of our cavalry." Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves, "*en potence*," (literally in form of a gallows) upon the extreme left of the allied troops, which manœuvred upon his flanks, in order that he might not have "any uneasiness upon that side." The rest was disposed in reserve; a part to occupy the rear of Mount St. Jean, and part upon the *plateaux*, in the rear of the field of

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xvii. lines 853, &c.
† Alava's official dispatch, June 20th. ‡ Do. do.

battle, which formed the position for "*retreat.*" "In this situation," continued he, "the battle was *gained;* we occupied *all* the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle; our cavalry having been *too soon* and *too ill* employed, we could no longer hope for *decisive success;*" but "Marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which *insured us a signal success for next day.* After eight hours fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, *all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.*"* He then proceeds to state, that at half past eight o'clock these battalions endeavoured to take a battery at the point of the bayonet, but in which they were unsuccessful, and compelled to return in disorder, before the charge of the English cavalry, at the end of the day. Such is the lame and deceitful account of those tremendous operations, which decided the battle of Waterloo, and fate of Napoleon. Unparalleled effrontery! to claim a decisive victory, and the occupation of all the field of battle, when, except La Haye Sainte, he occupied none of it. Wretched subterfuge! to look forward to decisive success for next day, in order to palliate the fatal errors of a remorseless ambition in this. Decisive success was no longer within his grasp, neither for that day nor the day following. No! that was fled to a greater distance from him than the narrow limits of Elba, or the more distant borders of Asia.

The hour of the deliverance of Europe was struck. The limits of French power, and the doom of French aggression was determined. It was a dreadful hour. Even the firm nerves of Napoleon began to shake—his resolution to waver. "Some uncertainty," said Blucher, "was seen in his movements."† Hitherto the British army and their allies had acted on the defensive. From this moment, another course was resolved upon. Though only one to two, they had, for eight hours, resisted all the efforts of the enemy; but could his boasted battalions, for one hour, resist them? The sequel will shew us. He opened, indeed, a tremendous cannonade along the line; but this was only intended as a feint to cover his retreat.

* French official account of the battle of the 18th. † Prussian do.

Some cannon at a distance, it was observed, were beginning to move off to the rear. These things could not escape the keen glance of Wellington. He soon perceived this uncertainty in the movements of the enemy—he knew their cause, and was sensible of their object. He perceived that the enemy's troops retired from the last attack "*in great confusion.*"* That critical moment, big with the fate of nations, and which decided the fortune of millions, was arrived. Wellington beheld with satisfaction the firm and determined advance of the Prussians against the right of the enemy. Their cannon formed one tremendous roar, from Ter la Haye to Planchenoit. "There goes old Blucher at last, and like himself," exclaimed the delighted General. With the eye of the eagle when in search of his prey, he perceived that decisive victory was his. He saw Napoleon's laurels withering upon his brows. With his characteristic decision and energy, he seized that fortunate moment. That decision which destroyed the wisest combinations at Salamanca—which scattered French invincibility on the banks of the Zadora; and which was the first to plant the British banners on those "proud heights" which overlooked the "fertile vallies" of their foes, was immediately called *into* action with a tremendous and a decisive success. The spirit of the British soldier, which strict obedience had hitherto restrained—those ranks which, as their great leader passed through them, in the hour of peril, greeted him with this noble language "on the spot where you have placed us we will stand till we die"†—that courage which the ascendancy and superior prudence of their mighty commander could barely at some moments restrain—and whose blood was warmed with an ardour which nothing could resist, was from this moment let loose uncontroled, and given its full latitude. Obedience was as prompt, as the command was decided. The eager solicitation which greeted his Lordship's ears wherever he appeared, "Let us at them, my Lord, let us down upon them," now was completely gratified. Their leader put himself at the head of a division of the first regiment of foot guards. He addressed them with an ascendency and feeling which quickly communicated itself to them. He pointed out to them the road to im-

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th.

† Sir Colin Halket's reply to his Grace.

mortal glory, and to decisive success. "Have at them then, my brave men! Down upon them!" While, like Hector, he perhaps also told them,

> "Death is, at worst, a fate which all must try;
> And for our country 'tis a bless to die.
> The gallant man, though slain in fight he be,
> Yet leaves his nation safe, his children free."*

"They replied," said Alava, "with a general *hurrah!* and while his Grace himself led them on, *guiding them with his hat,* they marched at the point of the bayonet, to come to close action with the Imperial guard."† But these fled from the fierce onset. At the same moment, the whole British line was commanded to advance. Though after nine hours of the severest fighting ever known, the allied soldiers rushed like lions to the combat. The attack was simultaneous, tremendous, and irresistible. At every point their line swept the field of battle.

> "Heaps fall on heaps, the slaughter" *Well'sley* "leads,
> Swift as a whirlwind drives the scatter'd foes,
> And dyes the ground with purple as he goes."‡

The bravest of their foes fell before them in ranks. They marched over hills of dead, and through rivers of blood. The artillery rapidly followed their career. In bringing the guns up to the front, notwithstanding every care and attention, many wounded were crushed by the wheels, while others were seen holding out their hands, and supplicating that they might not be suffered to run over them. But so thickly was the field covered with wounded, that, in every instance, it was impossible to avoid it. Infinitely worse was the condition of many of the French wounded, who were crushed to death both in the general confusion and flight of their whole remaining army over them, and also by the advance of the allies. Fear and flight, pressed the French army. Their numerous artillery poured forth destruction no longer—their boasted armour could screen the cuirassiers no more. The former became the prize of the conquerors, in the batteries where they stood; and the latter were precipitated headlong from their horses and trampled to death. "We crushed them like lobsters in their shells," was the rough, but just, simile of an eye witness to this dreadful

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xv. line 582, &c.

† Alava's official dispatch. ‡ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book v. line 638, &c.

scene. The French troops were literally thrown backward, heels o'er head; rank upon rank, and column upon column,

> "Whole squadrons vanish, and proud heads lie low.
> The steeds fly, trembling, from his waving sword;
> And many a car, now lighted of its Lord,
> Wide o'er the field with guidless fury rolls,
> Breaking their ranks, and crushing out their souls."*

The French soldiers could be brought to face the British heroes no more. They fled in the "*utmost confusion*,"† said the British General. "Entire columns," said General Alava, "threw down their arms and cartouch boxes, in order to escape the better," and "abandoned on the spot where they had been formed, 150 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition and equipages to the conquerors."‡ So impetuous and furious was this attack, that all idea of quarter, on either side, was, for some time, out of the question. The contest thus became a perfect massacre. The French Guard refused to yield, though called upon to do so, and were, therefore, nearly exterminated. The few who escaped fled to the rear, carrying with them disorder and confusion. At the same moment, the Prussian corps under Zeithen, with which old Blucher was, charged the right flank of the enemy near the village of Smouhen. His right wing was broken in three places. The Prussian troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked them at all points with irresistible fury. The battle at this point also, was, for a considerable time, most furious and most sanguinary. Officers of all ranks exposed themselves like the meanest soldier. Gneisenau, the chief of Blucher's staff, had first one horse killed by a cannon ball, and then another twice wounded by musquet balls. His sabre was once beat out of the scabbard, and once shot to pieces. Previous to the engagement, Bonaparte had carried along with him a farmer of the name of Lacoste, as a guide, to point out to him the country. This man relates, that when Bonaparte saw the Prussian troops advancing, and supposing them to be the troops of Grouchy, he desired an officer to inform him whose colours these were that advanced towards the right? "Prussian," was the reply. It struck him like the

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, book xi. line 206, &c.

† Wellington's dispatch, June 19th. ‡ Alava's dispatch.

head of Medusa. A deathlike paleness, for a moment, overspread his countenance, and anguish rung his heart. This attack of the Prussians was never mentioned by Bonaparte. He felt sore at having committed himself so far as to place his army in such a situation. Let us, for a moment, attend to his account of these matters. We have already noticed his account of three battalions of the middle guard, at half past eight o'clock, attempting to carry an English battery at the point of the bayonet. The consequence of which attempt was, "that, at the close of the day, a charge, directed against their flank, by some English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine."* But not a word of the Prussians. However, these had broken his right wing at Smouhen; and Bulow was fiercely contending for possession of Planchenoit, in his rear. The British poured destruction into his centre and his left. Confusion marched with giant strides. "Several regiments near at hand," said he, "seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed that it was the old guard, and, in consequence, fled in disorder. The cry, *all is lost*, the guard is driven back, was heard on every side."† In vain Bonaparte made a strong effort, by bringing up some battalions of the old guard, which had not yet been engaged, to arrest the flight of the fugitives. It was useless. Intimidated by the confusion around them, overpowered by the recoiling friend and advancing foe, they soon yielded to the alarming torrent. It was at this point where, for some time, it was supposed that the Emperor had been either killed or taken. But he was borne along with the rest. Without disguise—without hope.

> There Gallia's soldiers turn their backs for flight;
> There Gallia's leader shuns th' unequal fight.

On this side all order was lost. All commands disregarded. Emperor, Princes, Generals, Officers and soldiers fled in dismay, and in the utmost alarm and terror. The soldiers of the waggon train cut the traces of their horses—the artillerymen fled from their guns—the officers of the highest rank were hurried away, and lost in the crowd; and not a single battalion existed, behind which another could rally. In less than half an hour, all the *materiel* of the army fell into the hands of the

* French official account of the battle of the 18th. † Do. do.

allies. The enemy learned at this moment, by fatal experience, that the cavalry had been *too soon* and *too ill* employed. As these had previously been in a great measure destroyed, so the enemy had nothing to cover the retreat of his unfortunate army. That if these troops had been less exposed, the retreat would have been less fatal can scarcely admit of a doubt. It was this want which now rendered defeat ruin. Still the means of retreat, though certain to be disastrous, was not yet entirely cut off. The enemy still held the village of Planchenoit in his rear, with a part of the old guard in reserve. Against them the Prussians advanced. The ground for the attack, on the part of the latter, was extremely favourable. It rose like an amphitheatre, so that the artillery could open from the summit of a great many heights, which rose gradually above each other. In the intervals formed by these, "the troops descended into the plain, and formed into brigades in the greatest order, while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind them."* Under these circumstances, the Prussians advanced against the old guard stationed at Planchenoit. This determined band, however, stood firm to the last. After several bloody attacks, the place was at length carried by storm. The slaughter was dreadful. The Prussians were so exasperated, that they neither gave nor sought quarter. The enemy had kindled this animosity, and he now felt its bitter consequences. At Planchenoit none escaped. "The old guard" said the enemy, "which was in reserve, was attacked and completely cut up."† From that moment, the cry of, All is lost, spread from mouth to mouth throughout the whole French army. It was "*a cry of dismay*," more bitter than that which resounded round the fatal banks of the Elster—a shriek of despair more *freezing* than that which echoed along the bleak bosom of the Berezina. The nerves of the bravest tremble to contemplate the scene which occasioned it—the ears of the most thoughtless think they hear the piercing echo. From that fatal moment, the route was general and complete. The road soon became choked with fugitives, equipages, and cannon. The commanders of all ranks were separated from their corps, and hurried along with the multi-

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 18th. † French do.

tude. In vain Bonaparte at this dreadful hour still attempted to collect some battalions of the old and young guard, which had been least engaged, and with them endeavoured to arrest the torrent; terrified at the scene around them, and pulverised by the cannon, they were overthrown in a moment. They were borne along with the rest, and carried the Emperor with them. The French army fled in such haste, that it hurried away in its route every thing which attempted to arrest its progress. "It soon assumed," said Blucher, "the appearance of an army of barbarians."* Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, rushed *pele mele* upon each other, and became blended in one mass of confusion. The dragoons rode over the foot soldiers, and trampled them to death. At the same moment the cavalry and infantry of the allies were close at their heels, and marked their footsteps with blood.

> "Now by the foot the flying foot were slain;
> Horse trode by horse lay foaming on the plain."†

"A complete *panic*," said the enemy, "spread itself throughout the whole field of battle; and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder, on the line of communication: soldiers, cannoniers, caissons, all hurried to this point."‡ It was in vain to attempt to draw order from this confusion—no orders were listened to—no commands were obeyed. "Soldiers of all arms," said the enemy, "were mixed *pele mele;* and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps."§ It was half past nine o'clock. The British army continued the pursuit over indiscribable scenes of blood and ruin.

> "Loud o'er the rout was heard the victors cry,
> Where the war bleeds, and where the thickest die;
> Where horse and arms, and chariots, lie o'erthrown,
> And bleeding heroes under axles groan."‖

For five miles, which they followed the flying enemy, the route was covered by Frenchmen only. At the farm house of la Belle Alliance, the slaughter was prodigious. The French made a battery of the garden wall, by making holes through it. All the trees in the orchard were stripped by the bullets. Every house, and every hole, was found full of dead and dying French-

* Prussian official account. † Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xi. line 139, &c.
‡ French official account. § Do. do.
‖ Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xvi line 454, &c.

men. How dreadful the terror must have been at this point, may be collected from the following fact. In one well were found the bodies of eight French soldiers of the Imperial guard, *with their armour*. In another well were found 73 bodies. The Duke of Wellington, with the army under his command, pursued the enemy to Genappe, near which he met Blucher. On the royal road to Charleroy, they cordially embraced and congratulated each other upon their glorious and decisive success. The meeting was most affecting. From this point the Prussian General undertook the future pursuit of the routed enemy. "He swore," said Alava, "that he would not leave them a moment of rest;"* and he kept his word most punctually. The British General readily accepted this offer. His troops were faint with hunger, and wearied above measure, after the fatigues of a combat of nearly twelve hours duration, and severer than any ever recorded in the annals of Europe. This army was, therefore, ordered to halt; and the Prussian army, comparatively speaking fresh, continued the pursuit during the night without the smallest relaxation. Before halting, the British columns gave the flying enemy three hearty cheers. If any thing had been wanting to raise the spirit of the Wellingtonian band, or to exalt the glory of Britain at this important moment, it was found in the conduct of the Prussians. In the pursuit when they came in contact with the columns of Wellington, they made way for them to take the lead—and when the British halted for the night, the Prussians, as they passed their bivouacks, stopped for a moment and played "God save the King." What a moment! Since Trafalgar; Britons never stood so high, and never did they so well deserve it. It was now near midnight. At this dread hour, "when silent ghosts complain;" Blucher assembled the superior Officers, and gave orders "to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy."† These orders were punctually and cheerfully obeyed. They followed with the speed of lightning their routed and flying enemy.

"While these fly trembling, others pant for breath,
And o'er the slaughter stalks gigantic Death,

* Alava's dispatch. † Prussian official account of the 18th.

On rush'd bold" *Blucher*, " gloomy as the night,
Forbids to plunder, animates the fight,
Points to the "*foe:*" for by the Gods, who flies;
Who dares but linger, by this hand he dies;
Who stops to plunder, in this signal hour,
The birds shall tear him, and the dogs devour."*

" The van of the Prussian army accelerated its march."†—Bulow was foremost with a body of 12,000 cavalry. " The French army," said the Prussian General, " pursued without intermission, was absolutely *disorganized*."‡ The allies taking advantage of this dreadful confusion, attacked with their cavalry and heightened the disorder.

———— " The coursers scour the fields,
O'er heaps of carcases, and hills of shields,
The horses hoofs are bath'd in heroes gore."§

The shades of night doubled the confusion. " It was impossible," said the enemy, " to rally the troops and to point out to them their error."‖ Even the squadrons " *of service*," by the side of the Emperor, were completely cut up, " and destroyed by an overwhelming force; and there was nothing left but to follow the torrent."* The Emperor seeing all was lost fled from the scene of carnage and confusion, with a few attendants. About ten o'clock he extricated himself from the crowd where the danger was greatest, and after a narrow escape he continued his flight to Genappe. He thought no more on " *signal success* for the next day,"—not even on retreat—no more on his unfortunate army. His personal safety was all his care: and that, as we shall presently see, he barely effected.

While the British army snatched some refreshment and a few hours repose, after their unparalleled exertions and hardships, amidst those ghastly fields of blood, pain, and death; the Prussians continued to pursue their scattered foes, with the most unwearied perseverance. The weather had cleared up. The night was beautiful and serene. The moon shone bright through the clear mid-summer sky, and directed their footsteps through indescribable scenes of horror and death. Nature seemed to conspire for the destruction of the enemy. The moon lent her beams, " The stars in their courses fought against" Napo-

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xv. line 392, &c.
† Prussian official account
‡ Do. do. do
§ Pope's Homer. Iliad. Book xi. line 657, &c.
‖ French official account.
* Do. do.

leon. The situation of the French army was indeed become deplorable. No words can paint their distress. From this moment their situation disarms all resentment and awakens only pity. Their menacing aspect was gone. Their glory was set in blood. Their haughtiness was laid low—and their ferocity in their temporary success now filled their minds with sorrow and alarm. On all hands the roads, the fields, the woods, the streams, were covered with dead and dying Frenchmen. The Officers that escaped, stated that the horrors they experienced in their flight from Moscow, were far unequal to those which surrounded and accompanied them from Waterloo to the Sambre. In vain they attempted to snatch a moments repose. They were driven from "*nine bivouacks*,"* at the point of the sword. In vain they attempted to defend themselves in the villages or isolated houses. They were immediately driven from their defences, cut down, or made prisoners;† and hundreds were consumed in the flames of the houses set on fire in these conflicts. Not only on the high road, but for 100 feet in breadth on each side of it, paths were made where every thing was beat down and covered with dead and wounded. The road was in many places blocked up by artillery, and the military waggons endeavouring to escape, were in some places driven 16 abreast, on the causeway. In Genappe, a small town upon the Dyle, 5 or 6 miles from the field of battle, there was nothing but a scene of the utmost confusion. The fugitives here hoped to snatch a few moments repose for their wounded spirits, and to obtain a little food to recruit their exhausted strength—idle hope. They here endeavoured to entrench themselves with overturned carriages and cannon. But the roar of the Prussian artillery roused them from their dream of security. The foe advanced with the rapidity of a tempest. From behind these barriers the French soldiers opened a brisk fire upon their pursuers. The place was almost immediately taken by storm. The Prussians entered, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. The French soldiers ceased to make resistance—they suffered themselves to be cut down like cattle. On this spot 800 lay dead. General Duhesme, who commanded their rear guard, was knocked down and taken, at the gate of an inn by a Brunswick hus-

* Prussian official account of the battle of the 18th. † Do. do. do.

sat. "The Duke fell yesterday, and thou shalt bite the dust." So saying, the black hussar brought him down. But he escaped with his life. The fury of the Brunswickers no longer knew any bounds. The enemy, who could effect it, fled from the spot, leaving every thing they had. From this point the flight if possible became more disorderly than ever. Arms, knapsacks, every thing was thrown away. Here Bonaparte escaped with great difficulty. The waggons and baggage were so closely wedged together that it took an hour and a half for Bonaparte and about 150 of his staff to get through them. So close were his pursuers, that, in escaping from his carriage, he was obliged to defend himself with his pistols; and scarcely had he quitted his seat, when the vehicle, with eight cream-coloured horses which drew it, fell into the hands of the victors. So great was his haste to escape, that in it he left his hat, his sword, his magnificent embroidered State mantle, (intended, no doubt, to crown the "*transmigration*" of his "*system*" into other countries) and the perspective glass, with which he surveyed the battle, all of which fell into the hands of Blucher himself.* His seal ring, all his jewels and equipage fell into the hands of the Prussian soldiers. All the orders with which he had been invested, and those which he usually wore, were also taken; amongst which was the Prussian order of the Black Eagle, with the motto, "*every man his own*," and which the issue of this day bid fair to confer on many. His baggage, many fine Arabian horses, his library, were also taken; and along with these whole bales of revolutionary proclamations, addressed to the Belgians, ready dated on the 19th, from the Palace of Laecken, where he expected to have been in triumph on that day.—Mounted on horseback he left Genappe, and with his followers proceeded in the utmost haste to the frontiers. Notwithstanding the darkness of the night, he was frequently recognized by the soldiers, who knew him from his *pye-bald* horse, his grey great-coat, and who whispered to each other as he passed them, "Look! There is the Emperor." Even these words seemed to alarm him, and he accordingly quickened his pace to get forward. From Genappe the Prussians continued to pursue the wrecks of his wretched army. It was continued till the next day was far

* Blucher's letter, June 20th, 1815.

advanced, the whole march "being but one continued chace either in the corn fields or the houses."* The whole period was employed by the Prussians only in firing and cutting them down, for no serious resistance could be attempted. At every footstep, cannon, equipages, arms, and accoutrements, fell into their hands. Before day light 60 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. "The causeway," said Blucher, "presented the appearance of an *immense shipwreck*; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wreck of every kind."† Fearful indeed was the havoc and ruin which overspread those fatal fields. It was the shipwreck of Napoleon. "The route," said General Alava, "was the most complete ever beheld by military men. The famous route of Vittoria was not even comparable to it."‡ There indeed only one gun was saved, but most of the army escaped. Here not only the artillery, but nearly the whole army was lost. "The park of reserve, all the baggage which had passed the Sambre, in short, every thing," said the enemy, "in the field of battle remained in the power of the allies."§ About 40,000 men partly without arms, and carrying with them only 27 pieces of their numerous artillery, the remains of the whole army, and that in complete disorder, passed through Charleroy on the forenoon of the 19th.‖ About five in the morning Bonaparte, with about 50 companions, passed the Sambre at this place. Here he took some refreshment, the first for twenty-four hours. The Prussians advanced with unremitting ardour. The French army fled before them with increasing confusion. When they came to Charleroy the crowd upon the bridge became so great that Bonaparte placed a company with fixed bayonets upon it in order to stop the fugitives. The attempt was vain. These troops were overpowered, and then it was impossible to stop the torrent. The Prussians found 9 cannon and 100 caissons, abandoned by the enemy, in this place. Twenty-seven pieces only passed the bridge, and of these 6 pieces more were left between Charleroy and Sobre-le-Chateau.* At Charleroy, Bonaparte left the direction of his remaining

* Prussian official account. † Do. do. do.
‡ Alava's official account. § French do. ‖ Prussian do.
* Zeithen's dispatch, Beaumont, June 20th.

troops to Soult; and getting into a carriage set out for Paris, taking the road by Rheims and Soissons. At 11 A. M. on the 19th, he passed through Gerpemies, melancholy and disconcerted, said the peasants, at whom he inquired the nearest road to Philippeville. At Philippeville the sentries refused him admittance till recognized by the governor. Part of the fugitives bent their footsteps to this place. This alarmed him least it should draw the allies also. Messengers were sent to spread alarm among the runaways—these called out "Save yourselves, the Cossacks! the Cossacks! It required no more—the fugitives were off in a moment. The Emperor passed Rocroy in the night. At one P. M. on the 20th, he passed through Rheims, in a carriage, *absolutely* shut up, followed by another in which was four General Officers, one of whom was supposed to be Labedoyere. At Beaumont all fled upon the advance of the Prussians. The soldiers thought they had been betrayed, and, therefore, dispersed; each seeking his own home.* So complete was the dispersion and destruction of this army, that, according to accounts produced to the Chamber of Representatives at Paris, by the time it reached Avesnes, only 20,000 men could be rallied. Ney, however, gives a still more deplorable account; for he says, that at Avesnes "it was impossible to rally a single soldier."† His account of the flight places the disorganization of the remnant left, in the strongest and most disastrous point of view; and shews that never was any army so completely overthrown. Ney had all his horses killed, and was covered with contusions. He owed his life to a corporal of the Guard, who supported and never forsook him. "I arrived," said that Officer, "at Marchiennes-au-Pont, at 4 A. M. on the 19th, *without Officers*—ignorant of the fate of the Emperor, whom some time before the termination of the battle, I supposed to be either killed or taken."‡ He then went to Charleroy—next to Avesnes, but still no accounts of the Emperor. Lastly, he set out for Paris, in order to lay the situation of affairs before the Minister of War; and only when within three leagues of the capital, he learned that the Emperor passed in the same direction and upon the same errand a few hours before him. Noth-

* Zeithen's dispatch, Beaumont, June 20th.

† Ney's letter, June 26th. ‡ Do. do.

ing could shew defeat and confusion in a stronger light than this flight, and the ignorance of each others motions which reigned amongst the General Officers. " Philippeville and Avesnes," said the enemy, " have been given out as the point of re-union;" and there he stated that Prince Jerome and General Morant had rallied a part of the army.* It is remarkable that he takes no notice of any other Officer, no not even of Soult. Grouchy, however, gives a different account, concerning a place being appointed for re-union. In his dispatch of the 20th June, wrote from Dinant, he stated, that he was *then* at a loss how to act, as the Officer who had brought to him—*from the Emperor*, the accounts of the loss of the battle of Waterloo, " informed me," said he, " that your Majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without *being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march.*" It is now time to return to his operations.

Early in the morning of the 19th, Grouchy was attacked in the position in which we left him; but, after a severe struggle, he succeeded in compelling Thielman to abandon Wavre and the mill of Bielge, and to fall back upon the rest of the army. Grouchy continued at the same time to advance: and, as he himself informs us, was " in front of Rosierne, ready to march upon Brussels, when he received the *sad* accounts of the loss of the battle of Waterloo." He then found himself in a truly perilous situation; but after much difficulty, and a considerable loss, he succeeded in effecting his escape from Wavre to Namur. Here he was attacked by the Prussians; and, after a bloody conflict, compelled to abandon the place, and make the best of his way to Dinant. He states that in this attack the Prussians lost " *several thousands of men*, as the contest was very severe." His own loss could not have been less than theirs, and has been stated at 5000 men, around this place. Besides these, the loss on the attacks on Wavre must have been very considerable; for he complains of the " *embarassment on his march arising from the numerous transports of wounded;*"† and which, to save them, compelled him to hold the town of Namur for a considerable time, the defence of which he entrusted to Vandamme. That Grouchy was hard

* French official account. † Grouchy's dispatch.

pressed, and must have suffered severely, is very evident; as, under these circumstances, he confesses that he had not the means nor the time necessary for blowing up the bridge at that place. The combat at and round Namur was in reality very bloody. The action began at 5 P. M. The French manned the walls and made an obstinate resistance, but they were finally obliged to abandon them. The Prussians then entered the city, and the combat was maintained in the streets; but at length the French were compelled to fly. Grouchy, Vandamme, and Pajol, were with this force. The loss was severe, the country around was covered with killed and wounded. Previous to this a division of 8000 men of Grouchy's army had been attacked and dispersed, the German accounts stating its loss at 5000 men.—It is to be regretted that we have not a regular account of these affairs, which were certainly very serious. All we at present know from official authority, except that of Grouchy, is that the fighting on this side continued very severe during the whole of the 18th, 19th, and most of the 20th. The loss must consequently have been very great.—Grouchy certainly took with him in advance from 35 to 40,000 men, and brought back only 25,000.

Such were the results of a day, characterised by the enemy as "*so glorious to the French arms, and yet so fatal.*"* A day which, in the language of Ney, "had no example in their military annals;" and wherein, while tracing the causes which led to it, "he dreaded almost as much to discover the truth as to remain in ignorance of it."† Such is a feeble outline of the gigantic combat of Waterloo, and its more immediate consequences. Such was a battle wherein every movement and attack made in it, was equal in importance, and in severity, to those which had formerly decided the fate of kingdoms. Considering every circumstance, it was certainly the bloodiest in modern times. The most important and most decisive it unquestionably was. The loss on both sides was not short of 130,000 men. Blucher, who is a very short, but a very accurate calculator, tells us, that on the 18th, the French army at Waterloo was *above* 130,000, of which *only* 40,000 escaped, thus leaving a loss of *above* 90,000 men, at Waterloo alone. The killed and wounded, all ac-

* French official account. † Ney's letter to Fouche, June 26th.

counts agree, exceeded 60,000; but how many beyond this number it is difficult to determine, as the prisoners are variously estimated at from 15 to 30,000, many of whom besides were wounded. Baron de Capellan, the governor of Brussels, in an official proclamation, stated the number of prisoners known on the 19th, to be from 12 to 14,000, but many more were perhaps taken and sent to other places. It is, however, the only official authority which I have seen that specifies any particular number. To the above we must add the loss sustained by Grouchy, which, at the very lowest account, must have been 9000, if not nearly double; and, with the lesser number, we have a total loss of 104,000 men, on the part of France, in consequence of the battle of Waterloo. The loss of the allies was also great. It was "*immense*," said Wellington—it "was *horrid*," said Alava. It was "*extraordinary*," said the Austrian account. The British and Hanoverian (in British pay) loss was nearly 11,000. The Dutch, Belgians, and the troops of Brunswick and Nassau, was certainly not less than 10,000; but as their returns, which I have seen, include the total loss on both the 16th and 18th together, I cannot separate them exactly. The Dutch and Belgian loss, by their official dispatches, was 4136. The Nassau loss was 2800.* The Brunswick loss I have not been able to ascertain correctly. In an account of the life of the Duke, lately published in Germany, it is said that their loss, on the 16th alone, amounted to 3000 men. If so, their total loss could not be less than 4 or 5000. But take it at 3000. The loss of the Hanoverians was also severe, but uncertain. "These two days," said General Alten in his official dispatch, June 20th, to the Government of Hanover, "have indeed *cost us much*, the *greatest* part of our most distinguished Officers have fallen." Of the real loss, however, I can obtain no accounts, but if we are to judge of its proportion from their total strength; and from the sum bestowed by the Waterloo fund for their relief, 4 or 5000 is perhaps within the mark.—The loss of the Prussians also on this day must have exceeded 12,000 men. The returns are given *en masse* for both days; but we cannot err far when we know that Bulow's corps, which had not been previously engaged, lost above 6400 men; and

* Prince Bernhard of Saxe Wieman official letter, June 19th.

and Thielman's, which suffered little on the 16th, lost above 4700. The total loss of all the allies, on this bloody day, was certainly not less than 30,000* killed and wounded. The total Prussian loss stands as under, viz.

1st corps,	from 15th June to	2d July,	265 officers	14,162 rank and file.
2d do.	do.	23d June	186	7,703
3d do.	do.	3d July	125	4,722
4th do.	do.	23d June	176	6.438
			Grand total,	33,025

And which loss, separated, stood as follows, viz.

	Killed.	Wound.	Return. missing
1st corps (engaged at Ligny)	2,156	5,522	6,404
2d do. (do. St Amand)	1,309	4,160	2,254
3d do. (Thielman, at Wavre)	850	2,743	1,129
4th do. (Bulow at Waterloo)	1,155	4,109	1,174
	5,470	16,534	10,991

The reader has only to cast his eye over the preceding details, and from the places where engaged he may perceive what the carnage was where the Prussians met their foes; for there can be little doubt, but that nearly all those returned missing were killed and wounded, on the 16th, though many of the latter were taken. Let us now put the total loss on both sides, during these dreadful days, into one general table.

FRENCH LOSS.

On 16th,	21,000	
On 18th, at Waterloo	95,000	
Do. do. Grouchy, say only	9,000	
		125,000†

ALLIED LOSS.

British	11,200	
Hanoverians in British pay	2,800	
Dutch and Belgian	4,200	
Nassau	2.800	
Hanoverians, say	4,000	
Brunswick, say	3,000	
Prussian	33,000	
		61,000
Grand total,		186,000!!!

* Austrian official report Heidelberg, June 21st, says generally, that exclusive of the loss of the Prussians on the 18th, the total loss of all the allies "may amount to 30,000 killed and wounded." The reader will see, when the Prussian loss, and those returned missing on the 16th, are added, that the number corresponds very nearly.

† Leaving Grouchy 25,000, and main army 40,000, as Grouchy and Blucher both state. The French account lately published at Paris, admits that their army at Waterloo, exclusive of Grouchy, was 120,000 strong. The author says they had 20,000 dead, but adds in a true French way of reckoning, that the loss of the allies (meaning under Wellington) was also 20,000. True, but not all dead.

Of these, the utmost number taken prisoners could scarcely exceed 30,000: and, besides, many of these were wounded. Such a sum of human destruction, within such narrow limits, and in such a short period, is altogether unprecedented and unknown. The reader will see, from the authorities which I have taken for my guide, that I have not exceeded; and when he thus perceives brought into a short compass before him, this enormous sum of destruction, he will from that moment cease to wonder that the hurricane of Waterloo, proved the shipwreck of Napoleon.

Even the carnage of Borodino—that of Leipsic, and the banks of the Elster, where armies were immolated, hide their heads before *the bloody banks of the Ligny, the carnage covered fields of Quatre Bras, and the gory plains of Waterloo.* The prospect which the latter afforded on the following morning beggars all description. No words—no language I can use is equal to describe even a tenth part of its horrors. Imagination itself is lost amidst the melancholy scene. About 40,000 dead, all of whom had been stripped naked, and perhaps the same number of wounded, whom, as yet, it had been impossible to remove, lay crowded into a narrow space. Near 25,000 horses, dead or wounded, lay mixed with their former riders, and increased the horrors of the scene. It was not so much the ghastly wounds which had deprived them of life, which disfigured their mangled remains. But these had been farther trampled by the cavalry, crushed by the artillery, and torn to pieces by the continued showers of bullets which the latter vomited forth over these positions. The number of dead upon the field of battle, said an eye witness, could not be numbered. It presented, on the morning of the 19th, said one who saw it, a spectacle *like a vast army asleep.* According to the most accurate accounts which can be procured, the total number burnt or buried on these fatal fields, amounted to 40,000. The official accounts published at Berlin, expressly state that the number of French dead on the field of battle, on the 18th, was 25,000:* and from all the official dispatches, it appears that the number wounded was three to one; of whom, however, a great number certainly died. Of 40,000 French cavalry and horses, which passed

* Official account from Blucher, published at Berlin, June 24th.

through Charleroy on the 15th, in advance, scarcely 10,000* returned. For many days several thousand carriages, and many peasants from the surrounding countries, even as far as Mons, were employed in burning or burying the dead. The task was not only loathsome, but dangerous; and the Prussians were absolutely forced to compel them at the point of the bayonet. To avoid infection from their corrupting remains, the peasants first dug large pits, and then, by means of large hooks, dragged the bodies into them. The country, for several miles, presented the appearance of one continued groupe of hillocks, so thickly was its surface covered with large graves, in which hundreds of the bodies of men and horses were thrown together. In one acre of ground a beholder counted 40 graves, thus filled with dead. The weather having become dry after their burial, the wet mould, which had not been thrown over them to a sufficient depth, cracked from the heat, and opening, shewed in some places, their ghastly remains. Notwithstanding the burning and the burying the dead, for several weeks after the battle, the smell from their putrid carcases was insufferable; and a pestilential gale continued to be wafted over the surrounding country, from this theatre of death. For many days, the number of carrion flies which fed on the dead bodies was dreadful, and most annoying to those who visited the spot. It is said that some soldiers absolutely lost their reason from the remembrance of this dreadful scene. The diameter of the principal part of this field of blood was about two miles, wherein every thing was totally destroyed. The dead were absolutely lying in ranks, and horses grouped in heaps with their riders. All the wells, and all the water in the neighbourhood, for many days after the battle, were *red* with blood, and became putrid from the number of dead bodies found in them. The churches in the surrounding villages were filled with dead and dying; and the altars of the Almighty were polluted with human blood. To sum up the whole, the vallies, if I may be allowed the expression, were flooded: and in the inimitable language of Isaiah, "The mountains were melted with their blood."† Similar were the fields which had long pleased Par-

* Letter from a person in authority at Charleroy, June 20th.

† Isaiah xxxiv. 3.

isian levity. Such the prospects which had long been Napoleon's delight—Napoleon's glory. Every village, every hamlet, all the ravines, corn fields, and forests, were filled with wounded soldiers, who had crawled to these places for shelter, and whom, even when they were seen, it was, for several days after, found impossible to remove. It was as late as the Thursday following before all the wounded then discovered could be removed. On the 21st, says one who visited the field of battle, I saw in one groupe of wounded 36 out of 73 who had lost an arm or a leg, besides flesh wounds; while the roads, even on the 25th, were covered with waggon loads of wounded, shrieking with pain. On the morning after the battle, numbers of the wounded were seen raising themselves up amongst the heaps of dead, and imploring from the visitors, some a mouthful of water, others, that the beholders might put an end to their miseries. Every road in every part of the country, for 30 miles round, was full of wounded soldiers, wandering about in the extremes of agony and want. The Dutch and Belgians exerted themselves to reach their homes, and the French their own country. After a damp day, on the 18th, the night became clear and chill, which had a fatal effect on the wounded. Thousands perished for want of timely medical aid. Many were found in cottages and obscure retreats, their bodies become half putrid from the severity of their wounds, yet still in life. Thousands were cut off in the extremes of hunger and distress. At the end of ten, twelve, and fifteen days, there were found in bye corners, wounded men who had preserved life by gnawing the flesh from the bodies of their dead comrades, or of horses, that chanced to be near them. Others, slightly wounded, were found several days after the battle, on the field, using the French cuirasses as frying pans to dress their scanty meals. Even in the rear of the allied position, such scenes of distress were numerous. From Waterloo to Brussels, the road, for nine miles, was so choked up with scattered baggage, that the wounded could with difficulty be brought along. The way was lined with unhappy wretches who had crept from the field; and many, unable to proceed, lay down and died. Holes dug by the side of the road formed their graves, while their tattered garments and accoutrements covered the surrounding lands. In

Brussels alone, more than 23,000 wounded were assembled, where they were treated with the utmost kindness and attention. The people, in crowds, went out to meet them with refreshments, bandages, &c. The principal families, and women of rank, supported them with every necessary, and frequently administered to their wants with their own hands. The treatment, however, of the French prisoners by the peasantry were different. These were treated with harshness; and these poor creatures now felt the severest want and neglect. By the British only were they treated with humanity. These were seen, though wounded themselves, binding up the wounds of their enemies. What a contrast in their conduct! Every thing on these fields, for a great extent, was laid waste. For five miles round, the country appeared like a sandy waste covered with hills and heaps of slain. The corn fields were so beaten that they resembled stubble. The ground was completely plowed up by the bullets, and the feet of horses, and cut into trenches by the wheels of the artillery. Scarcely a clod of earth but was wet with the best blood of Britain, and of Prussia, and with the fiercest blood of France. At Hougomont, every tree in the wood seemed as if blighted, and were pierced with cannon bullets. Some were pierced with twenty. Their branches were broken off and destroyed. Immense graves, and dreadful heaps of ashes, the remains of burnt bodies, marked this fatal spot. Broken swords, shattered helmets, torn epaulets, and sabre sashes, bathed in blood, shewed how furious and how destructive the battle had here been. Mixed with these were seen the flaring red poppy, rearing its head amidst the fresh dug mould, while the sweet little wild-flower, "*Forget me not*," unconscious of the ruin near it, in a few days began to spread its beauties round the warriors' grave. Soldiers caps, pierced with many a ball, belts, helmets, cuirasses, tattered clothes, cartouche boxes, military decorations, crosses of the Legion of honour, French novels, German testaments, packs of cards, letters from lovers to the objects of their affection, from parents to their children, mangled bodies, legs, heads in the helmets intended to protect them, and arms, strewed in fearful confusion, lay along these bloody fields. But in vain would I attempt to describe a scene altogether indiscribable. Besides the

loss of men, and all the best horses which Bonaparte had for cavalry, the French army lost above 300 pieces of cannon, 500 caissons, all their baggage, and almost all their arms. Such were the consequences, in part, of Napoleon's escape from Elba; and such the third page of that terrible sheet, on which, according to the Moniteur, in March preceding, "the Emperor had just written the finest page of history, *and to which the annals of the world afford no comparison.*"* The present page indeed, in blood, and in its results, stands unparalleled in the annals of the world. The sheet of Napoleon's political life to which it belonged was nearly full. The last page alone remained. The consequences of Waterloo filled it.

Amongst the heroes who signalized themselves on this glorious day, on whom Wellington bestowed praise, and whose loss he mentioned with regret, are the following names, with which the public had long been familiar. Major General Coke, who was severely wounded, Major General Maitland, and Major General Byng. Lieutenant General Sir H. Clinton, Major General Adam, Lieutenant General Charles Baron Alten, who were severely wounded. Colonel Ompsteda, Colonel Mitchell, Major General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack; Major General Lambert, Major General Lord E. Somerset, Major General Sir William Ponsonby, Major General Sir C. Grant, Major General Sir H. Vivian, Major General Sir O. Vandeleur, Major General Dornberg, and General Lord Hill. Colonel Sir G. Wood, Colonel Smyth, Adjutant Major General Barnes, who were wounded; and Quarter-master General Colonel Delancey, who was also severely wounded in the middle of the engagement, and afterwards died. Lieutenant Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who died of his wounds. General Kruse of the Nassau service, General Trip, and General Vanhope, the latter commanding a brigade of infantry belonging to the King of the Netherlands. The Russian General Pozzo de Borgo, the Austrian General Baron Vincent, the Prussian General Muffling, and the Spanish General Alava, also distinguished themselves greatly. The latter General, so well

* Moniteur, Paris, March 21st, 1815.

known in the Peninsular war, was the Spanish minister to the court of the Netherlands; and being at Brussels at the time, he joined the hero he admired, and was close beside him throughout the day. The Prince of Orange also, who was wounded through the shoulder. The Earl of Uxbridge, who lost his leg by almost the last cannon ball that was fired, and Lieutenant Sir Thomas Picton, who fell early in the action. All these and many others—every one present signalized himself on this day. "There is no Officer nor description of troops," said their leader, "who did not behave well."*

Those only who were in the battle can give any accurate idea of the conduct of individuals, and of the regiments to which they belonged; but there are a few which I have heard and found scattered in different accounts, which deserve to be collected together. The conduct of the Scots Greys was particularly noticed and praised by Bonaparte himself, who frequently exclaimed, as he saw them resisting or hewing out a path for themselves, through his black battalions, "What superb troops!" The 42d, 92d, and 79th, though dreadfully reduced in numbers, both in Picton's and other severe attacks, here shewed the same courage and skill which they did at Quatre Bras.† The 30th and 73d regiments, placed in a part of the line exposed in a particular manner to the attacks of the cuirassiers, suffered severely. In an attack by the cuirassiers against Sir Colin Halket's brigade, with which the preceding regiments were; the enemy attempted a *ruses de guerre*, by the Commanding Officer advancing and offering his sword to the British Officer, as if he meant to surrender the whole as prisoners. Sir Colin was not to be so duped. "Be firm and fire," said he to his Officers, who were about to be caught in the snare—the volley turned the Frenchman and his battalions; and while the balls rung against their armour, a laugh of derision which arose in the British line added to their mortification. The conduct of the guards exceeded all praise. The 52d and 71st regiments, in pursuit of the young Guard, suddenly separated, and running in an oval, met again at a considerable distance, and thus cut off several thousand prisoners. Late in the day

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th, 1815.

† For most of the succeeding anecdotes, I am indebted to Simpson's tour to Waterloo.

a very affecting circumstance occurred in General Halket's brigade. Two Officers who were not in terms of good understanding with the others of the regiment to which they belonged, for having opposed some expensive regulations in the mess, owing to their having families and also two sisters to support, had, from being thus in a manner placed by themselves, formed the most intimate friendship. Towards the evening, the one jocosely said to the other, "I always told you that they would never hit me." Scarcely had he spoken these words, when he was shot dead, to the inexpressible grief of his friend, who stood for some moments motionless, and then rushing to the body he threw himself beside it, exclaiming, "Oh, my friend—My only friend!" Even at this moment the scene drew tears from the eyes of every beholder. The gallant Colonel Delancey, when he found that his wound was mortal, would not allow the surgeons to take up their time with attending to him. He was carried to Brussels where he expired. He had been married only three weeks before to a beautiful and deserving woman. Colonel Millar of the Guards, when dying, requested that they would bring the colours of his regiment, the 1st Foot Guards, and after beholding them he requested that they might be waved over him till he died. Captain Curzen, Lord Scarsdale's son, met his fate with similar spirit. Falling from his horse, he said to his friend, Lord March, who was near him, "Good bye March;" and afterwards seeing him animating his corps, he exclaimed, though in the last stage of life, "Well done March!" Colonel Halket, a brother of the General, made a dash at a French General who had advanced in front of his men, giving them orders, and brought him off in the full view of his astonished followers as a prisoner. A Highland Serjeant, had the basket hilt of his sword so bruised that he could not get his hand out till he got the aid of a blacksmith. But it is impossible to particularize the individual deeds of heroism performed at Waterloo—these were as numerous as the individuals which composed the allied army. That they did more than perform their duty, their country will ever remember, and France can never forget. They went through their work on that dreadful day, as Napoleon frequently exclaimed, like no other troops he had ever seen.

It is considered unnecessary to particularize any more. "The army," said the most competent of judges, "never upon any occasion conducted itself better."* No! Never. On this memorable day it exceeded its former exploits—it surpassed its former fame. All the laurels which they had previously gained, were here wove into one immortal wreath to adorn their brows. All the terrors and the toils which they had formerly braved, were here, as it were resuscitated and collected against them, and all their united strength was broken, crushed, and overcome. It was the genius of Britain and Prussia, which here contended against the evil spirit of France. Each individual fought as if he had had a personal quarrel to resent —personal wrongs to punish.

"Each fought as in his arm the contest lay,
And all is lost if he deserts the day."

The pens of Wellington, Blucher, and Alava, have done their character ample justice. Their Prince has immortalized their names, by directing that each should henceforth wear a distinguishing badge, with the name of this immortal field; and by causing to be inscribed, in the registers of the British army and the records of the British nation, a complete list of all those engaged in this battle, and then placing opposite the name of each the word WATERLOO. At sight of this noble appendage their present friends and future offspring will rejoice, and their foes lament with sorrow. To the names of the former no nobler badge can be attached. It speaks volumes. France will long remember it with mourning and anguish; and the name of Waterloo, for a century to come, will make her daughters weep and her sons tremble. Deep, indeed, and severe are the wounds of grief, in the bosom of surviving friends, for those who have fallen in the glorious strife; and lasting will be the sorrow round the banks of the Thames, the Shannon, the Forth, the Werra, and of the Oder.—Of this Caledonia has had her full share. On many a Highland hill and in many a Lowland valley, the tear of affection and regret will flow on the 18th of June. But while a British heart can feel a glow of pleasure at the thought of

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th, 1815.

its country's security and honour, so long will this grief be softened by the recollection of the day wherein those for whom they mourn were taken from them. None was ever equal to it. None can ever surpass it. The generosity of a British public, while it cannot remove, can at least lighten the grief, and relieve the wants of the relatives of those who fell, and of those brave men whose wounds have prevented them from engaging again in active life. Never did this generosity shew itself in a wider or in a more conspicuous manner. Above £400,000 has already been subscribed for this praise-worthy purpose, equally honourable to the givers as it is to those for whom it is bestowed. To the memory of Picton and Ponsonby, the nation has decreed the erection of monuments, in the repository of her mighty dead, where Nelson lies, who at Trafalgar gave her the undisputed empire of the ocean; as the cause of their death, at Waterloo, gave her decidedly the prependerance in the scale of Europe. It is a curious fact, that as near as a land engagement can approach to one at sea, that the battle of Waterloo was the battle of Trafalgar in every thing but victory reversed. The mode of attack by Napoleon, was as near as possible similar to that followed by Nelson; and the manner in which the British troops were drawn up in lines and squares, was similar to that in which Villeneuve drew up the French fleet in a double line, but so placed that in breaking through between two ships in the front line, the vessel which did so, came full on the broadside of a ship in the second, and in this situation remained exposed to the fire of both lines. But that prudent plan was rendered of no avail, by Nelson coming down in two diverging lines, each of which, as it came near, separated and broke through at every point. Similarly to the French ships were the British squares placed at Waterloo. Similarly Bonaparte attacked, with the numbers in his favour; but he was not a Nelson to vanquish. Their country can never enough prize—never sufficiently praise the exertions of her children on this day. Those indeed can scarcely ever be fully known. Glory is a weak term to apply to the laurels Britain obtained at Waterloo by their exertions. They gained something more useful and substantial. They gained all that their country had contended for during twenty-five years of sorrow and of

blood. They gained all that her greater Statesmen sought, and whose councils have weathered the storm—they gained INDEMNITY *for the past, and* SECURITY *for the future;* not only for themselves, but for Europe. All these mighty, important, and indispensible, objects were gained on this glorious field. The heroes of Waterloo must never feel distress. The word must be their passport through life. The name, for generations will make every British heart dance with joy, and call forth from the present age national liberality and gratitude to those who suffered in their persons or in their fortunes by it. To our Continental allies, the thanks of the British nation and of Europe is also due. They also did their duty. The conduct of all engaged in this battle was most conspicuous and exemplary. The Hanoverian and Brunswick troops greatly distinguished themselves, and in particular the latter. Before their line, said eye witnesses, arose a dreadful breast-work of carnage. Of the Prussians, Ligny and Planchenoit, alone will establish that they did their duty. To Blucher, the veteran Blucher, the undivided thanks of Europe is due. Though near fourscore—though crushed beneath his horse on the 16th, he was, on the 18th, again on the field, and in front of his troops. "To him and to the Prussian army," said the Duke of Wellington, "I attribute the success of this glorious day. The operation of General Bulow, on the enemy's flank, was a *decisive one;* and *even,* if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks had failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should have unfortunately succeeded."* To Wellington himself there was wanting but this combat to crown the glory which he had already earned on the field of danger. He stood from this moment confessedly the first General of an age, where all are brave, and wherein thousands are conspicuous. His conduct, on this memorable day, as a General, as a soldier, and as a man, will live the theme of the admiration and applause of every succeeding age. For

> ——————— "such a day,
> So fought, so followed, and so nobly won,
> Stands not upon the annals of record."

* Dispatch, June 19th.

As a General, Waterloo has made him immortal. It was abilities and resources of the highest order, he had here to oppose him. He swept those from the face of the political world in a moment, without a vestage being left to shew that such things had ever been. As a soldier, he was often seen rallying broken battalions, placing himself at their head, and leading them to the charge amidst the greatest danger. His place of refuge, against the furious attacks of the enemy, was in the centre of those squares formed to oppose them.

> "There stops—so" *Well'sley.* "Their whole force he prov'd,
> Resistless when he rag'd, and when he stopt unmov'd,
> On him the war is bent, the darts are shed,
> And all their faulchions wave around his head."*

In addition to the particulars already related, at a most critical moment, he put himself at the head of the 95th regiment, charged and drove back the most advanced of his enemies. At another time a select party of French cavalry cut their passage through the line where he was, and very nearly succeeded in taking him prisoner. As a man, he wept for the loss of the former companions of many a bloody field, and days of former glory and danger. "I cannot express," said he, "in adequate terms the grief which I feel in contemplating the loss which we have sustained, in the death of so many valued friends. *The glory of such actions afford no consolation to me*, and I cannot suggest it as a consolation to you; but a result so decisive will, in all probability, be followed by an early attainment of the just object of our wishes and exertions, and this may afford some consolation for our loss."† His military life had been one continued scene of triumph. His sword was never drawn but in a just cause, and for the deliverance of nations. But his fame, who can celebrate. The boldest pen must shrink from the task. I throw down my own in despair.

That the French army, and their chief, fought with the greatest bravery, is a fact undeniable and just. The bravery and enthusiasm of the latter, were never more conspicuous than at Waterloo, and never were so severely defeated. The

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xiii. lines 199, &c.

† Wellington's letter to the Earl of Aberdeen on the death of his brother.

plans of their leader, to accomplish the object which he had in view, were skilfully laid; but considering the abilities of his opponents and his own peculiar situation, these were most hazardous and dangerous. But these were all in character of the man, and also of the nation. But his faults, as a General, does not take away from the personal bravery of himself and his troops. All exposed themselves in the most resolute manner. The prisoners, said General Alava, say they never saw the Emperor expose himself so much, that he seemed to court death, in order not to outlive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences to him. They added, that in the situation in which this defeat placed him, no other resource was left him, "but to cut his own throat."* The idle stories about his cowardice on this day, deserve no attention. They are the tricks of some vain Frenchman, who wants to make it appear that his countrymen were defeated solely because their leader was unworthy of his troops. All these unauthenticated statements are the labours of some of the numerous opponents of the measures which led to these glorious results; who, because we have gained every thing by the exertions of our fellow subjects, and our allies, contrary to their predictions, advice, and opinion, want us now to believe that we have gained little in having beat a coward only; and who for years previous those very individuals have held up as the wisest of the wise, and the bravest of the brave. But their object is obvious. They want in this manner to stab the honour and the glory which Wellington and Blucher have gained. But not so must their fame be tarnished—not so must their glory be lessened. Without either being a friend or admirer of Bonaparte—without ever having for one moment believed that he was invincible if opposed by honour and with energy, still it would be doing him an act of injustice, which, in this instance, he does not merit, to put forth such accounts. But in doing him this wrong, it would be doing a still greater act of injustice to those who conquered him, to give any credence to such stories. At Waterloo he was worthy of his troops. There he certainly was not a coward. It is not meant to be asserted, that his exertions at this time were the offspring of true bravery. Much of his con-

* Alava's official account.

duct was certainly produced by vanity at the commencement, and despair at the end; but which, nevertheless, made him expose himself more than he had previously done. He forsook the troops, but not till they durst face their foes no longer. Then his courage forsook him—then, when all was lost, past redemption, and not till then he feared to die the death of a soldier. But he was not the only one who did so. All who remained alive run as well as he. He endeavoured to stop them but in vain. The brave among the brave, (*Ney*,) Laboyedere, Soult, de Erlon, Bertrand—The whole *boutique* of iniquity fled. Napoleon was not the first, neither was he the last, who ran on that bloody day! No: let the world attend to the voice of truth—above all, let the thoughtless minds of the population of France hear it. France fell—all France fled at Waterloo; and to do them justice they had reason. Never had the remnants of any army more. The troops fought with the most determined courage, and at last sealed with their blood their attachment to their chief. It is a fact that they marched to combat shouting "*Vive l' Empereur*," and it is a fact, that when wounded and maimed they returned from the field shouting the same words. It is also certain, that even in the hospitals, sinking under wounds and disease, they continued to chaunt the same strain, and to give the strongests marks of attachment to their leader. Nay, many days after, even on the field of battle, many were found as dead, but who were no sooner roused from their state of insensibility, than they saluted their hearers with the same words. It was not so much the loss of men, of cannon, and of reputation, great as these were, which at Waterloo was the greatest loss to Bonaparte. These might have been replaced; but the loss was of a more irrecoverable kind. In the words of Count Lobau, this dreadful day deprived Napoleon of almost every one, who in France, were personally attached to him. At Waterloo they lie low! The shrill clamour of the bugle is heard by them no longer! The voice of Napoleon can call them to his standards no more! Such, as has been stated, was the blind attachment of these men to their military chief; and so strong was an attachment, noble in itself, but ill directed, and which most certainly deserved greater regard for its safety than that

rashness and vain glory which led it into irretrievable destruction at the Berezina, at Leipsic, and last of all at Waterloo. But bravely as they fought, skillful as their chief was, so much the more praise and greater honour is due to those who beat them. "Never," said the British General, in a letter to a relative, "was I in a harder fought battle—never was I obliged to exert myself so much, and never was I so near being beaten.' This frank acknowledgment, while it gives his enemies praise, confers on him additional glory. The great error of Bonaparte, and not his error only, but that of France, lay in conceiving that no troops, even when on equal terms, could withstand them. A greater error in this instance was the rash manner in which Bonaparte staked every thing at once. All or nothing. This was a game which he had long been accustomed to play at. He had at first, from the ignorance or disunion of his adversaries, gained greatly by it; and of late, from the same cause, he had suffered the most dreadful disasters. Yet nothing could teach him moderation—nor make him see that his former mode of proceeding was not applicable to his present situation. His army and his Officers were filled with the same vain glorious ideas and self-confidence that he was. It was the disease of the nation which Waterloo was destined either wholly to cure, or at least to expose fully and signally its absurdity to the world. In perusing attentively the French accounts of the present battles, certainly, comparatively speaking, the fairest ever wrote since the revolution,* because

* Although Bonaparte is gone, still the spirit of misrepresentation is not laid to sleep in France. Though his political life is terminated, their military mania is not. The following account, which, while it, like all other French statements, contains some facts, yet abounds so much with misrepresentations, and betrays such a lurking spirit of resentment and regret, at the discomfiture which their arms sustained at Waterloo, and is so extraordinary, that I shall trespass upon the readers patience by inserting it. I have extracted it from an account of the battle of Waterloo, lately published at Paris, said to be by an *eye witness*. After relating the discomfiture and destruction of their army, the author in anger and fury proceeds thus:—

"This fine French army then, sacrificed with its predecessors, had ceased to exist. It seemed as though Bonaparte become furious at having seen some thousands of brave men escape his rage, the monster had stalked from his den in Elba, solely to devour the remainder. (Did no one call him?) And if, in fact, he might have the credit of such intention, his every action during this short and unhappy campaign, would be in consonance therewith. *But let us rather ascribe these enormous errors to his unskilful and presumptuous rashness*, and to his well known and incorrigible

these fairly admit a dreadful defeat, which none else ever did; still we see the old leaven of deception and exaggeration frequently and most conspicuously appear. As we have seen, he claimed a decided victory, when as yet the battle was barely begun. He throws the blame upon his troops for a fatal movement, peremptorily ordered by himself; and, lastly, he imputes to them a cowardly and unnecessary *panic*, at a moment, and under circumstances, when it was scarcely possible for human bosoms to have refrained from fear, or not have sought to consult their safety. All this was still done to keep up the idea of French superiority and invincibility. It was a miserable shift; but in this instance it seems to have been the only one that was left to him. He had, he said, gained the battle—he had occupied all the positions previously held by the enemy; and

manner of advancing always in blind confidence, *without plan or any calculation* of the chances of war. It is evident that system so uniformly adopted and persevered in by Bonaparte, being become known to the allied Generals, had opened the pitfall, in which his own pitiable self-security precipitated him; *for whatever their foreign bulletins may advance, with the intention, no doubt, of enhancing the glory of their Generals, and the bravery of the men,* it is clear that the position of Mount St. Jean, had been *reconoitered, designed and marked out with the full purpose to draw him thither with his army, and there give him battle;* (and why not?) *for only a Bonaparte, infallible in his own opinion, could have failed to see through it.* The *calculated* retreat of the English on *so strong a position,* the obstinacy with which they maintained it, the facility they had for *masking their troops* and artillery in an *immense forest,* and beyond all that *the redoubts and open batteries they had raised,* would have awakened mistrust in almost any other General.—*What further strengthens the supposition is,* THE ERECTION OF A WOODEN OBSERVATORY, which had been raised on a knoll *in front of the forest,* where, with a good telescope, every movement as far as the Sambre might be distinguished. *It was certainly erected to watch us,* and could not have been the work of twenty-four hours."—No! certainly it could not—nor was it erected either by the allies or for that purpose. In answer to this French rhapsody of disappointed ambition, related "*by an eye witness,*" I must add—it is false that we had redoubts or batteries beyond what the plain fields afforded to our guns. It is false our troops and batteries were in the immense forest—they were a mile in front, and in an open country. It is false that the observatory was raised "*on a knoll in front of the forest,*"—it was *a mile in the rear of the French army,* and could be of no use to the allies, as it never was intended it should. What say the authors of the other French stories equally ridiculous to this? that it was Bonaparte who erected this observatory, and him who used it.—Neither are true; it was erected long before, and for a different purpose. That the position was good—though it was not very strong, is well known, and if Bonaparte committed errors, why should this French scribe suppose, that the allies were not to see and take advantage of these. Bonaparte, aye and France too, saw *into* this position, but not *through* it. *Inde Iræ.*

decisive success was within his grasp, and certain for the next day. What then prevented the accomplishment of these expectations, and what was it that overturned in a moment all this gay picture? Here was no Sarmatian storms—no defection of allies—no ignorant corporals to blow up bridges before their time—no treason, to call in as auxiliaries to the allies, and on which he could lay the blame of his defeat. No! It was a *panic* that struck his army! But by whom sent—by what occasioned? Whether,

> ——— "By an arm Divine, and mortal spear,
> Wounded at once" *Napoleon* "yields to fear,"*

he does not condescend to inform us. But we shall correctly and justly attribute it to both; and, after giving the glory to HIM to whom all glory is due, for this signal victory, wherein we perceive ambition and evil receiving most signal chastisement, we shall fairly bring to view the immediate instruments which produced this panic. It was the firm nerve of a British bayonet—the undaunted front of British valour, which many times and oft, as Aboukir and Trafalgar; Alexandria, Salamanca, Vittoria, and the Pyrenees could witness, had struck French hearts with a *panic*. It was the same, if I may be allowed to compare great things with small, with that which made Cafarelli's cavalry take themselves off to the right, "*trot off and disappear*,"† which here made even Napoleon, in person, take himself off, "*trot off and disappear;*" but whether to the right or left he has not informed us. Perhaps he did not know at the time, nor is it now material. Suffice it to say, that he trotted off; in other words, fled as fast as beaten Emperors are wont to do—to Paris; but, as the reader has already learned, and may see by following his route on the map, neither "*straight forward nor firm*," as he solemnly engaged to do before he left that place, and from whence he was soon to be compelled to fly, in a panic, to a stranger place.

Such were the immediate, important, and decisive results of the terrible battle of Waterloo. The victories of Cressy and Agincourt, achieved by British prowess, twice before settled the fate of France. The triumph of Waterloo, won chiefly by the

* Pope's Homer. Iliad, Book xvi. line 983, &c.

† Cafarelli's dispatch, October 30th. 1812.—See former Narrative, page 268.

same means, decided not only the fate of France, but of Europe. It plucked up by the roots, those principles and those men, which, for twenty-five years, had laid Europe waste, and bound her in chains of adamant. It struck the weapon from the arm of ambition; and, for the present age, at least, it has fixed the political equilibrium of Europe upon a basis so sure, that the efforts of no single power can any more shake it.

Again no tyrant can her sons enslave.

Nor is there any possibility of lessening or disguising the humiliation and defeat which France received on this day. In one battle, Britain dealt to her a blow that went to her heart. Nothing that was done by her to either Prussia or Austria, or Spain or Portugal, was so severely disgraceful to the vanquished as that which befel herself. Waterloo sent her reeling and tumbling backwards to a throne which she had sworn to defend—from which she held the boldest language; and yet before which, we shall presently see, not an arm was raised up in its defence. The glory of accomplishing all this was justly reserved for the heroic children of that happy land, who have saved themselves by their firmness, as they have preserved Europe by their example. To them and to Prussia this glory is due; to Prussia who, more trampled upon, insulted, and oppressed by Napoleon and France than her neighbours, was, by a wise and unerring Providence, made the mighty instrument to contribute so largely to her deep humiliation, and to his final degradation and overthrow. Eternal thanks and gratitude, therefore, be to those heroes, whose wisdom and whose valour accomplished this. Immortal glory and honour follow the memories of those brave men, whose blood shed on the carnage covered fields of Waterloo, sealed the bond which has purchased safety and repose to each nation, and peace and security to a bleeding world. Its consequences never can be forgotten—its glory can never he effaced.

During the dreadful day of the 18th, the utmost alarm prevailed at Brussels. The arrival of wounded and fugitives from both armies, spread the most gloomy reports, which it was impossible to counteract. The retreat of the allied armies during the 17th, though it satisfied them that their greatest fears were ground-

less, still did not restore confidence. If such was their fears on the 16th and 17th, the 18th doubled their alarm and increased their terror. The thunder of the cannon was distinctly and incessantly heard. Cowards fled from the field, and spread the report that the French had carried all before them, and were advancing with rapid steps to Brussels, which they were resolved to pillage and destroy. Dismay was at its height! All ranks, and both sexes, mixed together in the streets, and in the squares, waiting, in the extreme of expectation and anxiety, for intelligence from the army. The wounded began to arrive in crowds—bad reports spread wider and faster, when at length the heavy baggage of the army under Wellington was seen passing through the city, and taking the road to Antwerp. The feelings of the people were wound up to a pitch of the deepest sorrow. They had then no doubt that the French had gained a decisive victory. "We are all lost," was the general cry which spread from mouth to mouth, and filled the city with mourning. They were not aware of the firmness or the prudence of the British General. Whatever might happen, he was prepared for it. The utmost confusion now prevailed in the city; and from thence to Waterloo the scene was still worse, the road presenting a spectacle as if in reality filled with the wreck of a flying army. Caissons were blown up, and baggage plundered. Hundreds fled from Brussels in the direction of Antwerp and Malines. The inhabitants indeed, at one time, seemed in general determined to leave the town. Every thing was put in requisition in consequence; and the flight and terror became general and distressing. Each thought only on himself: and passed, without regard, or almost regret, numbers of the unhappy sufferers, who, wounded in the previous battles, were marching the same road, or lying exhausted in every direction. Arrived at Antwerp, many did not even conceive themselves safe there, but fled in crowds to Holland. But no words are equal to describe accurately this terrible scene of confusion, alarm, and sorrow. Similar also were the scenes in the rear of the French army towards the close of the day of the 16th, near Quatre Bras; and still more so on the evening of the 18th, beyond La Belle Alliance. At length the joyful tidings reached Brussels, late at night, and Antwerp next morning, that the French were totally defeated. A delirium of joy filled the

minds of those so shortly before sunk in terror and dismay. Confidence was quickly restored: and the anxious population rushed out in crowds, to meet and welcome the wounded of their great deliverers. Amongst these, the wounded of the Scotch regiments were peculiarly the objects of their regard. The people sought for them with avidity, and received them with transport. At Antwerp, nothing could exceed the attention of all ranks to the wounded. The hospitals were constantly crowded with gentlemen and ladies, who personally administered to their wants, distributing clean shirts, bread, wine, coffee, tea, milk, and fruit of all sorts. In these hospitals were wounded men both of the French and British. Amongst the former, a scene, characteristic of their unfeeling brutality, was frequently witnessed. The wounded were seen mimicking and turning into ridicule the various contortions of the last efforts of expiring nature in their dying comrades! What a race! indignation is a term too light to apply against them. At Antwerp also, were many of the British soldiers who had been wounded in the battle of the 16th, particularly of the 42d regiment. A scene truly characteristic took place amongst them when the news of the decisive victory arrived. These brave veterans, though dreadfully wounded and maimed, forgot for a moment all their sufferings, and were seen limping along in the streets,

"In the garb of old Gaul, with the fire of old Rome,"

waving their bonnets, and exclaiming in this *movement which came from the heart*, "Boney's beat! Boney's beat! Huzza! Huzza! Huzza! Boney's beat!"

That part of the French nation, attached to Napoleon, on this occasion took the opportunity after all to attempt to delude and to deceive the public mind in France, and other places, by ascribing to their arms decided victories. This was only part of that system of falsehood and delusion so long practised in France. In this case, however, its course was reversed. The exaggerations were strongest near the scene of action, but gradually lessened as they approached nearer Paris. By an extraordinary bulletin, published at Lisle and forwarded to Valenceinnes on the evening of the 19th, these places were informed that on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, the Emperor had gained great victories,

which were, however, far surpassed by that on the 18th, wherein the Emperor had made 30,000 prisoners, and on the next day their troops entered Malines and Brussels!! This decisive intelligence did not, however, reach Paris so strong. There it was only stated that Grouchy had come on the rear of the allied army, had penetrated to Mount St. Jean, and recovered 40 pieces of cannon, and much equipage, "which," said the Parisian scribe, "*the beaten English could but feebly dispute.*"* For several days, similar publications continued to deceive the public. Bonaparte's agents were every where on the alert. It is certain that at the same hour on the afternoon of the 18th, reports that the allies were decisively defeated by Napoleon, were industriously spread at Brussels, Ghent, Malines, Namur, Louvaine, and Liege. In England, those vehicles of public intelligence which keenly advocated the cause of the ill treated and unjustly attacked Napoleon, continued to congratulate themselves, and assure the public, that the cannon captured from Napoleon were chiefly those which he had previously taken from the allies; and that the loss of the latter was so great that it was a question whether they were able to follow up their victory with any prospect of success; while there could remain no doubt whatever but that the moment their forces passed the frontiers, it would unite all France, heart and soul, in the cause of Napoleon; when Wo was proclaimed to those who followed him beyond that iron boundary. These, and similar evil publications, were widely circulated to dim the victory of Waterloo, and shut out that light which its electric shock had diffused into the deepest recesses of their dark dwellings. On the following day, after its columns had been graced by the proudest and most decisive triumph ever won by Britain, the Morning Chronicle, with that insidious policy and cunning language for which it is so remarkable, and without any further intelligence from the army, or foundation whatever for saying so, stated, and that too in an authoritative style, as proceeding from authentic sources of information, that "His Grace *intimates* that the armies were *expected to be able* to advance in a day or two. The retreat of the French, on the night of the 18th was made in *an orderly manner*. Their can-

* Moniteur, Paris, June 24th.

non were abandoned on account of the *very bad state of the roads*, but they *carried off their horses and their prisoners!** Base and ignorant attempt to lower the glory of his country, and the heroic exertions of her noble children. The writer of this malignant article had no authority from the enemy to say he had taken any prisoners; nor a word from the Duke of Wellington admitting he had lost any. The whole was a fiction, invented by himself, to *enlighten* his readers. The enemy took no prisoners—he claimed none. The road, represented to be so bad as to be the sole cause of their losing their cannon, is well known to be better causewayed than any street in London. Had Napoleon been victorious, we should have heard how fine and level the road was to make his march easy, just like that from Badajos to Lisbon, which the same writer informed us was the reason why Marmont set Ciudad Rodrigo as a *trou de rat* for Lord Wellington. The official dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, in the previous number of this Journal, expressly informed the editor, that his Grace "would move the army forward on the morning of the 19th; and I shall not," added he, "discontinue my operations;" and that, instead of an *orderly retreat*, the enemy fled in the "*utmost confusion*."† It may seem strange that I should thus be so particular in noticing the effusions of this Journal. But I hold it fair, in recording the sentiments of other men, to record those of its conductors, as their rank and character stands high with many. Their opinions, promulgated with the utmost consequence, are certainly meant should live beyond the present day; and, therefore, they cannot deem it unfair if these are chosen to contrast with others; and I must add, with truth, particularly upon such an important subject and solemn occasion as the present. Can we wonder at the daring impositions circulated in France, when we contemplate, from such high rank, such things circulated in Britain.

Amongst the various other attempts yet made by the enemy, and those who advocate their cause and support their system, to lessen their disgrace, and the glory which Britain acquired at Waterloo, the following is the most prominent and the most

* Morning Chronicle, June 24th, 1815.

† Wellington's dispatch, June 19th.

plausible. They assert that it was to the assistance of the Prussians alone that Wellington owed the victory. This is not the fact. Wellington's plan was to act on the defensive till the Prussians arrived. Bonaparte's, to beat the former before the latter came up. Though the Prussians were several hours latter than was expected in joining, Bonaparte completely failed in effecting the object which he had in view. It was past seven o'clock in the evening before the Prussians, in any considerable or dangerous force, were engaged; and, it must not be forgotten, that by that period the whole of the French army had been successively led against the British, and successively beaten. The last reserve of guards had shared the fate of the others, and they had retired from the rude "shock in confusion." From that moment they could be brought to face the British no more; and from that moment the conduct of Wellington was altered. From the assailed he became the assailant. He states in pretty plain language, that he was in a situation to make the decisive attack, which produced the final result, when he says, "*even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result.*"* Let it be remembered also that the defeat of the guard in the last attack took place while them and the rest of the army believed, and were informed, that it was not the Prussians but Grouchy's corps which was on their right.† Therefore it was not the dread of the Prussians, but of the British, which made them fly at that moment, even under the eye of their Emperor. Bonaparte himself admits, that the failure of his cavalry attacks were *fatal* to his cause; and that he could, *during that day*, make no further impression upon the British General; and plainly intimates, that he could not on any other day do so without the assistance of Grouchy's corps. Blucher acknowledges that the French columns were "*already shaken*," when he engaged them. Bonaparte, who would, if he could, have torn from Britain the glory of his overthrow, never mentions the last Prussian attack at all; but, on the contrary, states that they had exhausted their forces, and he had nothing more to fear; and, although this was not the fact, still it establishes the point that his army was defeated in the great object which he had in view, before the Prussians

* Wellington's dispatch, June 19th. † Ney's letter.

arrived in force. Besides, Waterloo must not be disjointed from Ligny and Quatre Bras. These formed part of this important and decisive field. These were the outworks of Waterloo. The enemy, after a gallant defence, carried the one, which obliged the other to be abandoned. But had the British been defeated at Quatre Bras, it is more than doubtful if there could, under these circumstances, have been any battle at Waterloo. Yet the Prussians lost no glory from being obliged to yield at Ligny. They were compelled to yield it to superior numbers, but not till they had handled their foes so roughly, that, in the words of General Alava, "they gained no advantage whatever,"* from obtaining possession of that place. In a few words, With only the British before him, it was retreat; with the Prussians joined, it was total destruction; betwixt which there is indeed an immense distance. Far be it from me to wish to injure or take away the noble fame and prowess of the sons of the Oder. They did their duty—they did enough—all did to their utmost at Waterloo; and glory enough remains for every one who was engaged in that glorious field, after allowing the British General the well earned and certain glory of having defeated the enemy, though two to one, and placed him in a situation where, as he could not advance, he must consequently have fallen back. The British defeated—the Prussians annihilated, the "*already shaken columns*" of the enemy, though furious "*from despair;*" and which was quite enough for each to have accomplished. We may fairly conclude this important subject, and decide this important point, by the impartial testimony of the brave General Alava, who was present; and unquestionably a competent judge, and best in his own words. "To the British troops," said he, "and their illustrious Commander, it may be asserted, *without offence* to any one, that to them both belongs the *chief part, or all the glory* of this memorable day."†

But vain and futile were all the attempts which were made to lessen the glory and importance of the victory of Waterloo, and the disasters there sustained by France. That combat raised its gigantic head, and spoke in a voice of thunder which Moscow rose from her ashes to greet with admiration, and which the con-

* Alava's dispatch, June 20th. † Do. do. do.

fines of Asia heard with joy. It made the Seine fear and the Rhone tremble; while, in distant lands, the hoarse murmurs of the impetuous *Potomac* remained hushed, and amazement seized his current, like as when the cannon of Cockburn laid low the spires of the Capitol. In the language of the brave Highlander, "*Boney's beat! Boney's beat!*" resounded throughout the world. The sound of the glorious huzza reached Paris, on the lightning's wings, and the shock made her deepest foundations tremble. There

> Wellington's "name in every breath they hear,"
> And Blucher's "shadow every moment fear."

At eleven, in the morning of the 21st, Bonaparte reached the Thuilleries, forlorn and dispirited, bringing the news of his own defeat. He was visited, but by few: but amongst these few were the subservient St. Jean de Angley, and the obsequious Maret. The bulletin was produced, which was that morning to convey to the public, through the columns of the Moniteur, the most disastrous intelligence ever communicated to France. Regnault perused it. While he did so, Bonaparte, in agitation, continued to bite his nails and take snuff copiously. At length Regnault finished the dismal scroll. It was too much for his nerves to bear. A sigh heaved his bosom and called forth the expression, which came from the heart, "*It is lost!* Yes, answered Napoleon in agony, "*it is lost! and my glory with it.*"*—Not so, said Regnault, "you have fifty victories to oppose to one defeat."—Bonaparte said nothing—he knew these had brought on this loss. But said Maret, "*the defeat is decisive*—the Emperor is in the right."† In vain they attempted to form plans to stop the torrent which rolled against them.—They dreaded the Royalists—they were jealous of the Republicans—they trembled at Wellington and Blucher. "They are not accustomed to conquer," said Bonaparte, "they will abuse the victory." It is not them, said Maret, that you have most to fear; it is those "whose cowardice Wellington's bravery has made triumphant. The courage of the Royalists is in the head of Wellington, and the arm of Blucher." Yet notwithstanding this should be the case, we "must stop them," said Regnault. That indeed was their first care.—But "How?" said Maret: "the army exists no more, and the frontier is un-

* Conversation at return to Paris. † Do. do. do.

covered." The army exists—the frontier is only uncovered—the army will rally—Grouchy is an honest man—Soult has given pledges: we must obtain supplies and re-enforcements for him, continued Bonaparte and Regnault. "Assemble the ministers," said the former, "the Chambers shall learn all to night—we will make a report—*tell the truth*—they will not refuse me men and money." Of this Maret expressed his doubts. They will be talking of terms, said he—"Assemble the ministers," was Bonaparte's reply. At length this was determined upon—the ministers were assembled—a tone of truth and supplication was adopted, with regard to the communications to be made to the assemblies; unusual and before unknown to Bonaparte, at whose frown France had been accustomed to tremble. But times were changed! a new page was commenced in the *fine* history of the Emperor.

In the meantime the Emperor's arrival at Paris became known. It produced the utmost sensation. What can have brought him back? was, no doubt, the anxious inquiry of thousands. Has he been beaten? where is his army? The countenances at the Thuilleries were not able to give a satisfactory answer to those doubts, those inquiries. Disastrous reports spread—they increased as they went along. Terror seized the minds of the Government and their friends; and sorrow and fear were legibly written on every countenance. The eagles at the Thuilleries drooped their wings: and the tri-coloured standard, on its haughty dome, clung to the staff which supported it, and not a hand was put forth to unravel it. The *Matts de Cocagne* were forsaken. The balls, on the gaming tables of the *Palais Royale*, were arrested in their career, and for the first time, during a century, stood still; while a groan of anguish, and a shriek of despair, resounded through the most public halls and secret recesses of that profligate and thoughtless dwelling. The funds sunk 5 per cent. The Chambers met. "Anxiety and fear sat on every countenance." "*Sinister reports*," said La Fayette, "have been in circulation, and which are unhappily confirmed."* At that moment, a second edition of the Moniteur was put into the hands of the people of Paris, containing the accounts of the battle of Mount St. Jean, or Waterloo, a day

* Sitting of Representatives, June 21st.

"so glorious to France, *and yet so fatal.*" At the same time a message was received from the Emperor, and another from the House of Peers, informing the Representatives of the Emperor's return, and the cause of it. Silence and consternation for some moments reigned in the assembly—deep as when Satan proposed to his infernal hosts, to undertake a journey through the pathless void. Even Barrere himself was silent, and Dumolard mute. No language is adequate to depict the confusion and alarm which now pervaded Paris, and every branch of the Bonapartean Government. "*All is lost and our glory with it,*" appeared in legible characters on every countenance. But to return to the Chambers. In the House of Peers, Carnot appeared with a message from the Emperor, something in the style of his old colleague Barrere, informing them that upon his arrival the Emperor had "convoked a Council of Ministers," that after having destroyed the *elite* of the Prussian army at Fleurus, the army had fought a great battle "*four days after,*" within four leagues of Brussels. That the allied army had been "*beaten throughout* the whole day," and "six English standards taken." That the day *was decided*, when, upon the approach of night, "some disaffected persons spread an alarm," which the presence of his Majesty could not recover; the consequences of which had been "*disasters which could not be arrested.*"* That the army was assembling under the walls of Avesnes and Philippeville; and in short, that his Majesty had returned to Paris, to confer with his Ministers in order to supply the army with *materiél*, and to consult the Chambers about what measures were necessary in the present emergency. At the same moment, a message was received from the House of Representatives—it was also read. Silence succeeded the reading of this last message. Thibadeau proposed a secret committee to consider the message. Latour Maubourg insisted that it should be public. After some discussion, wherein Boissy d' Anglas stated, that it was absurd, when "the country was in danger, and the national independence menaced," to delay business by attending to forms, "applicable only to *ordinary times,*" it was resolved to take the message into immediate consideration. Resolutions, similar to those voted in the other

* Sitting of Representatives, June 21st.

House, were immediately agreed to, and which we shall immediately notice. In the House of Representatives, the sitting was opened by the President, Lanjuinais, informing them that La Fayette and Lacoste, had propositions to submit to the Chambers. La Fayette began by informing them, that as an old friend of liberty he addressed them, and begged them to rally round the tri-coloured standard of 1789, and to adopt the following resolutions, viz. 1st. That the independence of the nation was menaced.—2d. That their sittings were declared permanent, and whoever should attempt *to dissolve* the Chambers, was guilty of high treason, and should be considered as a traitor and condemned as such. That the army of the line and national guards, who had fought and would fight for France, have merited well of their country. That the Minister of the Interior should take the necessary measures to arm the national guards, in order to secure the safety of the capital and the national Representatives; and lastly, that the Ministers of War, of Foreign affairs, of Police, and of the Interior, should be "*invited*" to repair to the Hall of the assembly.—These propositions were adopted without delay. They seemed to fear being dissolved, as Bonaparte had done before. "In a few moments, Gentlemen," said a member, "the Chamber might be dissolved." The adoption of these resolutions secured that point. These resolutions were then transmitted to the House of Peers, and directed to be circulated through all the departments. Scarcely was this finished when Regnault St. Jean de Angley, appeared with a message from the Emperor, similar to that sent to the other House, and informed them, that just as he left the Council, a Moniteur, containing the bulletin, was put into his hands. "Read the bulletin," exclaimed some of the members; but this was decided against as being an "*indirect*" way of obtaining that information which they were to demand from the Ministers. Time passing, and the ministers not making their appearance, great impatience was expressed on that account. A member moved that the chiefs of the national guard be sent for, and that it be armed, and that the Ministers should, a second time, be *invited*, (*commanded*, *commanded*, cried several members,) to repair to the hall. A second message was sent,—"Had your first message *com-*

manded them," said a member, "you would have been obeyed." It was then proposed to appoint a Commander to the national guard, but which was negatived by a call for the order of the day. It was proposed to suspend the sitting. No! No! exclaimed the members. At length the Ministers appeared, and Davoust, as Minister of War, informed them that it was reported by "*disaffected persons*," that the Emperor had directed him to march a body of troops to surround the assembly. He assured them that it was false, and that the account proceeded from the same source as that which asserted that General Travot was returned from La Vendee to Paris. This account quieted their fears, and was received with *applauses*. Thus terminated the meetings on the first day, after the accounts of the battle of Waterloo had reached them. These, however, were only the public acts. In secret there were springs in motion, which were to produce still more extraordinary and important deliberations and events. After a night spent in suspense and fear, the members assembled early next morning. Their deliberations were stormy and important. I can only give here a very brief recapitulation of their most prominent features. The discussions commenced even before the arrival of the President. M. Badoch, one of the Secretaries, was in his place. It was proposed by Grenier, in the name of an extraordinary committee, "that the safety of the country required that the Emperor should consent to the nomination, by the two Chambers, of a commission charged to negotiate directly with the coalsced powers, upon conditions of respecting the national independence and integrity, which belongs to every nation, of choosing such a form of Government as they may approve; and at the same time to support these negotiations by the prompt development of all the national force." Further, that measures should be taken to procure men, horses, and money, and repress the enemies of the interior. "The former proposition," continued Grenier, "is the most urgent. Indeed, if we do not stop the progress of the enemy, by a respectable force, before eight days the capital may again be menaced." It was then moved that the Chamber resolve itself into a secret committee, which was overruled. The President then appeared, and Badoch resigned the seat to him. M. Leyraud then ascended the tri-

bune, and stated that they were now asked by what means they could save the country. "The result of the late events," said he, "have torn all hearts. If we calculate the strength of the enemies armies, the imagination must doubtless be alarmed." *Murmurs* here interrupted the speaker—the vote was called for—order was restored, when a member declared that they possessed the courage and wish to be free, and would all perish rather than forfeit their independence. M. Crochon thought measures necessary, to procure means for supporting the war; while negotiations for obtaining peace, should also be set on foot. He then proposed that the assembly should issue a declaration, stating that the "French nation renounced forever all desire of conquest, and all offensive and ambitious war. She would never again take up arms but for the defence of *her territory, to avenge the outrages committed against her dignity*, if she cannot obtain reparation by means of negotiation, or for the defence of an ally unjustly attacked." Similar declarations had been issued by France during twenty-five years without being observed—in fact, her territory—her honour—her allies, meant whatever the ruling Government pleased. Crochon also proposed to declare, that five Commisioners, two from the house of Peers, and three from their body, should be sent to the allies to negotiate a peace." On this proposition the order of the day was called for, when M. Duchesme came forward and said, that he could not see that these propositions could be attended with the desired effect. The disasters, he said, were, no doubt, great, as was argued by the presence of the chief of their armies, in the capital, at that moment—he intimated that if there were no bounds to the energies of the nation, there were limits to its means. He denied what some had asserted and most people believed, that the means of France were equal to what these were in 1792. He said that they had been called upon to imitate the Spaniards in their conduct—but contended, that their present situation was different from theirs. Of this there was no doubt. They had neither the justice nor the reason on their side, and could not have the same spirit. But how galling it must have been for any Frenchman, of this school, to adduce the conduct of the Spaniards as an example? How bitter the

rebuke—how deep the humiliation which they, for their own infamous conduct against that nation, now endured! The assembly felt the poignancy of this unintentional censure, for here *murmurs* interrupted the speaker. M. Duchesme continued to point out that they could expect no favourable issue to negotiations, as the allies had expressly declared that they would listen to no overtures while Napoleon was at their head. The President then declared that the assembly would soon receive from the Emperor a message which would meet all its wishes. It was in the interim, proposed to form themselves into separate *bureaux*. No! no! exclaimed many members—we must not separate. M. Durbach said, "there is no *middle course* —we must proceed." M. Durbach continued: "Circumstances may again lead victorious armies to the capital, and then, under their auspices, will re-appear that ancient family. (*Never, never!* cried several members with earnestness.) I freely express my opinions," continued Durbach, "what may be the consequences of these events? We have only one resolution left, which is to engage the Emperor in the name and safety of the State, in the *sacred name of a suffering country*, to declare his abdication." The motion is seconded! exclaimed several voices, amidst expressions of *impatience*. "Yes," said General Soignac, "we ought to consider the safety of the Empire. I move that a deputation of five members be appointed, to proceed to the Emperor, which deputation shall express to his Majesty the *urgency* of his decision." It was again stated, that a satisfactory message would soon be received from the Emperor. The sitting, after some difficulty, was suspended for an hour. Almost immediately after this, Davoust entered; and the President having resumed his seat, the former communicated to them some advices from the army: such as, that 20,000 men must have been assembled at Avesnes, and that 5000 more had been armed from some waggons which had been found on the road: that, on the 20th, Soult had rallied at Rocroy 2000 troops of the old guard, and some other detachments. That Grouchy, on the 18th, had beat the Prussian army, and had nearly 40,000 men with him. This force, said he, leaves 60,000 men on the line of the North; and he could immediately send 10,000 more, with 200 pieces of cannon. He called

upon the Chambers to adopt vigorous measures against an enemy, who had proved that he "did not always keep his promises with fidelity." A member, however, rather abruptly put the question to the War Minister, if the enemy had not light troops in the neighbourhood of La Fere. "Davoust declared *upon his honour, that all these reports were false.*" Still these were correct as we shall presently see.

While these important deliberations were going on in the Chambers, equally important were taking place at the Elysee palace, where Bonaparte was. He had passed a sorrowful night. His friends were in terror and consternation. His Ministers consulted only their own safety, their own ambition, and desire of power. Their beloved Emperor was forgotten in their beloved country; and both in their sacred selves. They hinted to him their wish that he would resign his authority, and give up *the few planks and the piece of velvet,** which was so trifling a thing that it could be no sacrifice to his great mind. He was not to be convinced in a moment. However, intimation was conveyed to him, that the best thing he could do, would be to resign a throne from which he would certainly be "*dragged;*" and that the Representatives, who, sixteen days before, had sworn such love and obedience to him, were already organizing the act which was to do so. Lucien advised him to turn the whole about their business, as he had once done before. The Emperor hesitated. "Where is your firmness now?" said Lucien, "you know the consequences of not having the courage to dare." "I have dared too much," replied Bonaparte. "Yes," said Lucien, "too much and too little. Dare once again—they will pronounce your forfeiture." "Forfeiture!" said Napoleon, alarmed at the terrible sound. "*Straight forward,*" letter G comes next in the alphabet—Guillotine!—my head may go next, no doubt, thought he. "Let us see Davoust," said he. The War Minister was sent for, but it was found he cared more for himself than Napoleon—he would not dare with him nor for him. He would undertake nothing against the national representation. Napoleon, therefore, would not proceed. Lucien argued in vain, and then left him in sorrow and agitation, saying to his attendants, "the smoke of Mount St. Jean

* So Napoleon once called the throne.

has turned his head." That smoke turned more heads than his, and made many see the right way, by paths they would not look at before. After some expostulations with General Solignac, it was agreed, that Bonaparte should resign his authority; and, that to make it appear as an act of devotion on his part, for the peace and happiness of the country, it was determined that it should be done in a manner as if it proceeded from a voluntary resolution of his own. It was this resolution that Lanjuinais alluded to by the message from the Emperor, which was to meet all their wishes.

The sitting, that had been suspended for one hour, being again resumed, and the chamber cleared of all strangers, except the officers wearing the uniform of the national guards, Lanjuinais informed them that he had received from the Emperor, by the Duke of Otranto, an important document, which he should read. This was no less than his abdication of the throne in favour of his son. In this document, the Emperor said, that in the contest that he had entered into "I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France;" and proceeding with the hypocritical cant, that he hoped they would prove sincere in their declarations, which affected to be directed solely against his power, he informed them that "*his political life was terminated;*" and that he "proclaimed his son under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French." He then called upon them to form a regency without delay, by a law, and "to unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation." The Emperor had forgot that the allies, on the preceding year, had excepted his whole dynasty; and him and his advisers must have been blind indeed, if they could for a moment suppose that they would alter their resolutions, or be caught in this silly trap. These proceedings, however, disclosed the true state of parties in France. One hoped to retain Napoleon under the name of his son, or what is more probable, the power of the State to exercise in his name. A second cared little about Napoleon, provided they established their ideas of liberty; that is, to have all the power in their own hands, and to be able to retain the national integrity, which meant, to be left in such a state

as would enable them to dictate to their neighbours; and, if they resisted their will, to subdue them. These were the men who held the Rhine as their natural boundary. The other party was the one which wished for the Bourbons, but which was split into two parties, the one for Louis XVIII. the other for the Duke of Orleans. After the reading of the above document, Fouche proposed that they should consider "what was due to the Emperor Napoleon, and to recal the sentiments which he ought to inspire in his misfortunes." He proposed to appoint five commissioners to proceed to the allied armies, to treat with them for the interest of France, "*under her new circumstances*;" and that these should depart on the following day. This motion appeared to receive the unanimous approbation of the whole assembly. M. Dupin, after stating that the abdication of the Emperor was "*grand and glorious*," moved, that in the name of the French people, the Chamber accepts the abdication of Napoleon. That the deputies should depart immediately for the allies, and in their negotiations secure the safety of Bonaparte's person. That the Chamber should constitute itself into a "*National Assembly*." That a special committee of five members should prepare "the work of the *New Constitution*," and to form the basis of the compact, and the conditions on which the throne may be occupied by the Prince *whom the people shall choose*." *(Here great agitation spread through the assembly.)* Dupin continued to state his reasons at length, and call upon them to form an executive Council. M. Mergues took another mode. He proposed that they should accept the abdication of Napoleon, and declare "*the throne vacant*" till the will of the people was known. That the Chamber of Representatives should declare itself a Constituent Assembly. That five members should be appointed to negotiate with the allies. That the Provisional Government of the State should be confided to the present Ministers. That Macdonald should be appointed commander of the forces by sea and land; and La Fayette, Provisional General-in-chief of all the national guards in France, and Oudinot second in command of these forces. Upon these propositions the tumult became great. The order of the day was called for. The *agitation* of the assembly redoubled—Garreau

demanded to read the 67th article of the Constitutional Act. This article bound the people of France not to choose any of the Bourbon family, even if the dynasty of Napoleon should become extinct. The order of the day being loudly called for, Regnault St. Jean de Angley, mounted the tribune, and addressed the assembly in a long speech. He supported the order of the day, because he wished to "*preserve*" the existing form of government "from all *useless experiments on established forms;* all that may tend to overthrow the instruments already created, and now in motion; for the purpose of substituting others, will plunge us into the complete labyrinth of disorganization." He *reprobated* the idea of a National Assembly—still more that of a Constituent Assembly; "that is to say," said he, "to declare that *nothing is established;* that there were no rights established; *no fixed principles;* and that the citizens no longer know on what basis of government they rest. So that the motion being made at noon, discussed at one o'clock, and adopted at two, the whole nation was to be exposed to a complete overthrow. Shall we commence the *career of innovation and inexperience?*" He then proceeded to state that he was no longer a minister; and next came to disclose what had taken place between him and the Emperor in private. He told them that when he there addressed him, he informed him that nothing *could equal the fidelity* which he had sworn to him; and, that in return for his confidence, it behoved him to tell Napoleon that he could "*no longer defend the independence and the rights of the nation.*" That, as a minister, he would die at the foot of the throne to defend him; but, that as a representative of the people, "he owed to his country to hold to him the *imperious* language dictated by the safety of the State." He concluded by moving for the order of the day; and that a deputation should be appointed to proceed to the Emperor to thank him for the sacrifice he had made for the national independence. Thus ended the boasted fidelity, consistancy, and sagacity of D' Angley, who had only two weeks before assured the world, that no other person could save the State, and that misfortunes would only make Napoleon dearer to him and to the nation. It was French fidelity. It was dictated by no honourable principle—it had no foundation to stand on; and, when storms as-

sailed the fabric, it was found its foundations were built on quicksands—which yielded to every wind, and moved with every billow.

It was immediately decreed that the idea of a National or Constituent Assembly was impracticable; and ordained that the President and his *bureaux* should proceed to Napoleon, and thank him for the sacrifice he had made for the independence of the nation. And, last, that a Provisional Government, consisting of five members, viz. two from the Chamber of Peers, and three from the other House, should be immediately chosen to exercise the functions of Government. Scarcely was this finished, when General Solignac moved that commissioners should be sent to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, to inform him of the "*new situation of France.*" Several members immediately exclaimed, "*the commission!*" This brought on an angry discussion, in which M. Durbach stated, that notwithstanding her disasters, France would not bend to a foreign yoke; "notwithstanding the *efforts of our eternal enemy, England.*" This produced violent murmurs. Wellington was too near for such language to pass unnoticed, which, at all other times, would have been received with applause. Several members called out to close the discussion; when it was found out that they really were without a government. Till this point was settled, therefore, all further discussion was prohibited. M. Sibuet moved the immediate appointment of the commission to exercise the government. "*No more discussions, no oratorical pretensions,*" said he, "facts and a prompt decision." Here, however, the assembly was thrown into alarm, by Henri Lacoste producing a letter, informing him that 10,000 troops were posting to Paris, and that the national guards were commanded by officers of the line. "A 13th *Vendemaire*, and an 18th *Brumaire* is called for." Davoust, however, who was present, explained the movement of the troops, which, though he did not exactly state so, were in reality flying before the allies; and shewed that the national guards were commanded, not by officers of the line, but by members of that Chamber, viz. Grenier, Sebastiani, and Valence; adding, that while he commanded there was no danger of treachery. This satisfied them for the moment; but every thing shewed the dreadful state of doubt and perturbation in which France was placed. Her

leading men feared every thing; dreaded every thing; and doubted every one. The choosing of the executive council was then resumed. The President inquired if they might be chosen "*in the Chambers.*" M. Flaugargues said that they needed not restrain voting either in the Chambers or out of the Chambers; "you have," said he, "occasion for National names, for European names;" for never was there a more important mission than that of the Provisional Government. It was then decreed that three members should be chosen from the House of Representatives, and that the appointment of commissioners to proceed to the armies should be left to the executive government. M. Girad de l'Aix then moved that an address, with these proceedings, should be sent to the people and to the army. This M. Flaugergues opposed. "You issue addresses to day," said he, "*to-morrow you will execute, and there will be no government.*" Davoust then proposed to recal all soldiers to their post, under the penalty of being accounted traitors for leaving these. This measure he stated to be necessary, as emissaries were busy in endeavouring to encourage the national guards in the fortresses to desert. The war was, therefore, declared national; and Davoust continued to give them some trifling details about the towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and the situation of Grouchy, who had lost the Emperor, and did not know where to find him, though it was "*highly important for him to know where he was.*" To him succeeded General Duvernet, who was newly arrived from Lyons, who detailed to them the defence and situation in which that city and other places in the South were.

In the meantime, the President, with his bureaux, went to Napoleon to thank him for the facility with which he resigned his crown. They were received as graciously as could be expected, in the situation of both parties; Bonaparte thanking them, and they him; and each conceiving more eagerly than the other, how nicely they would entrap the allies again. Bonaparte thanked them for the sentiments of regard which they expressed towards him—recommended them to re-enforce the armies, and place all in a good state of defence. "Do not," said he, "expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigner, least you be disappointed in your hopes." From this he

proceeded to state, that, wherever he was, he should be happy if France was so. But, least they should misunderstand him, he reminded them that he only made the great sacrifice which he had done for the " welfare of the nation, and the *interests of his son, whom I therefore proclaim Emperor.*" This he was entitled to do, as the people of France had most judiciously bound themselves not to have the power, from thenceforward and forever to choose any person which they might wish. The President, with his bureaux, having returned to the Chamber, reported his message, adding, that Napoleon had expressly stated that he abdicated in favour of his son. M. Durbach instantly noticed that the " hereditary law was not yet set aside, and that as the son of Napoleon was a minor it became a Council of Regency, to govern in his name, *(a strong agitation here interrupted the Speaker.)* Several members called out, " this is not the time;" and the order of the day was again called for and adopted. The members for the Provisional Government were then chosen, and the choice fell on Carnot, Fouche, and Grenier. The sitting, which had been declared permanent, was next day resumed at eleven o'clock, and the debate turned wholly upon the acknowledgement of Napoleon II. M. Defermont asked, " do we acknowledge or do we not acknowledge an Emperor of the French? There is not a man among us, who does not answer we have an Emperor in the name of Napoleon II. *(yes, yes, exclaimed the greater number of the members.)* He then proceeded to ask if the Confederate powers would disregard the efforts of the nation, when it was seen that the Constitution was their polar star, and that Napoleon II. was its fixed point?" Napoleon I., continued he, reigned in virtue of our fundamental laws. Napoleon II. is, therefore, our Sovereign. There is no longer any doubt as to the maintainance of the Constitutional dynasty of Napoleon. A movement of enthusiasm was here rapidly diffused through the assembly, and cries of " *Vive l' Empereur,*" were long heard with energy. A great number of Deputies waved their hats, repeating the acclamation. This enthusiasm of the assembly was ordered to be inserted in the minutes, where it remains among many others, sad monuments of French levity and want of judgment. Boulay de la Murerthe declared that there existed

factions, men who wished to place the Bourbons on the throne, and stated, that he was perfectly aware that there was also an Orleans faction; and said, that if they declared the throne vacant, the country would soon experience the miserable fate of Poland, (a member, and—*of Spain,)* and that the allies would divide their finest provinces. He therefore moved that the assembly recognize and proclaim Napoleon II. for Emperor of the French. M. Pignures wished to postpone the discussion, and a member hinted that they had better consult Lord Wellington. What, said Regnault, would you adjourn till Lord Wellington is at the gates of Paris? *(a great tumult.)* M. Dupin asked the assembly if they thought that Napoleon II. could do what Napoleon I. could not do? Let the war be national, said he, and we shall triumph over our enemies. M. Bigonet seemed to think that the allies would put no faith in the abdication. M. Manuel after stating that it was necessary and urgent to proclaim Napoleon II., added that " if the Foreign powers refuse to acknowledge him, there will still be time to come to a determination, *and no one will balance between one man and twenty millions of men.*" He accordingly moved that Napoleon II. was become Emperor of the French, by the abdication of his father, which motion was adopted and a deputation was directed to proceed to the ex-Emperor, to inform him of this resolution; at the same time it was decreed, that the members of the Provisional Government, should take an oath of obedience to the Constitutions of the Empire, and of fidelity to Napoleon II. Emperor of the French. This done the Chamber adjourned.

In the House of Peers, similar messages were received and dispatched, and similar measures took place. When Davoust came forward and made the statement regarding the army, Ney rose in his place and contradicted him point blank. He said that it was impossible that Soult and Grouchy could assemble 60,000 men. That the former could not rally any at Rocroy, and that Grouchy could not have above 8000 men with him. He insisted that Soult could not muster 25,000 men, and that with regard to any of the guard remaining, he was an eye witness to their complete destruction; for but himself and one corporal remained. He urged that no measure remained to

save the country but immediate negotiation. Count Flahaut supported the Minister at War, and stated, that his advices authorized him to state that Grouchy had 40,000 men remaining under him. Latour Maubourg stated that Ney's statement came to them in no official shape, and could only be compared to a newspaper statement. Ney, however, insisted that what he said was correct, and certainly he had an opportunity of knowing. Count Pontecoulant stopt the altercation, by moving "the closing," said he, "of this discussion, so painful to us all." After some uninteresting discussion about forms, Count Labodeyere moved to know "whether it is Napoleon II. whom we proclaim? Or whether it is a new Government we wish to adopt? We ought to remember Gentlemen," said he, "the Provisional Government and its disastrous consequences." Levelling his fury against the Bourbons, he asked, "if French blood was again to be shed to pass under the odious yoke of the foreigner; to bow the head to a degraded Government?" Count Boissy stated that the proposition of Labodeyere was impolitic and unreasonable. The only question for them was, to receive, or not to receive, the abdication; and moved the order of the day. After some discussion the point was settled by the adoption of an amendment proposed by Count Pontecoulant, which was to adhere to the resolution of the Chamber of Representatives, and afterwards "express to Napoleon the national gratitude for the illustrious manner in which he terminated an illustrious political life." After some details from the army, of an encouraging nature, presented by Count Drouet, stating that 4000 chasseurs of the old Guard, and 1200 horsemen had joined the other corps of the army, and that the "*artillery of the old guard had recovered several batteries*," the Peers adopted the resolution of the other House, declaring the war national. These decrees were directed to be expidated to the departments, which done, the sitting was suspended. At nine at night it was resumed, when the debate turned upon the negotiation of Napoleon II. and became more interesting and important. The President then informed them of the result of his mission to Napoleon, and his reception there; and stated, that Bonaparte repeated to him that he "*abdicated only in favour of his Son.*" The Princes of the

blood rejoiced at this declaration, which was to maintain them in their dignity, and Lucien, in particular, was quit gay at the thought. France, said he, is an independent and free nation. "The Emperor is dead—*Vive l' Empereur!* The Emperor is abdicated—*Vive l' Empereur!*" "For," said he, "there can be no actual cessation between the Emperor who dies or abdicates, and his successor." No, unless the times, as the Emperor had informed them, were changed. Lucien then moved that they should proclaim Napoleon II. and offered to give the first example of swearing fidelity to him—"*Seconded,*" said several members. Count Pontecoulant, however, damped the ardour of the former Speaker. However painful to him it was, still he must express a different opinion. What he would not have said during the prosperity of the Emperor, he would now state when adversity had struck him. To him he owed every thing, but he could not be brought to act in a manner contrary to the proceedings of every deliberative assembly. If, said he, I understand the Speaker, "*it is wished that we should adopt a proposition without deliberating upon it.*" And reminding Lucien, that he was a Roman Prince only, and that he was not sure if he was a Frenchman, or that he had any right to speak in that assembly, he proceeded to move that they should either enter upon the discussion of that subject, or pass to the order of the day. This speech produced an angry reply from Lucien, that he was a Frenchman, and there was no ground for deliberation, as "the moment Bonaparte abdicated his son succeeded him." Count de Boissy endeavoured to avert this discussion, and calm the storm he saw rising, by moving, that they should appoint a Provisional Government; that if they could not stop the progress of the foreigner, they might not lose the means of treating with him. The furious Labodeyere, however, refused to depart from the previous subject. He supported Lucien; and repeated that as Napoleon had "only abdicated in favour of his son," therefore, that if the Chambers did not accept the abdication on these terms, that it was consequently "*null and void.*" He upbraided some for having surrounded the throne in prosperity, but who now withdrew from it in adversity. They wished to receive the law from the foreigner, whom they called allies. Napoleon had

been betrayed by some base Generals who might be present. This accusation was levelled against Ney, as appears from his letter to Fouche immediately after. "Shall we abandon Napoleon a *second time?* We have sworn to defend him," said he, "even in his misfortunes." "If we, therefore, declare that every Frenchman who quits his standard shall be covered with infamy—shall have *his house seized and his family proscribed*, we shall have no more traitors, no more of these manœuvres, which have occasioned the late catastrophes, and some of the authors of which perhaps sit here." A great tumult, and cries of *order*, *order*, interrupted the Speaker. "Hear me," continued Labodeyere. No, said Count Valence, "I will not listen to you, until that you have disavowed what you have said." "It is not to you, Count," said Labodeyere, "I address myself." The tumult here continued to such a degree, that the voice of Labodeyere was drowned amidst violent exclamations. The President put on his hat, and tranquillity was again restored. Count Cornudet then came forward, and told them, that they were "disputing on words." That Napoleon II. was out of France, and, in fact, a prisoner. Their first business was the establishment of a Provisional Government, capable of adopting measures for the public safety. Count Segur, while he regretted the discussion, he acknowledged that reserve was no longer necessary, and that Napoleon had declared to the President, that his abdication was null unless they proclaimed his son. The President, however, contradicted this. "I did not say that. I said that the abdication was in favour of his son." Count Segur then proceeded, and said that, by the constitution, Napoleon II. was their Sovereign, and that the Provisional Government would act in his name; and, in doing so, ought to assume the title of Regency. The Duke of Bassano followed on the same side; and added, that if the proposals of peace should be rejected, he doubted not but that the rallying cry of the army would be, Napoleon II. and whom he pointed out that it was necessary to proclaim. In course of these debates, a discussion took place between Counts Biossy and Carnot, by which the important fact was ascertained, that the Council of ministers had that morning decided that the Emperor must abdicate his throne. Count Rœderer built

great hopes upon the acknowledgment of Napoleon II., that Austria would enter into their views. This was, no doubt, the object of those who contrived this scheme. "Can that power," said he, "consider us an enemy, when we adopt for a Sovereign a child, the issue of its Royal blood?" Counts Thibadeau and Pontecoulant, insisted that the first object they should attend to was to complete a Government. "Let us," said the latter, "wave every question but the nomination. Why should we for disputes on words, leave Paris and France without a Government." Count Flahaut still insisted that the first thing which they should do was to proclaim Napoleon II. He argued that if the Emperor had died, his son would have succeeded him—and, that as he was politically dead, so he should be succeeded by his son also. To this speech Count Decres replied with vehemence. "Is this a time to think of *individuals?* the country before every thing—*it is in danger.* I move that the debate be closed." This motion was immediately adopted. The House then proceeded to choose the two members for the Provisional Government, and the choice fell upon Caulincourt and Quinette. These two, with Grenier, Carnot, and Fouche, now formed the Government that was to rule over and to save France. Of this conclave Fouche was President.

The Provisional Government, being appointed, immediately commenced its functions. A decree was passed authorizing the Government to procure, by means of requisitions, supplies for the army, and transports for the troops. Another decree was passed, calling out the remainder of the conscription of 160,000, for 1815, decreed in 1813. Severe resolutions were passed against all those who should desert the cause of the Government, or assume any colours but the national ones. An address was issued to the nation, in which the Provisional Government informed them, "that in a few days glorious successes and dreadful reverses had again agitated their destinies." Napoleon, they said, had abdicated—and his son was proclaimed. Their new Constitution was to be applied, *purified, and extended,* and after twenty-five years of political tempests, the moment was come when every thing "*wise and sublime,*" that had been conceived respecting social institutions, was to be made *perfect* in theirs.

Plenipotentiaries, they added, were gone to negotiate a peace with the allies, which they had promised on *one condition*, which was fulfilled. They called upon France to be united; and reminded the people that while armies may be in part destroyed, the experience of all ages and of all nations proved that an intrepid nation, "*combating for liberty and justice*," could never be destroyed. Unfortunately, however, it was not for these things that France was at this moment combating. In addition to the deputies dispatched to the allied armies to solicit peace, a messenger was dispatched to England; but he was ordered to return; and Monsieur Otto, who was sent on a similar journey, was forced to remain at Boulogne for want of passports to proceed across the channel. It was generally supposed that his mission related to negotiations concerning the personal safety of Bonaparte, and to receive passports for him to proceed to America. In the meantime every exertion was made to arm the national guards of Paris, and the neighbouring departments; to fortify the capital, to collect troops and stores in order to oppose the allies. Napoleon was almost forgotten; and passed from Paris to Malmaison, and from Malmaison to Paris, without any one noticing or paying any attention to him. All his honours were fled—the guards from his palace were withdrawn, and nothing remained but the name. Such was the end of that boasted attachment, love and regard for the person of Napoleon, which was to carry fire and sword again throughout Europe; and such the proofs of that unalterable love, affection, and support, which France, and the Parisians in particular, had solemnly sworn, only three weeks before, to retain for him at all hazards, and to maintain with their blood against all enemies. It was another and a sad proof of the complete demoralization of the French nation, that regarded no tie but its own convenience and interested pursuits; and as these feelings had been inculcated and matured in a particular manner under the auspices of Napoleon, so a wise and a just Providence had ordered, that he in his person should witness and feel the sad effects of his own diabolical policy, which went about to subvert the pillars of human society, and to carry disorder and confusion into the moral and political world, and ruin and misery over a quarter of this globe. He

was now caught in the snares which he had formed for others; and the conduct of the people of France at this moment, and his fate, ought to be a lesson for all succeeding ages, to shun the paths which conducted them to a scene of defeat, disgrace, and humiliation, moral and political, so great, that while they were the mark of the indignation of all nations, their conduct was such as to procure for them no pity, but, on the contrary, universal scorn and contempt. Twenty-five years of misery had passed over their heads, in which they had enjoyed the utmost heights of prosperity, and the deepest gulphs of adversity; yet it had made them no better. The same spirit still agitated, and was nearly about to direct them again, which did in 1792; and which brought upon them and upon Europe such unutterable evils. Let any person attend to the debates at this moment, and those in 1791 and 1792, and they will find them but little dissimilar; and there can be little doubt, but that, if the rapid approach of the allied armies had not prevented it, similar scenes would have been acted. But instead of having time to mature decrees, to construct Guillotines, to take off 500 heads at one blow, they had not time to construct a machine which could take off one. So far fortunate for Napoleon—he was obliged to the Duke of Wellington for this. It was remarkable, however, that the abdication of Bonaparte a second time, though it created general joy, was unattended with any of that strong enthusiasm with which the same event was received the preceding year. Mankind were not only taken by surprise, but they looked upon the whole as another trick to deceive Europe; and, therefore, withheld that joy they would otherwise have expressed, as dubious of the event, and uncertain whether good or evil was to result from it. At all events, every one was now satisfied that Bonaparte was not the root of the evil; and mankind over Europe would not now be satisfied with any thing less than the overthrow, not only of him, but of his system. They went further, and expected that France should be made to pay for the miseries she had inflicted upon the world, through their restless ambition; and that, for the future, she should be left in a situation that she would not have it in her power to annoy her neighbours; or pursue, for a long time to come, wars of aggression and ambition. They saw that this restless and ambitious feeling was not so much the

vice and pursuit of one man, as it was of the nation; and, therefore, till they saw this completely broken, chained, and punished, they were aware their repose was distant; and that but little good could accrue to mankind whoever might be the Sovereign of France. *Dominion* and *glory* was her concern; peace and security theirs.

"I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not discontinue my operations," said the Duke of Wellington, after a few hours repose on the bloody field of Waterloo. He kept his word most strictly. Bursting like a whirlwind through the boasted iron frontiers of France, and her triple rows of fortifications, the flood of war rolled along with irresistible impetuosity towards Paris. On the 19th the Prussian army, under Blucher, crossed the Sambre at Charleroy in pursuit of the flying enemy. On the 21st both armies entered France: the Prussians by Beaumont, and the army under Wellington by Bavay. The former advanced upon the road to St. Quentin and Laon, and the latter to Cambray and Peronne. On the 24th, Sir Charles Colville took the town of Cambray by escalade, the governor retiring into the citadel, which he afterwards surrendered on the 25th, when it was given up to the order of Louis XVIII. St. Quentin was abandoned by the enemy, and was occupied by Prince Blucher; and, on the evening of the 24th, the castle of Guise surrendered to the Prussian arms. The French army retreated on Laon in a most wretched state. At this time, even from the accounts of Davoust, not 20,000 remained together. "The soldiers quitted their regiments in parties, and returned to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country."* In the meantime the corps of Grouchy, which had remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th, made good its retreat to Namur and Dinant, in which retreat, as we have already noticed, it suffered considerably, and lost some of its cannon."† Cut off from the wreck of the main army, and also from the direct road to Paris, he was compelled to take the road to Rethel, from thence to Rheims, and by forced marches endeavoured to reach the capital before the allies. On the 21st Avesnes surrendered to

* Wellington's dispatch, Le Cateau, June 22d, 1815.

† Do. do. do do.

the Prussians, after an accident, occasioned by the blowing up of a magazine, by which 400 men were destroyed. The garrison, consisting of 439 men, were sent, the Officers to Wesel, and the soldiers to Cologne; and all, said Marshal Blucher, "*are to be treated with the necessary severity.*"* The allied armies, at least 140,000 strong, continued to advance. On the 27th Quesnoy surrendered to the allies. The garrison, which amounted to 2800 men, chiefly national guards, obtained liberty to retire to their homes. On the 26th Peronne was taken by the British troops. The 1st brigade of guards, under Major General Maitland, took by storm the horn work which covers the suburbs on the left of the Somme, and the place immediately surrendered, upon the garrison obtaining leave to retire to their homes. On the 28th the Prussians, under Blucher, were at Cressy, Senlis, and La Fere Millon; and on the 29th their advanced guards were at St. Denis and Gonasse. The resistance experienced by the British army at Cambray and Peronne, detained them one day behind the Prussian army; but which forced marches enabled them to overtake in the neighbourhood of Paris. In the meantime Soult was displaced from the chief command of the army, which was conferred on Marshal Grouchy. The reason of this remarkable step, according to Soult, was because the Provisional Government suspected his fidelity. This was very likely the true reason; or they could scarcely at this moment have dismissed a man confessedly superior to his successor, in point of abilities. The rapid advance of the allied armies caused Grouchy to redouble his speed to reach Paris before them. This he effected, after considerable loss, particularly on the 28th, at Villers Cotterets, where he fell in with the left wing of the Prussian army, and afterwards with the division under Bulow, which drove him across the Marne, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and 1500 prisoners. Grouchy fairly acknowledged, that his troops would not fight, and that numbers deserted. In fact, though the French army was daily receiving re-enforcements from the towns and depots in its route, and also from the interior, the desertion from it was so great that its number was little if any thing at all augmented. With the

* Blucher's dispatch, Noyalles-sur-Sambre, June 21st.

remainder, however, Grouchy succeeded in throwing himself into Paris, where he joined the wreck of the main army, the whole consisting of about 40 or 50,000 troops of the line, the wretched remains (including also all re-enforcements) of 190,000 men, which fought at Waterloo. To these, however, were to be added the National guards, a new levy called *les Tirailleurs de la Garde*, and the *Federés*. According to Bonaparte's portfolio, found at Waterloo, these latter amounted to 14,000 men. Altogether, these forces were at least 40,000 more, if not a greater number. Paris was, therefore, still formidable, and capable of much resistance. French accounts, daily issuing from the press, assert that they had 70,000 regulars in Paris. Davoust, on Ney's trial, stated that he had 25,000 cavalry, and 500 pieces of cannon. At this rate, their force was nearly equal to the allies, and yet they suffered Blucher and Wellington to remain undisturbed, when separated, and also surrendered Paris without a struggle. Lord Wellington is, however, better authority, who states their regular force to have been only from 40 to 50,000. The object of these exaggerated statements, on the part of France, are all put forth to lessen their loss at Waterloo; and further, that in consideration of their numerous force, the allies, by a secret understanding, granted conditions to induce them to surrender, which afterwards, to please the King, they violated.

Alarm and consternation now reigned in Paris, so lately the scene of boasting and security. The commissioners dispatched to the head-quarters of Blucher and Wellington could neither procure an armistice, nor arrest the march of the armies. It was to no purpose that they informed them of the abdication of Napoleon. That did not satisfy them. He might be recalled if they gained time. Frenchmen could be trusted no longer. The armies continued to advance, and were already before the gates of Paris, when Davoust, then commander-in-chief, endeavoured to make another effort to gain time, and procure a cessation of hostilities. He wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, stating, that as Napoleon had abdicated, therefore, agreeable to the declarations of their Sovereigns, the motives for their military movements no longer existed. He informed him that he had just received a telegraphic message from Lyons, announcing,

that on the 29th, the Austrian General Frimont had concluded an armistice with Suchet; insinuating, no doubt, that he had acted according to superior orders, and thereby considered the war at an end. This dispatch Davoust pledged his honour was correct; but he took care not to state the cause, nor the whole truth. The fact was, that the abdication of Bonaparte was immediately transmitted by telegraph to Suchet, with directions by all means to procure an armistice with Frimont. This was communicated to him. The Austrian General was astonished—he had not even heard of the battle of Waterloo, and had received no account from his court, then at Manheim, concerning any one of these events. He paid no attention to the first application; but, next day, being satisfied that what Suchet said was correct, but still doubting what might be the intention and results of all this, he, on the 29th, agreed to an armistice for three days, by which time he was certain he would hear from the grand head-quarters something to guide his future conduct. The armistice, however, was concluded upon such terms as shewed the Austrian General did not mean to trust to mere words. Suchet agreed to give up all the country, from Geneva to the gates of Lyons. This Davoust took special care not to mention. The conduct, however, of the Austrian General, at so distant a point, where he could either be but ill informed or intentionally misled, was no guide to the British General. Davoust continued to argue that the motives of their advance was "destroyed;" and boldly stated, upon this conduct of the Austrian General, that "his Grace could have no other instructions from his government than that which the Austrian Generals had from theirs."* He, therefore, demanded an armistice, in order to await the decision of a Congress. A similar letter was sent to Blucher, to which he replied, "that the French Marshal was wrong in supposing all cause of war removed, as the abdication of Napoleon was only in favour of his son; and that he must know the declaration of the allies excluded from the throne "not only Napoleon, but all the members of his family." General Frimont's conduct he said was no rule to guide theirs; that they would certainly follow up their victory, which "God had given them the means.

* Davoust's letter, La Vallette, June 30th.

and the will to do." He desired Davoust to beware how he brought ruin upon a great city; and asked him if he "wished to bring down on himself the curses of Paris, as he had those of Hamburgh." They were "resolved (he said) to enter Paris; and no armistice could be concluded except in" that place. He called upon Davoust not to "*misconceive*" the situation in which the allies stood with regard to his nation; and remarked, that, if Davoust was so anxious to enter into negotiations with them, "it was strange that he should detain, contrary to the law of nations, their officers who were sent with letters and packets;" and he concluded his answer by saying, that, "according to the usual forms of established civility, I have the honour to call myself M. Marshal, your *servant*—Blucher."* This was just and decided language. It was proper to tell oppression, though it was arrayed with power and clothed in purple, that as it never should merit the consideration due to virtue, so it no longer was the object of fear to mankind. Davoust was thus treated as he deserved. The character of the French military leaders were now so well known, that, no person would trust them, even if they told truth. It was only what they had to expect, after their repeated violations of their word, in every instance to Europe. "It would now be useless," said the Journal de l' Empire, "to put in motion the springs of intrigue, *and of a wicked policy*. These practices are *worn out*."† Worn out indeed these were, as was also the patience of Europe. Still, however, we here find Davoust endeavouring to use them. He wanted to disarm Wellington, by assuring him that Austria was disarmed; forgetting to state the hard conditions by which a small part of her force was so, or the short duration of the cessation of hostilities; and that even this was brought round only by the directions sent to Suchet, that he would soon receive more full and explicit intelligence from Paris. The same day Davoust, Pajol, d' Erlon, Fressinet, Vandamme, and about 12 other Generals, commanding the troops in the lines before Paris, addressed a letter to the House of Representatives, in which they informed them, "that in presence of their enemies —they swore before the Representatives and the world to de-

* Blucher's answer, July 1st.

† Journal de le Empire, Paris, June 26th.

fend, to their last sigh, the cause of their independence and the national honour. They stated that it was intended to impose the Bourbons upon them as Sovereigns, and that if their return was subscribed by the Representatives it would be signing the testament of the army, which, for twenty-five years, had supported the glory of France."* The whole of this famous epistle, addressed by an armed body, to a deliberative assembly, solely regarding the rights and the safety of the former, in a capital which that military commanded by their cannon, contained the most bitter abuse against the Bourbons, and their determination rather to die than yield to their sway. This was another proof of who it was that had caused the revolution in France—who it was that maintained it, and who now came forward, with arms in their hands, to direct, nay, to dictate to the Legislature. Such was French Liberty. This letter was, however, received by the assembly with great applause. It suited the principles of most of them. It was these Europe had to dread. But if the assembly suffered themselves to be directed by an armed body, they were no longer a Legislature. If they extolled such measures, they were either a government directed by the military, or a purely military government, both of which Europe had equal reason to guard against.

Some of the members, however, began to lower their tone. Some of the most violent to recal their words. They were aware that the abdication of Napoleon was the return of the Bourbons; and, therefore, they prepared to make their peace with them. Of these, M. Durbach was the foremost. In the sitting of the 1st of July, he begged to correct a typographical error which had crept into his speech of the preceding day, but now printed, and distributed among them. In that speech, said he, I am made to have said, "I need not retrace to you the picture of the *crimes*, faults, pretensions, perfidies of that ephemeral reign." (of Louis XVIII.) The word *crimes*, continued he, should be rectified, and has been done by *writing* in a *certain number* of copies distributed. I observed, said he, "the proceedings of the royal government: I have recognised its faults, its *errors*, and the abuses which it brought along with it;" but I never made use of the expression which appeared in

*La Vallette, June 30th.

print. For *crimes*, the word *errors* should be read. Why, in truth, this makes a mighty difference! It exculpates the government of Louis XVIII. from *crimes*, and only charges it with having been guilty of what all mankind are, and will continue to be, namely, *errors*. *Humanum est errare*. So did M. Durbach; nay, him and his revolutionary colleagues went greater lengths; yet they are to be accounted innocent! Dupin also endeavoured to correct an error which had taken place in printing his speech. In the copy of the law proposed to secure the public safety, the paragraph had been omitted "*which ordains that the motives of arrest should be communicated to the accused.*" In truth, M. Dupin did not think this a very material point, or necessary at the time; but as he was not sure but his turn might come soon, he wanted to be prepared to get all justice. The march of Wellington and Blucher did wonders. They corrected many errors both in print and manuscript; and touched with feeling heads and hearts which had never been touched before. Considerable uneasiness was expressed by the assembly at the situation of the commissioners sent to the allied powers, as no communications had been received from them. M. Bory de St. Vincent then made his appearance to report the condition of the army assembled to defend Paris, which he had been appointed to visit. He praised the spirit which animated it. The resolution of Vandamme, and the *modesty* of the commander-in-chief, Davoust, who did not appear to dread the result of the expected attack. The works, he said, were much stronger than those which occasioned such an horrible loss to the English army at Thoulouse. "Abattis were formed on all the high ways; obstacles were multiplied; the ditches which covered the lines were inundated." The national guards, and *Federates* were *familiarizing* themselves with the perils which they were *impatient* to encounter. Some complained that they had neither arms nor cartridges—others, that their courage was repressed. Every where the cry of Vive la Liberte! Vive Napoleon! Vive les Representatives! No Bourbons! resounded in his ears. He contended, that the Journalists exaggerated intentionally the number of their foes. These, said he, are not so numerous as they are stated to be. The armies of Wellington and Blucher, before the battles of Fleurus and Waterloo, were

even exaggerated to 100,000 men. These battles, said he, did not make them more. It is only heads of columns which have yet debouched; and against such a force, "May we not," said he, "with such elements, commanded by the *Defender of Hamburgh*, await the event, and save the glory of the French name. Far be it from me, continued he, to wish to see Paris exposed to the horrors of a defence; (*a la Hamburgh*, he, no doubt, meant;) but we must not take a suppliant attitude;" and, besides, "we must not take Paris for the *whole* of France:" and, concluding this harangue, he moved that five commissioners from their body should be sent to be constantly with the army. An address to the French people was then produced, and read. In this address, they pointed out that Napoleon had abdicated and his son was proclaimed—that Napoleon being removed, no obstacle could remain to prevent peace, "*if the promises of Kings be not vain.*" Plenipotentiaries were dispatched to the allied armies, said this document, but the Generals of two of these powers have refused a suspension of arms; and, in a moment of trouble and hesitation, have caused their troops to *accelerate* their march. That they would soon learn whether or not they were to have peace, and, that resistance, in the meantime, was as necessary as legitimate. They stated that, as Representatives, they were not chosen to stipulate for the *interests of any party* whatever; but that they were collecting in order to establish the fundamental rules of a *monarchical* and representative government, to secure to all citizens the enjoyment of their sacred rights; and that they would never acknowledge, as the legitimate chief of the State, he who, on ascending the throne, should refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation. If compelled to yield to force, they would protest, in the face of the whole world, in support of the oppressed French people; and for these rights they now appealed to the justice and the reason of all civilized nations. The remainder of this day's sitting was taken up with debates unimportant to the general reader. Various resolutions were passed to ensure the distribution amongst the army and the national guards of their proceedings. Next day many members had absented themselves, and the following day was occupied by the different *oureaux* in

completing the Constitution. No other subject would be listened to, though alarm and confusion pervaded Paris.

The armies under Wellington in the meantime continued their operations with unabating activity. The capital of France was their object to gain; and neither intrigues, menaces, nor protestations could turn them from their purpose; because they could put no confidence in any of the men who made the latter, and they despised the former. As the armies approached the capital, Fouche, President of the Government, wrote to the Duke of Wellington, supplicating him, that after the fresh glory he had gained over the French arms, he would arrest the progress of war. "*Your law of nations*," said he, "*has always been justice.*" The French nation wishes to live under a monarch; but it wishes that that monarch live under the empire of laws. The republic made us acquainted with the *extremes of liberty*—the Empire with the *extremes of despotism.* We do not, continued he, "wish to *be more* free than England—we do not wish to be *less*"—and informing him that the representatives of the nation were incessantly employed in forming a social compact, which, as soon as it was finished, and as soon as "it shall be signed by the Prince called to reign over us, the Sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the people;" he concluded by observing that, in the existing state of Europe, "one of the greatest calamities was hostility between France and England; and that no man ever had it more in his power than his Lordship at that moment had, to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position."* Certainly his Lordship's power had done much to accomplish that end, and was about to complete it. At present, however, he was sent to fight, not to negotiate. Paris had been strongly fortified on the North side. From the Seine, above the city, along the heights of Belleville, by Montmartre, and to St. Denis, it was one continued chain. To have forced these would have cost many valuable lives; and it might have provoked the total ruin of Paris. Conscious of their own strength, a movement, at once decisive and appalling to the enemy, was resorted to by the allies. On the 30th, Blucher having taken the village of Aubervilliers, or Vertus, made a movement to his right, and crossing the Seine at St. Germain, below the capital, threw his

* Fouche's letter to Wellington, read in House of Representatives, June 28th.

whole force upon the South side of the city, where no preparations had been made to receive an enemy. On the morning o the 2d, he had his right at Pliesse Piqué, and his left at Meudon, with his reserves at Versailles. This was a thunderbolt to the enemy; and it was then that his weakness and the allied strength was seen in the most conspicuous point of view; because, at this moment, the armies of Wellington and Blucher were separated, and the enemy was, with all his force between them, yet they could not move to prevent their junction. Carnot, who never could do any thing that was wrong, and who foresaw every thing, blames Bonaparte for not fortifying Paris on this side, and says he forewarned him of this danger. This is very well for Carnot to state, after it happened; but the fact is, that neither Carnot nor his master had any idea of seeing an allied army in that direction or in that place. Carnot, however, must say something on the subject. He had taunted the allies, the preceding year, of getting possession of the "*forsaken*" capital by means of numbers, "*ten to one.*" This year he could not say so—they were not two to one; and, therefore, as an excuse for not making a longer defence, as he insinuated should have been done on the preceding year; he now blamed Bonaparte for having neglected fortifying the capital judiciously. Blucher continued his operations with firmness. The enemy was thus obliged to abandon all the works that he had constructed for the defence of the capital, and threw himself over the Seine to meet Blucher. It was the Sabbath: and for once the inhabitants of Paris were obliged to forego their sports of *Matts de Cocagne*, *dancing*, *theatres*, *&c. &c.* with which they had so often profaned that sacred day, for employment of a very different description. The thunder of the Prussian cannon awakened them to a sense of their situation, and roused them from their dream of security, into which treason, successful for the moment, had thrown them. It was those eagles which keenly followed and were ready to perch on their prey, which the Parisians, a short time before, had, with a haughty complacency, stated their suspicion that their troops would not, when these were vanquished and taken prisoners, spare them—therefore, they now trembled. The contest, on this day, was obstinate, but the Prussians finally surmounted all difficulties,

and succeeded in establishing themselves firmly upon the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. The French loss, on this day, was estimated at 3000 men. Next morning by three o'clock, the Prussians were attacked in their positions already mentioned; but the enemy were repulsed with much loss. In the meantime the allied army, under Wellington, had advanced to Gonasse. The right immediately threw a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, crossed that river, and opened the communication with Blucher; while another part of the army advanced upon the city, from the east, by Neuilly. All further resistance, it was now obvious, would prove unavailing. Paris lay at the mercy of the allies, and again hastened to place herself at the feet of the conquerors. All their boasts of defence, and reducing the capital to ruins, rather than see it submit to the conquerors, vanished. They perceived, said Carnot, that Paris must soon surrender at "*discretion;*" and that the army must either "have passed under the Caudine forks or been exterminated."* In this state the Government Commission convoked, on the 1st July, an extraordinary assembly, to which were called all the Marshals of France, (except Davoust, absent on duty,) and several General Officers, as well of the line as of the artillery, and the members of the committees of the Chambers of Peers and Representatives. In this meeting it was unanimously decided by the military men, amongst whom Soult and Massena took the lead, that Paris was no longer tenable. Some members, however, of the House of Representatives, were of a different opinion; and demanded, that before any definitive judgment should be passed upon this important point, some further investigation should take place, and information be obtained. Accordingly it was resolved, that, on the night following, there should be held, at the head-quarters at la Vallette, a Council of defence, in which Davoust, then War Minister and also Commander in chief, should preside, and at which *all* the Marshals of France who were *then* in Paris,† and the Lieutenant Generals commanding the different corps of the army, were commanded to attend. The result of the deliberations of this assembly was, that Paris could no longer be defended. Accordingly it was impossible any

* Carnot's memorial or defence, 1815. † Do. do.

longer to defer taking a decisive course; and on the 2d July, a special commission, which was entrusted to M. Bignon, who held, ad interim, the *port folio* of foreign affairs, General Guilleminot, chief of the general staff of the army, and the Count de Bondy, Prefect of the department of the Seine, was directed to proceed to the English and the Prussian Generals.—These had it in charge from the Provisional Government, "to propose a convention *purely military*, for the delivery of the city of Paris into their hands, *without taking into consideration any political question*, since we could not," said Carnot, "form any opinion of the intention of the allies, when they should be concentrated."* Yet every one of these men concerned in this capitulation, had afterwards the hardihood to assert that it was both a military and a political convention. Such was their opinion, because it suited their interests and their safety; and, therefore, they were to be allowed to be right in what they thought upon the subject, and all else wrong who thought differently. Accordingly a purely military convention was entered into, by which it was agreed that an armistice should take place. That the French army should evacuate the capital, and in ten days retire behind the Loire, carrying with it all its *Materiel*. The capital was to be completely evacuated in three days; and, by the 6th, the city and all its fortifications to be placed wholly in the power of the allies. Public and private property, except what belonged to war, was guaranteed. The national guard was to do the duty of the city; and no person was to be troubled by the allied commanders, in their offices or for their political opinions. If hostilities were again to be resumed, ten days notice was to be given by either party. Thus fell Paris! and thus was completed the tremendous results of the battle of Waterloo! In three days after it the French Emperor terminated his political life; and, in fifteen days, those banners which were once denounced by him to be buried in the sea at Lisbon, were, in conjunction with the eagles of Prussia, waving in triumph over the once haughty, still guilty, but now humbled walls of Paris! She once more escaped the fate she merited. The prudence of a few, and the humanity of her conquerors, again rescued her from the indignant arm of Europe, and which

* Carnot's memorial or defence, 1815.

the policy of revolutionary madness would certainly have encouraged her to brave. Fortunately for her, it was, that this capitulation took place; for if it had been taken by storm, the exasperation of the Prussian troops was such, that they would not have left one stone upon another. Thus fell Paris; and with it, all the hopes of the enemy, and the sneers and ridicule of faction. The allies, said the Moniteur, calculate, that in two months campaign they will reach Paris. In two months! echoed the Morning Chronicle in its usual sneering manner—in two months—why, "we have been told that the allies *will march to Paris in a month*, and that one campaign will finish the business. But if this prediction should fail them as completely as all their prophecies of Bonaparte's overthrow by internal disaffection, what will become of the confederacy? and what of our own finances?"* In one month!—how arrogant such expectations!—yet fifteen days did the business; and less than one month's campaign rendered the confederacy triumphant, as well as our finances. In the midst of all this Bonaparte was totally forgotten. He had decamped and left Paris, after having secured property to a great amount. No person gave themselves any concern about him. He whose name once filled the world, and whom, only three weeks before, the Parisians followed as a superior being, was reduced to a private situation; while none regarded him, and many were afraid to own him. He had, however, decamped, and took the road to the coast, as we shall by and by see more at length. The conduct of the Parisians, at this moment, was silly and disgraceful. They were without an object to fix either their courage or regard—they cared for no one, and no one seemed to care for them. Revolutionary mania had worn out their energy, and tyranny had debased them; they were the ready tools of any party; yet tools which could render them no service in the hour of danger. In general, they beheld without concern the humiliation, which had overtaken them. They thought not either on their guilt or their punishment. It was blended together; and they would not take the trouble to separate it. They had not time to spare for that important and useful purpose. Their levity and thoughtlessness alone remained. The sight of the Prussian

* Morning Chronicle, June 9th, 1815.

eagle, or the tri-coloured flag, waving over the heights of Montmartre, created equal concern and called forth equal admiration. Nay, when the advance of the allied army, through fields of blood, would have made any other nation either march to resist or call out for mercy, they were differently employed. "On each side," said the Paris Journals, "the disposition of the troops appeared to be finished—the line was formed opposite to each other—we expected they would come to blows,"—when "many persons from *curiosity* went to the heights of Chaillot, from whence they could plainly perceive the French and the enemy's camp; every one had his telescope."* There they enjoyed the delectable scene with transport, which every other people would have beheld with anger or with sorrow. They had not time to reflect on the matter in this light.

While these things were going on in Paris, and the allies were preparing to occupy the capital, the Chambers continued to meet and to deliberate. On the 4th they received a message from the Government, announcing the capitulation of the city, and informing them, "that they had tried in vain to struggle against the torrent; our efforts," said they, "have been impotent; our means of defence exhausted;" in consequence of which they had concluded the capitulation, by which they had sacrificed neither the principle of political administration, nor of the French arms." In return the Chambers passed a vote of thanks, approving of the conduct of Government, thanking the army and the national guard, declaring that they would continue to attend to their wants, that they relied on their courage and fidelity, and intrusted the protection of the national independence and banners to their care. The Provisional Government next issued an address to the nation on these events. In this they laid before them, that in the difficult circumstances in which they were placed, it was found impossible to *master the course of events;* and that consequently it became their duty to defend the interests of the people and the army, "equally compromised in the cause of a Prince, abandoned by fortune, *and the national will.*" That it became their duty to save the capital from the horrors of a siege, and to stop the effusion of blood. No means of defence, that their resources

* Paris Journal, July 3d, 1815.

and time would allow, had been neglected; but all were unavailing. They relied upon the declarations of the Sovereigns of Europe, that their liberty and interests would not be sacrificed to victory. They were certain to receive guarantees, which would prevent "those alternate and temporary triumphs of factions," that had agitated them for twenty-five years; which would terminate their revolution; and "confound in a common protection all the parties to which it had given birth, and all those which it had combated." They informed them that peace was necessary for their commerce, "for the *amelioration of their manners*," and the "*development* of their remaining resources;" and, finally, bade them rely on the intentions of Europe, whose repose and happiness were closely connected with theirs. The House of Representatives continued to busy themselves with a new Constitution, similar to the English bill of rights. The last Constitution had lived its day. Napoleon I. was gone. Napoleon II. was forgotten; and each person now, as twenty-five years before, had his theory and Constitution to propose. One author, as early as the 25th July, presented a copy of a new Constitution to the assembly; and informed them, that he was sorry that he could not give each member a copy, but that those who wished them would be supplied at the *Palais Royale*. Similar plans were daily brought forward, some excited murmurs others laughter.—The one now to be narrated claimed their serious consideration. In this the Chamber declared, that "the Government of France, *whoever may be its chief*, ought to comply with the wishes of the nation legally expressed;" and that "a monarch cannot offer a guarantee if he does not swear to observe the Constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people." They declared that it could not be a Government which depended upon "*the acclamations of a party;*" and who would not adopt the national colours, and guarantee "the liberty of the citizens; the equality of civil and political rights; the liberty of the press; the liberty of worship; the irrevocability of the sale of the national property; the inviolability of property; the abolition of tythes, and of *the old and new hereditary nobility* and feudality." These and a number of other things similar, but frequently before mentioned, were

declared essentially necessary to form a French monarch.—This declaration was ordered to be sent to the Chamber of Peers on the 5th, after which Garat moved that the proclamation of Louis XVIII. should be read, "*Break up the sitting,*" was the cry of many, "wait for the Government message," said others,—"and if it should not come?" said many voices. Great noise succeeded this, when it was stated that the President announced an adjournment. The tumult increased. Some members wished to go away—cries of "*Ushers! shut the doors,*" resounded on all sides. Two secretaries were ordered to proceed to the Thuilleries, to learn if any message was coming from the Government. At eleven at night the secretaries returned, and M. Badoch informed them that Fouche had gone to the head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington, and was not returned, consequently no message could be received till to-morrow. At the Thuilleries, said he, we saw Count Pontecoulant, who said that the allied Sovereigns, and in particular the Emperor Alexander, was animated with the best disposition. That they did not "*desire to oppose us in the form of a Government;*" and, that, with regard to the reports of intended disturbances, they had nothing to fear; as Marshal Blucher was determined to maintain order. The assembly adjourned till the following day. Next day, the 6th, being again assembled, the new Constitution was produced, read, and the discussion begun, when Dupont interrupted it by what he stated, as a motion of the highest importance, namely, that the declaration, already noticed, should "be sent to the allied monarchs."—"The allies will enter Paris to-morrow," said a member, "let your deputation go first to Lord Wellington and Marshal Blucher." *(Murmurs.)* Dupont, La Fayette, Ramond, Lafette, and General Sorbier, were appointed the deputation. The discussion then continued. Plots and disturbances were apprehended; but, they were assured, that the Government, and Massena, who was the commander of the national guards, were acquainted with and proposed to frustrate these. At eight in the evening the debate continued. A message was sent to the Government to take into consideration the means to pay the army, without which it was supposed the troops would not leave Paris. Before proceeding to consider the new Constitu-

tion, a member moved that the statue of Napoleon, placed above the President's chair, should be *removed;* and that the tri-coloured flag should be substituted in its place. Cries of *supported* was echoed through the hall. The order was immediately executed in part. The statue was removed, but instead "of the tri-coloured flag, *a scarf was substituted.*" M. de la Fayette, one of the commissioners who had been deputed to the allied Sovereigns, then appeared, and informed them of the result of their mission; and that, he could assure them, these Sovereigns had no intention to interfere with the form of their Government. He also informed them, that, throughout their journey, the public spirit in the departments was conformable to their last declaration; and that he and the others who were absent, when it was adopted, fully acquiesced in it. The discussion on the new Constitution then commenced. Manuel, the reporter, in the name of the committee, presented the analysis of its labours, and the system which it had produced. "Men," said he, "are not a sufficient guarantee for States; a durable security can only be found in institutions." He then proceeded to state, "that France, for twenty-five years, had been the victim of factions and despotism," and that in institutions alone she could seek an asylum against the disorders and abuses to which she had been a prey. He informed them, that a Constitutional monarchy was alone applicable to France, because a "*republic might seduce elevated souls;*" and that "such a form of Government, did not suit a great people in the present state of their societies." The division of the Legislative power into two Chambers, was just and necessary; but the establishment of a hereditary Peerage offered many obstacles. Their opinion, that the suppression of ancient and new nobility, was necessary, is already given. Monarchy, however, *required* such an institution; and, the committees were therefore of opinion, that they ought to be hereditary, and unlimited in number, in order to be a just counterpoise against the influence of the Crown and the people. A strong guarantee for the liberty of the subject, was, that no Sovereign, nor presumptive heir to the crown, was to be allowed to command the armies; and another was, that "no Officer was to be deprived of his rank without a previous judgment." The abolition of the slave trade was

also an article in the Constitution. M. Manuel then read the Constitution, article by article; and when he came to the 14th of chap. 2d, which related to the oath to be taken by the Sovereign, a member arose, and very properly observed, "that he should take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution of 1815, as it was *impossible to know what might happen in ten years.*" This observation excited much tumult: it was a severe satire and bitter rebuke upon the conduct of the French nation, and could not be very agreeable to many in that assembly. The King's guard was henceforward to be composed of Frenchmen. No Sovereign was to be allowed to cede any part of the French territory, or incorporate any conquered from other nations, without the consent of the Chambers, which it, no doubt, would not have been difficult to obtain; and they considered the consent of no other nation necessary. The prerogative of pardoning, vested in the monarch, occasioned some discussion; but it was at last agreed that it would be improper to interfere with or limit it. The question, that it should not be lawful to erect any statue to the Sovereign, while living, was considered of such importance, that, upon the motion of M. Flaugergues, it was remitted back to the committee. The article relating to granting subsidies to foreign powers by the Sovereign, appeared to the committee to be attended with as much inconvenience as allowing him the power to declare war without their authority. No interference was to be made with the civil list, as that belonged to the Sovereign alone. Next day the Chamber again assembled by eight o'clock in the morning. The new Constitution continued to be the object of their attention. The article relating to nobility occasioned a long discussion, in which M. Deshayes observed, that whenever the French wanted to obtain liberty, in their eagerness, they were sure to go beyond their object. M. Sawzey "proposed to try, first of all, a peerage for life; and, if that did not answer, they might then make it hereditary." This, after two consultations, was, however, accounted doubtful; and the further consideration was deferred till the following day; the Chamber then received from the Provisional Government a message informing them that they had been deceived with regard to the assurances of the allied monarchs, that they would not interfere with the internal government; be- "cause their Ministers and Generals had declared yesterday, in

the conferences they have had with the President of the Commission (Fouche) that all the Sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. upon the throne," and that he was immediately to enter that capital. "Foreign troops," continued they, "have occupied the Thuilleries; and as they considered their deliberations no longer free, they consequently conceived it their duty to separate." Falsehood, it would thus seem, continued to be the order of the day with this government of the revolutionary school, to the last moment of their existence. The allied Sovereigns had neither engaged to restore nor support Louis XVIII. on the throne of France. What the conduct of France might force them to, was another question. Foreign troops indeed occupied the capital, as by the convention and conquest they had a right to do; but these troubled not their heads about their government. It was not for that they had come to Paris. The restoration of their legitimate Sovereign, to his throne, was, no doubt, the wish of all; as the best security for the repose of Europe. The retreat of the Provisional Government proceeded from another cause, as we shall presently notice. When the reading of the above message was finished, silence, for a while, ensued; and the members seemed to consult together. Manuel then came forward, and said, that as they had foreseen that event, he called upon them to remain at their post—"let us say," said he, "that we are Representatives of the people; and that we will not quit the place but at the point of the bayonet." *Bravo! Bravo!* Yes, yes! arose from all parts of the assembly. It was moved to put the motion to the vote; but, notwithstanding their *bravos*, it was not supported. The assembly was then informed that the pay of the army was not only secured for July, but for August also; but which had not been obtained without "great sacrifices." M. Durbach, then moved that a new Council of government should be formed with the ministers; but General Carnot answered, that the ministers were at that moment employed in placing the archives and important papers in safety. The members then began to disperse, after passing to the order of the day upon the message; the President of the government announcing at the same time, that the sitting was adjourned till the 8th, at eight in the morning. It was, however, rendered unnecessary.

"The gates of my kingdom at last open before me," said Louis XVIII. Yes, the arm of Wellington broke asunder the bars, and levelled the ramparts which opposed him. Immediately after the battle of Waterloo, he left Ghent, accompanied by other members of his family, and by Talleyrand, Marmont, Clarke, and other attendants, and advanced into France. On the 28th, he entered Cambray, where he was received with every mark of respect. From that place he addressed a proclamation to the French nation, in which he informed them, that he was returned a second time to bring back "his misled subjects" to their duty, "to mitigate the calamities of war; and to throw himself between the allied and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which he was the object, might tend to their preservation." He acknowledged that his government might have committed *errors*, but none with an evil intention. "Experience, however," said he, "alone can teach; it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish." He reminded them of the sufferings which they had endured, and of the designing and malicious calumnies raised against him by his enemies, with regard to the sales of national property, which he had confirmed, and never intended to violate. He promised to choose from "*among all Frenchmen*," those who should approach himself and his family; and to exclude none therefrom, "but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe." He promised to pardon misled persons; but, in consequence of the blood of his people, which had been shed by the march of treason, without example, "he owed it to the dignity of his crown, to the interest of his people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. These shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble." Such, said he, are the sentiments which I bring among you, whom time has not been able to change, nor calamities, fatigue, or injustice, made to stoop."* From Cambray, the King proceeded towards the capital, every where greeted by the people. On the 7th, he arrived at St. Denis. There he issued an order, dissolving both Chambers of the Legislature, assembled under

* Proclamation, Cambray, June 28th. Countersigned. Talleyrand.

the government of Bonaparte. Also another, restoring to their places and posts all those who occupied official situations on the 1st of March preceding. General Desolles was declared commander of the national guards of Paris, and directed to take measures to close the meetings of the assemblies. This he accordingly did. On the 8th, the King entered his capital. It was the approach of the King which made the Provisional Government think it high time to separate; and, not as they said, the alteration of the sentiments of the allied Sovereigns. Preparations had been made, from the preceding day, to receive his Majesty; and great crowds went out to meet him. He was, said the accounts from Paris, welcomed with greater acclamation than on the preceding year. The white cockade was universally hoisted—the white standard displayed, and cries of *Vive le Roi*, were now the occupation of the surrounding multitudes. It is needless to repeat more of this mode of reception. The world is sick of French cries of *Vive le Roi, Vive le Empereur, la Nation, la Liberte*, all equally ready; and time, by deeds, not professions, must henceforth shew the world which is the real sentiments of Frenchmen; at present many of them certainly cannot tell which they most approve; and others will cry any thing, merely for the pleasure of doing so. At the barrier of St. Denis the King was met by Count Chabrol, prefect of the department of the Seine, accompanied by the Municipal body, who addressed him in name of his companions, in a speech of considerable length. He recalled to his memory that 100 days had then passed away since his Majesty left his capital, "amidst tears and consternation." He declared that the good city of Paris raised its voice in vain, as faithful subjects, to avert this dreadful calamity. "There are moments," said he; "when Heaven does not permit the voice of magistrates to be heard." Such were these, when no exertions on their part could "prevent an error which has proved so fatal. Heaven is overcharged with vengeance," said the speaker, "and returns you only to pardon us." He then proceeded to state, that peace would be the consequence: that France, imitating the capital, would rally round her legitimate Sovereign: that faction would be vanquished, passion tranquillized; and that from henceforth, all the "*great family*" would approach

him with "only one rallying cry—*Vive le Roi, Vive Louis XVIII. Vive les Bourbons!* This speech was accompanied by the general acclamation of the multitude; and the King informed him, in answer, that he had left Paris with regret and sorrow—that its sentiments of fidelity had reached him—that "he returned with *emotion*," that he had foreseen the misfortunes which was to come upon them; and that it was his wish to prevent and repair them. The procession then proceeded through the Boulevards, to the Thuilleries, where the King alighted, and took up his abode in that palace, the scene of so much grief and affliction to his family, and which many had expected he would never again see, and very few that it could take place so soon. In the evening the city was illuminated; and songs, dances, and rejoicings, continued to a late hour. But these things were nothing new in Paris. A change of government seemed indeed to have become necessary, in order to afford them amusement.

I have been the more particular in these details, in order that we might see and appreciate the principles of the French nation; and to judge with what ease they can justify, and with what facility they can adopt any change. I have lengthened them beyond due bounds, in order that we might contemplate the last public exhibition of that revolutionary flame which had laid Europe waste, and torn up social order from its foundations. The spirit, we must observe, remained the same; but the nerve was shaken. As confused and as obstinate as ever, they would have abused the power which they coveted, and returned like the dog to his vomit, had not the principles that opposed them been different, and had not the indignant arm of assembled Europe stretched the sword of Justice over their heads. No doubt, we shall be told that Europe and France have derived benefits from the actions of these men. Doubtless she has; but no thanks to them, nor their theories, nor their speculations. It is because the futility and folly of these are completely exposed, that France and Europe have derived advantage therefrom; but this advantage has been dearly bought, and much more might have been gained by safe and gentle means. Fortunate it is for mankind, that a Being of infinite power and unerring wisdom controls and directs the affairs of this world.

He can draw good out of evil, and make even the wrath of man redound to his praise. From the galling and odious tyranny of Napoleon, arose the flame of freedom; but no thanks to his actions or intentions for it. His evil passions, and the unbridled ambition of the nation which he ruled, carried the measure of iniquity as far as it could go; till the rod, wielded by mortal strength, became exhausted, broke in the hand which applied it, and produced the re-action which overturned him who used it. France may be a mightier nation, from the dissemination of property amongst a greater number of people; but no thanks nor justification is due to those who, to gratify their own malice, avarice, and ambition, took the life of the lawful owner to obtain it. France is perhaps wiser—she may enjoy more freedom (though this is a point extremely questionable, and, at all events, never was the case from the murder of Louis XVI. to the recal of Louis XVIII.)—so she ought—she has paid most dearly for it, and it would be extraordinary if the experience of twenty years of carnage and crimes should be lost on 26,000,000 of people. It is not lost; and the first proof of it is their returning again, as near as possible, to that state from whence they set out; with the exception, no doubt, of some of its abuses being wiped away by that flood which carried away every thing in its course; but all of which abuses gentle means would have corrected, without the violence that has been used to obtain the end. It is no justification of an action that because good results from it, therefore it may be compassed by evil means. The principal actors in the revolution were men of this stamp; while the majority were men of such principles as they could not pursue a praise-worthy end by means that were good. They followed evil for the sake of evil; and the consequences were, that amongst themselves their own system returned upon their heads as their punishment, and they were caught in the snares that they laid for others. The survivors were not men who regarded liberty or justice, though these were constantly on their lips. If they had been so, they would not have recalled Napoleon to establish it. Their exertions proceeded from a principle of fear and hatred against that family, whom their guilty consciences daily taught them that they had most cruelly and unjustly oppressed and persecuted. These were the

men, and these were the principles which brought round the fresh and extraordinary revolution in France; and who, as they commenced their career in madness and fury, so they were determined to terminate it amidst measures of weakness and folly. In considering the termination of this drama, it would seem as if Heaven, in anger, had brought round the events we contemplated, not only to inflict severe chastisement upon France, who had proved herself ungrateful for the mercy formerly shewn to her; but at the same time to hold up the last remnant of those who had survived the revolutionary storms, and who were generally supposed less guilty and more moderate, to the contempt and scorn of the universe. After having had twenty Constitutions formed, from the extreme of liberty to the extreme of despotism, they destroyed that which brought them peace and forgiveness, and which Europe could alone trust. On its ruins they made a new one, with Napoleon at its head, which was to secure their happiness within, and peace abroad; which was to be their pole star in all storms, and which they were never to desert; but, in adversity, to cling closer to both. The battle of Waterloo terminated the political life of each. The son was declared his successor—he was proclaimed—he was abandoned. His interests could not be put in competition with the interests of 26 millions of men. Carnot, and the other long distinguished and staunch friends of liberty, as they had been generally called, shewed, at this moment, what they really sought after—Power. They were in place, and wished to preserve it; and he and many others of his party, after recalling Napoleon, for the glory and honour of France, got clear of him for the same reason. Instead, however, of restoring a republican form of government, as their associates supposed, they continued the Imperial, under which, in the hands of a minor, they could govern the nation. Thus ended the boasted consistency of those friends of liberty, like their predecessors of the same school. Their conduct made the Jacobins suspicious and distrustful, when they saw those whom they had always considered as their best friends, desert them and their cause. The consequence was, their system was overthrown. The allies approached Paris—no time was to be lost. A new Constitution was brought forward; all declared

that it was excellent, because it was qualified with this condition, that it was to be accepted by the Sovereign, "*whoever he might be.*" Louis XVIII. appeared, and this Constitution was no more. France accepts another, and the revolutionists hide their heads; let us hope for ever. Yet, ere they did so, they were destined, from their own lips, to deny all their former doctrines, which first brought them into notice; and, after having sworn hatred to all Kings and monarchical forms of government, they were compelled to declare that such a government was only adapted to the situation of France, as the souls of the people were so elevated, that they were *seduced* by a republican form, to do what—why, surely to commit excesses, and to do evil. All these things were done with so much celerity, that the mind can scarcely follow or comprehend them. They were all done to guarantee the glory and the interests of France; which for the future, let us hope will be different from European slavery, because hitherto there has been no distinction; nay, every Constitution France has received, for twenty-five years, was the signal for battle, and the war whoop of ambition, in his aggressive career against the independence and prosperity of Europe.

The levity of the French character could not, in these distracted moments, refrain from turning the memorials of their former institutions, and badges of their former rulers into ridicule. When Dumolard came to the place where the Chamber of Representatives were accustomed to meet, and found the place shut, by the King's order, he vociferated, said the Journal de Paris, as he was wont to do in the Tribune, crying against despotism and tyranny. He demanded to be admitted, but the porter refused, and sat, cooly, smoking his pipe in the presence of the enraged Deputy. The spectators laughed at his pathetic exclamation of, "*France is lost!* and comforted him by assuring him that she was found again at St. Denis; and they cooly advised the frantic member to retire to Rochfort, where he might rejoin the worthy founder of liberty."* Lapelletier, who wanted, only a few weeks before, to decree Bonaparte the Saviour of his Country, was found with a white cockade in his hat the day the King entered Paris. "On the 20th of March

* Paris, July 9th.

last," said the same Journal, "the shopkeepers of the Rue Vivienne, St. Honore, of the Palais Royale, &c. hastened, by means of *water colours*, to cover their signs of the *fleur de lys*, the royal crown and arms; to day those who have since adopted the Imperial arms, *are eager* to perform the same operation, *only the colouring is of oil.* Many remark," continued they, "that the tri-coloured flag placed over the House of Peers is almost *become white*, from the action of the sun which has made the blue and red colours singularly *pale*."* In this manner did the Parisians continue to divert themselves with these things they had formerly worshipped.

Having now carried Lord Wellington and Blucher to Paris, and seated Louis XVIII. again on the throne, with as much rapidity as he was driven from the same, it is now time to turn our attention to the operations of the allies in the other parts of France. These had also been important and successful; and at any other period than after the battle of Waterloo, with the events which we have just related, would have claimed the greatest attention and merited the applause of Europe. Although the whole of the Russian army was not yet arrived and in line, yet the accounts of the battle of Waterloo determined the allies to enter France at this point, and animated them to the utmost exertions. In their advance they had nothing to dread from any force which the enemy could assemble, on their right wing, as before the defeat of Bonaparte would have been the case; while, on the other hand, the advance of Blucher and Wellington, into France, rendered it necessary that they should advance, in order to draw the attention of any troops which might otherwise assemble on the Moselle and towards Rheims, and prevent these from harassing or endangering the rear of the latter. To this they were solicited by both Blucher and Wellington; who had requested Prince Schwartzenberg to cause Marshal Wrede to advance rapidly.† Including all the Russian force, I have already shewn, that from the environs of Thionville to Manheim, and from thence to Basle, nearly 470,000 men, of the finest troops in Europe, lined that frontier, ready to pass the Rhine at a moment's notice. This mighty

* Paris, July 7th, 1815.

† Stewart's dispatch, Saarebourg, July 3d.

force was stationed, and had the line of its operations marked out, in the following manner. Prince Wrede, with the Bavarians, which formed the advance of the Russian army, was to advance from Saarguimines, by Chateau Salines, to Nancy, or otherwise as circumstances might require. Count Langeron's corps of Russians, was destined for the blockade of Metz, Thionville, Pfalsbourg, and Bitsche. Part of the garrison of Mayence, consisting of 4000 Bavarians, with some Austrian battalions and the 3d corps de armee, under the direction of the Archduke Charles, were destined to blockade Landau and Strasburgh. The division of Count Walmoden assisted by the 3d corps, was to occupy the Quiesch and the lines of Wiessembourg and Lauterburg, and the communications between these corps and the Bavarian army, was to be constantly kept up, as well as with the corps on their left. The Russians were directed to take charge of constructing the bridges at Oppenheim and Manheim, and the Bavarians that of Germershiem, and the 3d corps that at Fort Louis. Some battalions of Wirtemberg troops were destined to blockade Scheletstadt; and General Count Hochberg, with General Volkman and some Darmstadt and Baden troops, were to invest New Briesach. The left column of the army, under the command of the archduke Ferdinand, and consisting of the 1st and 2d corps de armee, with the reserve, were to throw bridges over the Rhine at Grensach, on the night of the 25th to the 26th, and to move on Basle and occupy it. This force was entrusted with the dispositions against General Lecourbe. The two first corps were to push on towards Nancy, the one by Remiremont and Espinal, and the other by Luneville. The 1st corps was to march upon Langres, and to it was to be left the blockade of Belfort and Huninguen. For the latter fortress eight battalions of the regiment of Colleredo, under General Watzel, were appointed. Two battalions of Austrians, one battalion of Wirtembergers, and two battalions of Kisers Cheveaux Legers, under General Cullenberg, were to act against Belfort. The chief command of the blockade of these places was to be entrusted to the Archduke John. The head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg were to march by Hagenau, Mutzig, and Luneville, to Nancy. The forces which the enemy had to

oppose, these were Lecourbes corps and reserves at Besancon, Rapps corps complete at Strasbourg, and a corps under Belliard on the Moselle, the strength of which is unknown. The force was, therefore, considerable, amounting to perhaps 80 or 90,000 men, besides strong garrisons in all the fortified towns, such as Huninguen, New Brisach, Belfort, Schelestadt, Landau, Strasbourg, Pfalzbourg, Bitche, Metz, and Thionville, besides numerous free corps and national guards; still, however, these forces were very much inferior to the force brought against them.

Such was the dispositions of this mighty force. These not yet arrived on the Rhine, but known to be near at hand, were directed to follow as fast as possible. Before letting slip the dogs of war, Prince Schwartzenberg issued a proclamation addressed to the French nation, in which he informed them, that after the disasters of the dark ages having been produced by the ambition of one man, and put down by the united indignation of Europe, that she had it in her power to have "exercised a just retribution upon France," which she had, however, forborne, and that, because France had thrown off Napoleon Bonaparte as the cause of all her woes; that, therefore, "the spoilation of so many countries, the death of millions of brave men, who fell on the field of battle, or victims of the scourges inseparable from war, all were buried in oblivion." That, therefore, her astonishment and indignation was proportionate to find Napoleon again in France, and that she had again arisen as one man to put him down; and Europe would never again allow France, by choosing such a chief, to disturb her "repose,"—which repose, all were sensible, they never could enjoy, while France was ruled by Napoleon. "Already on the plains of Brabant," continued he, "heaven has confounded this criminal enterprise," and told them that peace and security henceforth, depended upon themselves, for every one who supported him Europe would consider as her enemies."* Barclay de Tolli followed in the same strain. He told them Europe in arms had come to inform them that, in their "declaration of the 13th March last, they had not spoken in vain." That she had, and never could have any amicable relations with the man

* Schwartzenberg's proclamation, June 23d, 1815.

who pretended to govern her. The army of the North, on the 18th of June, he said, might convince them that the power which raised and supported him tottered, and "we," said he, "are marching to convince you of it in our turn." God, justice," continued he, "and the wishes of all nations second us;"—come, therefore, "and meet us;" for the happiness and repose of all the nations, marching to combat you, are inseparately connected with yours."* This vast force, collected from the extremity of Europe, passed the Rhine at all points; and like a mighty wave swept over the Vosges mountains, with irresistible force, inundating the banks of the Marne and the Seine, and sweeping before it all resistance. Saarguimines was carried by storm and with trifling loss. Saarbruck shared the same fate. It was defended by a General Menege with some cavalry and 400 peasants, the enemy lost 100 men. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg passed the Quiesch, on the morning of the 25th, without resistance. The Mayors of all the places had orders to cause a general rising of the people, but they refused to resort to a measure which might prove so fatal to them. The fortress of Bitsche was summoned, but the Governor refused to surrender being determined to defend the place. Continuing to advance with the utmost rapidity, on the 25th Marshal Wrede received a message from General Belliard, making fresh propositions for an armistice, to which no attention was paid. On the same day he arrived in the neighbourhood of Nancy, when a deputation from the town came to assure the General of their good will to the allied troops, and that they were ready to give him the most favourable reception. They were accordingly received with cries of "*Vivent les Bourbons!—Vivent les Allies.*" On the right of Prince Wrede, General Chernicheff, with 4000 men, communicated between General Lambert, the Bavarians, and Marshal Blucher. On the left of the Moselle, between Metz and Lougrion, he fell in with a force of 3000 French troops with some artillery, which he attacked and drove back to Metz, and pushing on to Chalons he made himself master of that place after a brilliant affair. One division at first entered the town by con-

* Barclay de Tolli's proclamation, June 23d, 1815.

sent of the inhabitants, but these were no sooner got in than the enemy closed the gates, and attacked them, whereupon the party dashed forward to the Paris gate, and succeeded in extricating themselves from the unexpected danger. In the meantime, Chernicheff, irritated at this base conduct, advanced with the main body of his force, brought forward some cannon, and battering down the gate, entered at the head of his troops and dispersed the enemy's force assembled in the place, which was treated with great severity, as they had commenced the attack upon the allied troops, after having opened the gates to them. Blockading Toul, and throwing bridges over the Moselle, Marshal Wrede continued to advance towards Paris, in the neighbourhood of which he soon afterwards arrived without much further opposition. On the side of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, however, the opposition was more serious. On the 26th he forced the enemy to abandon a position he had taken up between Setz and Sarrbourg, and to retire through the forest of Hagenau. Continuing to press the enemy under General Rapp, an obstinate engagement took place on the 29th, in which the former was defeated with considerable loss, and pursued under the guns of Strasbourg, into which place he entered, and the blockade of which was quickly begun. Here Rapp was shut up, with a force of, at least, 35,000 men;"* and, according to the accounts in the German Journals, watched by a force of about 50,000. The French lost many prisoners, and five pieces of cannon. The Austrian, Baden, and Wirtemberg, troops rivalled each other in courage. Here, as soon as his corps was relieved by the Austrians, the Prince Royal commenced his march upon Luneville and Nancy; and, continuing his advance, came in contact with the army under Prince Ferdinand; their united forces forming a mass of 200,000 men.

It is almost impossible to detail, or to bring into any connected form, the numerous skirmishes which took place between the advance of the allied armies and the retreating enemy, and the different engagements which took place between them and the garrisons of the fortified towns, in which the allies were generally successful, and in which a very considerable loss of men

* Brooke Taylor's dispatch, July 6th. In page 218, his force is estimated at 50,000, exclusive of the garrison of National Guards.

was sustained on both sides. Crossing the Rhine in vast force, and blockading the fortress of Pfalzbourg, the main body of the allied army pushed on through the defile of the Vosges mountains, on the great road from Strasbourg to Paris, but for some time advanced with great difficulty. To avoid the fortress, a road was made in the course of a few hours; and the guns and carriages were dragged by parties of soldiers up rocky steeps that appeared almost inaccessible; after which the army continued its march to Paris, without meeting with any serious obstacle to oppose its movements. On the morning of the 26th, the Archduke Ferdinand, with the force under his command, amounting, according to accounts from Basle, to 160,000 men, passed the Rhine at Basle; and pushing on through the defiles of Porentrui, he succeeded in separating the force under Lecourbe from that under Rapp; and after numerous engagements, in which the enemy lost a great number of men, Lecourbe was finally obliged to shut himself up in Befort. Betwixt Ferdinand's army and Lecourbe's, the severest fighting took place. On the 28th Count Colloredo attacked the French rear-guard, and drove it before him with much loss, and took many prisoners. The Austrian loss was 300 killed and wounded. On the 2d Colleredo took the town and citadel of Montbeillard by assault; 7 guns and a great number of prisoners fell into his hands. On the 28th an enemy's force, of 8000 infantry and 300 cavalry, were driven through Chavannes at the point of the bayonet. On the 1st Chevremont and Besencourt, were carried by assault; and 4000 men, with a detachment from the garrison of Befort, under Lecourbe, were driven from the heights of Beaumont. All the fortified towns were immediately invested; and the Archduke, with the disposable part of the troops remaining from those duties, continued his march upon Langres. All the armies continued their march towards Paris, and on the 14th Prince Schwartzenberg had his head-quarters at Fontainbleau; the allied Sovereigns, viz. the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, having, some days previous to that period, left the army, as soon as they heard of the capture of Paris, and the entry of Louis XVIII. into his capital, and proceeded to that place, where they arrived on the 9th. Some idea may be formed of the vast force of the

allies, which entered France in this direction, when it is known that the Austrian force disposable on the Upper Loire, exclusive of the armies from Italy, amounted to 100,000 men.* The advance of the main armies gave the numerous free corps assembled in Alsace and the Vosges mountains, opportunities to attack the line of the allied communication and carry off the baggage. But the continued advance of fresh troops, gave the allies an opportunity of organizing a sufficient force in moveable columns, which soon cleared the country of these maraiuders, who equally annoyed friend and foe; and whom the allies treated with great severity, as they exercised the greatest cruelties upon the allied troops who fell into their hands. In this difficult undertaking, the hardy and indefatigable Sons of the Don were employed; and whose perseverance soon ferreted out, and destroyed these troublesome bands. The disposition of a great part of the people of this part of France was, and had always been, most hostile and rancorous against the allies; and this hatred now showed itself in numerous instances, which brought down destruction on their heads. The villages of Hogentheim and Mulhausen gave the first example of the most shocking excesses. In the former, a German soldier, after having his eyes put out, was hung up alive. The most dreadful punishment followed upon the instant. The aged, the women, and the children, suffered with the wicked perpetrators. At Mulhausen, two soldiers were shot by a clergyman. His house was surrounded, and he was destroyed with it. Half a league from this, six hublans inquired at a boy in a farm-house, the name of the next village—instead of answering, the man was shot from his horse. The boy was immediately cut down by the side of his mother. Similar was the conduct of the people in this part of France, and similar was their punishment. Wherever the allied troops met with resistance from the country people, every thing was destroyed. "For six days," said accounts from that quarter, "the sky has been red every day with the flames of burning villages. Where a single shot is fired from them upon the allies, all is levelled to the ground. A dreadful judgment hangs over France—the crimes of preceding times are visited upon their descendants, who rival them in the commission of enormities." Indeed, in numerous instances, the French peo-

* Stewart's dispatch, Troyes, July 12th.

ple seem to have lost all sense of honour, justice, and regard for truth; and seemed to make these principles their sport. Such, at present, was the conduct of the garrison of Huninguen, and its infamous governor, Barbnegre. "Immediately after the abdication of Bonaparte became known," said General Bachman, in an official proclamation, "his generals immediately sent for a suspension of arms—they promised no hostile operations should be undertaken, while that demand was considered; and yet, while these communications were transmitted to the proper authorities, the French troops in Huninguen, without any reason, on the evening of the 28th, commenced the bombardment of Basle."* For this infamous conduct, he called upon the Swiss troops to arise and punish the authors of such injustice, and to put it out of the power of such an enemy to injure them. There was, indeed, no other way to deal with such lawless people; and if Huninguen had been razed to its foundations, and its garrison put to the sword, for such infamous conduct, it was no more than they deserved. It is only by the certainty of meeting with immediate and just retribution that such characters can be kept within the bounds prescribed by social order, or the law of civilized nations. Forgiveness for offences has no influence upon their obdurate hearts.

On the side of Italy, the career of Suchet was soon stopped. The arrival of the Austrian General, Frimont, with the Italian army, above 60,000 strong, quickly changed the face of affairs in that quarter. Passing Mount St. Bernard, he descended the Rhone to St. Maurice, and pushing forward, soon cleared all the South bank of the lake of Geneva. Bubna followed with a further force over Mount Cenis, and took the direction of Grenoble; while an army of Austrians, Piedmontese, and some English troops, were preparing to enter France by Nice, upon the shores of the Mediterranean. This completely tied up the hands of Marshal Brune, stationed in that quarter, and prevented him from sending any assistance to Suchet. It was at this moment that Suchet communicated to the Austrian General the unexpected news of the abdication of Bonaparte, and solicited an armistice, which was granted for twenty-four hours, upon conditions that he should evacuate the whole valley of the

* General Backman's official address, Basle, June 29th.

Arve.* On the same day, Geneva was occupied, and the enemy driven from the heights of Savonen with considerable loss. At the same time, General Bubna advanced from Mount Cenis, and, on the 29th, attacked the *tete-du-pont* of Arly, near Conflans, which the enemy held with 3000 men. The Sardinian General, Dandesaire, occupied the enemy's attention on his right; while General Frank, with the Austrian regiment, Duvas, carried the position of the *tete-du-pont* by assault. In this affair the Austrians lost 1000 men. The Piedmontese behaved with great bravery. Continuing his advance, the positions of Conflans and Le Hopital were forced, and the enemy driven out of them. At the latter place, the defence was very obstinate; the allies three times took it by assault, and were three times driven back, but, finally, succeeded. The position of Aguibella was turned; and, without sustaining any loss, the allied army forced the enemy to abandon it. An armistice was solicited and granted for only forty-eight hours, in consequence of which the Austrians occupied Montmelian, and the enemy Gregis, Tournouz, and Gily. At the same time, Suchet renewed with greater earnestness, his desire for an armistice; which General Frimont at last granted for three days, upon conditions that the enemy should give up the position of the Boges, the passage of the Rhone at Seissel, and abandon every post on that side, and retire upon Lyons with his army. Severe and humiliating as these conditions were, Suchet was forced to accept them. The armistice was not renewed, and the Austrian General immediately advanced upon Lyons. Fort l' Ecluse was taken. The fortified positions in the Jura mountains were abandoned by the enemy. The Austrian regiment of Esterhazy carried by assault a redoubt which commanded the high road from Geneva to Lyons, in which they took four guns, and one standard; considerable stores of all descriptions, also fell into their hands. General Frimont then continued his march upon Bourg en Bresse, where it was supposed Suchet would assemble his troops to oppose him. This, however, he did not find practicable, but fell back upon Lyons. There he issued a proclamation, stating his intention to defend Lyons to the utmost extremity. The Austrians quickly advanced, and put it in his

* Stewart's dispatch, Nancy. July 6th.

power to do so. On the 8th, 1200 Austrians entered Bourg le Ain; and, on the 9th, 25,000 more entered the same place, part of whom had come from Lons le Saulnier, and the rest by Nantua and Pont le Ain. All moved forward on Lyons, against which other columns were advancing from other directions. Some resistance was made against the advance of the Austrian troops, but without effect. Macon was taken after a sharp engagement on the 11th, and Lyons was thus left open to an immediate attack. Thus situated, Suchet first levied a contribution of 600,000 livres, upon the place, and then entered into a capitulation, by which Lyons was surrendered to the Austrians. On the 17th, their troops entered that place, from whence they pushed their advanced divisions up the Saone, and towards the Upper Loire. Suchet retired with his army upon Montresson and Raonne; but before doing so, he issued a proclamation to the army, calling upon them to pay no attention to "the evil disposed persons," whose aim was to "alarm and agitate" their minds. He reminded them that he would prove a friend and a father to them; and that, for seven years, he had "always led them to victory;" and called upon them in the true French style of non chalance, to recollect that, "in this short campaign, the little army of the Alps had beaten the enemy in every rencounter."* On the 6th, a severe attack was made upon Grenoble by 3000 Austrian and Piedmontese troops; which were, however, repulsed, with the loss of 500 men. An armistice was then concluded for three days, when the Austrians resumed their operations against the place. The inhabitants remained in the greatest state of alarm, as La Motte, who commanded, refused to surrender the town. While these events, which we have related, were going on at Lyons, the Swiss had joined the allies; and their army, amounting to 21,000 men,† occupied a position from Morteau to Pontarlier, with light troops advanced on their right and left, to St. Hypolite and Salins. Jourdan, who had been sent by the Provisional Government to assume the command at Besancon, and the troops in that quarter, sent, on the 11th, an *aid-de-camp* to the Swiss General, Castella, to inform him of the submission of Besancon to the King's authority, and requesting, in consequence, a suspension

* Suchet's proclamation, Caliure, July 12th.
† Colonel Leake's dispatch, Pontarlier, July 12th.

of arms between his forces and the Swiss army. This was granted, upon condition that the French corps stationed at Salins, should be withdrawn, in order to allow the Swiss troops to move forward.

From this moment, the events which took place in France, can scarcely be reduced to any regular order. The whole appears a mass of confusion, through which scarcely any light is afforded to conduct the inquirer on his way. The humbled pride of the French nation refused to tell what took place, and the policy of the allies had the same effect with regard to them. Seated, however, again in the Thuilleries, as he now was, Louis XVIII. did not find himself in an enviable situation, nor in that state of apparent tranquillity in which he found himself on the preceding year. The capital and the country remained in the most dreadful state of alarm and agitation. The army refused to submit for a considerable time; and even when they did so, they did it in a manner that left their intentions very doubtful, and confirmed the fact that they did it with the deepest regret. All, or nearly all the fortified places refused to acknowledge the King's authority; till pressed by the allied arms, and driven to the necessity of either surrendering or of being taken by assault; their commanders then, and only then, in many instances, hoisted the white flag, pretending they acknowledged the King, and making a merit of saying, they did not give up the place to a foreign enemy. This French trick, however, had, in most instances, no effect with the allies, but particularly with the Prussians. It was not the hoisting of a flag would satisfy them for their toil, their labour, blood, and danger; and, accordingly, they continued the sieges of the various frontier towns, till these were forced to surrender. In some instances, the places thus taken were surrendered to the King's authority, and in others were retained by the conquerors. Paris, from the time of the capitulation till the time of its complete evacuation by the French armies, continued in the most dreadful state of agitation and alarm. Soldiers, mad from disasters, which had for ever stopped the carreer of their destructive pursuits—disappointed politicians, whose golden dreams of power were vanished—incendiaries of all descriptions; profligates of every degree, for whom that capital had so long been

the centre, and with whom it was so fully peopled, were eager and anxious to commence any desperate undertaking, and plunge into fresh confusion and blood. Groups of people assembled in all quarters of the city, and its suburbs, and environs. Cries of rage, menacing gestures, threats of the most alarming description, cannon and musquets fired along the streets, the Boulevards, and from the bridges, filled the night with deeper horror, and the minds of the peaceable inhabitants with terror and alarm. The shops were shut—terror was at its height in the different quarters of the city. Nothing but the immediate presence of the allied troops in the environs of Paris, and ready to enter it, could have prevented this fury from exerting its strength in scenes of confusion and blood. At length the entrance of the allied troops gave some assurance that order would be maintained in the place. Nevertheless, that was a matter of great difficulty. An exasperated, profligate, and unprincipled population, such as a great number of the inhabitants of Paris were, and these too increased, by deserters and traitors of all ranks and degrees, both from the army and from the provinces, threatened Paris with the severest calamities. Every where the allied troops and officers were insulted and ill treated, in order to produce quarrels with men weary of life, and thirsting only for blood. The patience of the latter was soon worn out, many lives were lost in consequence, till the strongest measures were taken to repress this intentional audacity. The Prussian troops, as they were the foremost to be abused, were the first to resist and resent it. Their guards were augmented—their forces were stationed so as they could assemble in force at any given point, upon the shortest notice; and cannon, loaded with grape shot, were planted on the bridges and public places; where, by night and by day, the artillerymen stood beside the pieces, with lighted matches. In the places, however, where only the national guards were stationed, the most daring movements took place. These were either afraid or unwilling to repress the violence of the multitude. In consequence of which, the King and the Royal Family were daily insulted in the most bitter and seditious language, even in the palace of the Thuilleries, till the better classes of society were banished from the neighbourhood of the place. Amongst the other remarkable

devices with which those furies annoyed those whom they disliked, was one which could only be hatched in the monkey brain of revolutionary fury; this was in wounding individuals, and by cutting, and throwing aqua fortis, and ink, in large quantities, upon the clothes of all well dressed females who made their appearance there, in order to banish them from the place. Severe measures were, however, resorted to, and these disgraceful assemblies were scattered; yet, still, Paris continued the scene of confusion and alarm, on the one hand, and the most thoughtless pleasure on the other—one set thought only on mischief—another how they might contrive pleasures to kill time.

Immediately after his entrance into his capital, Louis XVIII. appointed a new ministry, at the head of which was Talleyrand; St. Cyr was made Minister of War, and Fouche Minister of Police. For this station, the character of the latter, in one sense, certainly peculiarly fitted him; but the appointment of this man, one of the keenest and most ferocious of all the revolutionists, who, after exercising in these bloody times every cruelty, and who, subsequently, had been long the tool of tyranny, excited one general mark of reprobation and regret throughout Europe. Europe could not forget that this was the man who declared that death was an eternal sleep—who went about, in a systematic manner, to corrupt and destroy the morality and religion of France, the bitter consequences of which all had felt: nor could she forget that, only three months before, he was the foremost to welcome the usurper, to accept power and place under him, and which had occasioned so much trouble and bloodshed. He may, as it is said he did, have betrayed his former master—he is capable of it. He may have rendered the Bourbons a service; but Europe could not be satisfied to see recalled to power men of this character, who would do any thing—whose principles had given her so much trouble, and occasioned her so much sorrow; and which, a second time, she had risen in arms to put down, and had put down. Of the secret which springs occasioned this proceeding, we are ignorant; but be these what they may, such things cannot make black white, nor evil good; and till these can do so, the massacres at Nantz, and the destruction of morality, must cover the head of Fouche with infamy, and his character with shame, though clothed in the richest folds of the Imperial

purple. The King also issued a decree, electing and convoking the new Legislative Bodies; the number of the Representatives for each house of which, were considerably augmented in numbers, beyond those which formerly composed the sebodies under him. But few acts of importance were directed by him for some time, except now and then proclamations concerning the affairs of the interior, which are not interesting to the general reader, as these concerned internal regulations, only interesting to the subjects of France. In the meantime, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, together with the King of Prussia, arrived at Paris, to which Lord Castlereagh, on the part of Great Britain; also set out, and where negotiations for the future repose and security of Europe were immediately set on foot. Fresh armies continued to arrive at Paris, and in the neighbourhood of that city; and fresh corps were daily advancing from Germany, Italy, and England, and entering the French territory on the North and East. On the South also, a very considerable Spanish force, amounting to 80,000 men, were assembled on the Eastern and Western confines of the Pyrenees, ready and eager to enter the French territory. The allies continued to advance their armies in all directions. Along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Austrian and Piedmontese troops occupied Marseilles; and, crossing the Rhone, spread themselves over, and occupied the surrounding districts. From Lyons, the troops of the same nation extended themselves to the banks of the Upper Loire, behind which Suchet retired with the remains of his army. The Swiss army kept the country in awe, from the Jura mountains to the Saone, and occupied the department of the Doubs. Lecourbe concluded an armistice with the Austrian General Colloredo, by virtue of which, he also retired to the left bank of the Loire, and both Befort and Besancon were occupied by the Austrian troops. The Grand army under Schwartzenberg, composed of Russian, Austrian, and Bavarian troops, covered all the country along the Marne, the Seine, and the Yonne; and extending themselves to the Loire, stretched from Orleans, along that river, to the point where they came in communication with the Austrian army from Italy. Westward, the Prussian army extended from Orleans to Tours and Nantz, and on both banks

of the Lower Loire; while the British, Hanoverian, and other troops under Wellington, extended themselves towards Britanny, and the coasts of the Channel, and also along the Seine, to its junction with the Ocean. Besides these forces, strong divisions of troops of all the allied nations were assembled in and around Paris; while numerous corps kept up the communications with Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and Switzerland; and formidable divisions blockaded, besieged, or garrisoned all the fortified places, either in the interior of those parts of France, or on the frontiers. The Cossacks promenaded round the environs, and in the streets of Paris; and the Prussians encamped around the Thuilleries, and in their most pleasant palaces; which they treated neither with reverence nor regard. Blucher even had the famous bridge of Jena mined, and the match kindled which was to blow it up; when the arrival of his Sovereign, and the Emperor Alexander, prevented it; as they were induced, at the intercession of the King of France, to request him to spare it. This, however, was only granted, upon condition that the name should be changed; and, accordingly, it was named the bridge of the Invalids. For this, the brave veteran was much censured, by all those who were tender of French humiliation. They maintained that the destruction of the bridge of Jena would not destroy the memory of that battle; of this there was no doubt; but the destruction of the monument raised to perpetuate that event, in the proud capital of the victors, might convince the inhabitants thereof that victories gained in wars of ambition may be most strictly and justly avenged.

In the meantime, one place after another continued to acknowledge the King, and submit to his authority. Amongst these, Marseilles and some of the cities in the South were the most prompt and decided. Severe commotions, however, accompanied with bloodshed, took place at Marseilles, as the people arose upon the garrison, and drove them out of the place, even before they had heard of the capture of Paris. Brune, however, returned with a stronger force, and again recovered possession of the place. The republican standard was displaced for the black flag, or covered with crape, as a mark of their sorrow for the events which had taken place, and their resolution never to submit to the Bourbons. The arrival, how-

ever, of a British force, under Lord Exmouth and Sir Hudson Lowe, consisting of 3000 men from the Garrison of Genoa, on the 10th July, freed Marseilles from all further uneasiness. They were received and welcomed by all ranks with great enthusiasm and loyalty. Brune, with all his adherents in that quarter, took refuge in Toulon; which advantageous post he still held. This important place, however, he was forced to give up; after various negotiations with the British Officers and the Marquis de Riviere, commanding these provinces in the name of the King. In all these, Republican bad faith was, as usual, most conspicuous. Every procrastinating effort was made, merely to deceive and gain time; but all proved ineffectual. The British troops moved forward from Marseilles, to prevent his retreat from Toulon; and, after trying every manœuvre, he was at last compelled to give himself up to the Marquis de Riviere, to be sent to Paris accompanied with one aid-de-camp. Toulon, the forts, and the fleets, under the direction of Admiral Gantheaume, then hoisted the white flag; but the soldiers, consisting of six regiments of the line,* did it with great reluctance. Thus Toulon was delivered from the tyranny of Marshal Brune; who had committed great excesses in levying contributions in the neighbourhood. In his way to Paris, this man, generally detested by the people in the South, was attacked by the populace at Avignon; and after being nearly murdered by them, he shot himself. His body was dragged forth by the enraged multitude, and treated with every indignity, placed on a hurdle, and thrown into the Rhone. It is said that Marshal Brune was the individual who carried the bleeding head of the Princess Lamballe through the streets of Paris upon a pike on the night of the fatal 2d of September, 1792.

Murat, who was at Toulon, sent, on the 13th, an aid-de-camp to Lord Exmouth, to request that, as King of Naples, he might be allowed to go on board one of the ships, in order that he might be conveyed to England. This was, however, refused; though he was offered an asylum on board any one in order to secure his personal safety. This, however, he declined, or, at least, did not accept; and, accordingly, when

* Hudson Lowe's dispatch, July 24th, 1815.

Toulon was given up to the King's authority, Murat, with some of his adherents, left the place, intending to proceed to Trieste to join his wife and family, and with her to proceed to America. But an evil destiny seemed to pursue him. The vessel in which he embarked was driven by stress of weather into Corsica, where he remained concealed for some time. At length he was heard of raising troops and engaging followers; and attracted the attention of the French Government so much, that he found his stay longer in that place impossible. He, accordingly, left it; and whether misled by friends or enemies, he engaged in a rash and disastrous enterprise. With a few small vessels, and a few hundreds of followers, he embarked for Italy; to reclaim, or rather to re-conquer, his former kingdom. Instead, however, of landing at Gacta, as he intended, and where, perhaps, he had friends waiting his approach, he was forced by contrary winds to disembark at Pezzo, with about 150 or 200 followers, from the vessel in which he himself was. Here he proclaimed himself as their lawful Sovereign, and called upon the inhabitants to obey him. He issued proclamations to the people stating, that he came back with the consent of Austria and other powers, and that his Queen and family were soon to join him. These documents were in the true French style, and deserve no notice. The people, however, instead of obeying, took up arms against him. He tried to escape, but in vain. He was arrested, with some of his followers, on the 8th October, the day on which he landed; instantly delivered over to a military tribunal, and condemned to death. On the afternoon of the 15th, himself and several of his companions, were led out and shot. Murat behaved with great fortitude, and refused to have his eyes bandaged. After his condemnation he wrote a very affecting letter to his wife, expressing the sorrow he felt at not having an interview with his family before being separated from them forever. With all his faults, these things must, at this moment, have wrung his heart; while the recollection of his brutal conduct to the murdered Duke d' Enghein must have appalled his soul. That foul deed was now visited on his head. Thus fell Murat; and thus terminated an enterprise, wherein we scarcely know which to wonder at most, the rashness or the folly of him who attempted it.

Lyons had been freed by the advance of the Austrians, notwithstanding the angry efforts of Monsieur Pons, who, before the accounts of the capture of Paris had reached that place, boasted and talked big. "Should Paris fall," said he, "France would not be conquered. Is not Lyons, as well as Paris, a bulwark of the Empire?"* This bulwark, however, proved but a feeble one against the Austrian arms. At Bourdeaux the loyal inhabitants of that place were kept in subjection by General Clauzel, who had "*a heavy force at his disposal.*"† This man was most obstinate in his opposition to the Bourbons. His conduct, when the Duchess de Angouleme was forced to leave that place, was such, that he could never expect any favour from that injured family; and of course he was determined to resist as long as he could, and till he could ensure some favourable terms for himself and his followers. He had enough to do, however, to keep his post. All the inhabitants of the country and in the town were decidedly loyal, and only the troops remained with him. These, however, were very numerous; and, according to the Moniteur, as has been already noticed, from La Vendee, South to the Pyrenees, where his command extended, amounted, in June, to 60,000 men. What part of these he had in Bourdeaux, at this moment, is uncertain, but we have already seen it was considerable. About the 15th of July, a squadron of British ships from the channel fleet, and under the command of Captain Aylmer of the Pactolus, having on board the Baron Montelambert and the Marquis de la Tour, entered the Gironde. This squadron had on board arms and ammunition for the loyal inhabitants. By the assistance of the people, these Officers succeeded in spiking all the cannon that obstructed their passage up the river, and which amounted to about 70 pieces, mostly 36 pounders. General Clauzel having learned the events at Paris, and knowing well the disposition of the inhabitants of the country around him, and those of Bourdeaux in particular, entered into negotiations with the French and British Officers, which ended in the white flag being hoisted on the castle of Bourdeaux, and over all the surrounding country.

* Pon's proclamation to the Lyonese upon abdication of Bonaparte.

† Aylmer's dispatch, July 24th, 1815.

For 70 miles up the river, from the sea, the loyalty of the people was sincere and conspicuous; and they hastened to complete a force of both cavalry and infantry, which in a short time was very formidable, both from their numbers and the spirit which animated it.* The troops under Clauzel left the place, and many of them broke up and returned to their homes. Thus Bourdeaux was cleared of the hosts of Bonaparte; and, in a short time, the worthy and respectable Mayor, M. Lynch, who was the first to hoist the white flag in France in 1814, returned to exercise his former functions, under a grateful Sovereign. The greatest joy, said the British officers employed in this expedition, prevailed in Bourdeaux, and all the surrounding country. "From the tops and branches of the trees, the country seats, the villages, every where, the white colours and the *fleur de lys* were to be seen."†

The warlike operations of prominent importance being now brought to a conclusion, it was seen, and contrary to those opinions so triumphantly and loudly expressed, how little able France was to withstand the mighty confederacy her conduct had raised against her. While it was supposed that the mighty combinations in the mind of their leader had crushed the plans of his antagonists, in embryo; and forwarded and established his own so sure, that he had only to march forward from victory to victory, over his disconcerted enemies, and with France rising as one man to support his cause; it was seen that less than one-fifth part of the strength and means of the coalition, had, not only in one day, at Waterloo, vanquished and annihilated fully half his strength; but, if necessary, could have destroyed the other half without further assistance; and swept Paris itself with the besom of destruction. This is a most important fact for Europe, and a glorious circumstance for Britons to remember; for if there had not been a single allied soldier on the Upper Rhine, all the remaining French force could not have prevented Wellington and Blucher from reaching Paris. These would not have been able, or at least barely able, to withstand the other three corps of the Prussian army which were not in the action, but ready to move from the Rhine. It is therefore a mortal blow to that French vanity which had so long troub-

* Aylmer's dispatch, July 22d.—Gazette. † Do. do.

led Europe; and which, before the campaign began, boasted that Wellington would not dare to attack any point where the Emperor was, unless his force was double in numbers. While these facts are so evident and incontrovertible, it is also clear how far a victory gained by Bonaparte at Waterloo would have been, from rendering him Lord of the ascendant. The overwhelming and still accumulating force assembled on the Upper Rhine, was such, that it could have forced its way to Paris in defiance of all the force destined to oppose it, and of all the assistance Bonaparte could have lent it, even allowing that he had been victorious at Waterloo. The above mentioned force of the allies had not, as on the preceding year, any danger to apprehend on their rear, by any movement that could be made by the forces of the enemy assembled between Lyons and Geneva; because armies much more numerous and powerful than theirs, were continuing to pour upon them from Italy. The Generals that led on these vast bodies of men were well known for their courage and abilities. The bravery of their troops was unquestionable. Both had met Bonaparte and his army in all their glory, with the sun of Austerlitz shining round their heads, and found that their strength was mortal. They, therefore, feared them not. Each one was eager to fight; and all were anxious to signalize themselves as their brethren at Waterloo had done; and had an opportunity offered, there is no doubt but that they would have come out of the combat with similar glory and honour. "It may be perceived," said General Stewart, "by the vigour and the intrepidity with which the detached corps of the armies, and the Austrian army of Italy, have handled the enemy, that opportunity is only wanting for them to emulate *the great example of the 18th of June, which will live in the memory of these great military nations for ever.*"* Had the population of France generally supported the contest, it would, no doubt, have been rendered more tedious, bloody, and severe; but the population of Europe brought against hers, as would have been the case, must have at last succeeded; for opposition would only have created greater irritation, and brought forward greater means, till the issue of the struggle would have proved such as would have rendered France a bye-word

* General Lord Stewart's dispatch, July 5d.

among the nations, and have covered her with sackcloth and ashes.

The French army which retired behind the Loire was under the command of Davoust, and who also at this time held the supreme command of all the military in France which had not acknowledged the King. The strength of this army was stated at about 70,000 men; for though desertion had made great ravages in it, it had nevertheless been augmented by corps from different quarters. What remained, therefore, of both officers and men composing this force, were the most obstinate and irreclaimable of all that crew which had brought so much misery on the world. With arms in their hands, it could not be expected that such men would at once surrender them without a struggle; or till they had received some terms from the King, in order to ensure not only their personal safety, but also, if possible, their existence as a Body. Accordingly, they continued, for some time, to disown the King's authority, and refuse to submit to his sway. The advance, however, of the allied armies against them, and the submission of many places, and a large portion of the inhabitants, left them in a dangerous situation; and, accordingly, after some negotiations, with the nature of which the public are yet unacquainted, they agreed to send in their submission to the King, which was accordingly transmitted by Davoust, but in a manner that it was difficult to say what their intentions were; and, at the same time, proved, unequivocally, with what reluctance they made any concession or advances towards submission to their legitimate Sovereign. In his first proclamation addressed to the army, announcing his intentions, Davoust informed them that, in consequence of the "*overtures*" that had been made to the commissioners who had been left in Paris, near the Provisional Government, and the information which he had received, that, "under a Constitutional Government, no re-action was to be feared, and the passions neutralized," he had united the army to the King. He assured them that "men and principles should be respected, that arbitrary dismissals should not take place, either in the army or in other orders of society; and, finally, that the *army should be treated conformably to its honour.*" The interest of the nation, he said, required "*sacrifices;*" which

would be made "willingly, and with a *modest* energy;" and, if their "misfortunes should increase," the army would become the "rallying point of all Frenchmen, even of the most violent royalists." He called upon them to unite, and never to separate; and to follow the "*touching*" example of the Vendeans, who had offered to join them, laying "aside all resentments," to prevent the "dismemberment of the country." He concluded, by calling upon them to be Frenchmen; and informing them, that the wish just expressed "was the sentiment which always reigned exclusively in his soul."* This, however, did not fully convince the army, who remained obstinate; much to the satisfaction of Davoust and their other leaders, who were jealous of the King's intentions, and durst not trust his word. Time, however, pressed. He was without any regular means of supplying the wants of his troops, and the army must either acknowledge the King, and bow to his authority, unconditionally, or contend against the allied armies in battle. Accordingly, with great reluctance, this submission was announced, and the white cockade hoisted. In doing this, said Davoust to the army, I know "*I demand* from you a *great sacrifice;* we have all been connected with these colours for these twenty-five years; but the *interests* of our country demands this *sacrifice.*" He called upon them to defend their "unhappy country *in the name of Louis XVIII.*" and to follow the example of the Vendeans, who had agreed to unite with them to "combat the enemies of France."† Several bodies of the troops, however, still refused to obey; and, under Excellmans, and Lefebre Desnouettes, continued a sort of maurauding life, living by contributions and requisitions, where these could be got. At last, after much difficulty, they were compelled to submit; the Generals afterwards taking themselves off into concealment, in order to avoid the King's decree for their degradation and arrest. The command was taken from Davoust, and given to Macdonald, when the whole army was disbanded, and a new army organized from the wreck of the old. This royal army was to consist of 86 legions of infantry of three battalions each; eight regiments of foot artillery; four regiments of horse artillery; a regiment of royal carrabineers; six regiments of cuirassiers; ten regi-

* Davoust's proclamation, Orleans, July 10th. † Do. July 16th.

ments of dragoons; twenty-four regiments of chasseurs, and six regiments of hussars;* the whole forming a mass of 200,000 men, larger than any force necessary for the defence of the country, had it been free from internal convulsions. The army under Suchet soon followed the example of the army of the Loire; and next, that under Clauzel, which were also disbanded and sent to their homes. In the meantime, the white flag appeared on all the sea ports and principal towns; the people acquiescing in the change. In several places, however, this did not take place without bloodshed with the troops; and for a long period afterwards, continued brawls took place between the two parties, which kept the minds of the peaceable in a constant state of terror and alarm. Still, however, many places refused to acknowledge the King, amongst which was Huninguen, under the infamous Barbnegre. The place was, however, besieged and taken by the Austrians; the garrison, to the surprise of every one, being allowed to retire behind the Loire. In other places the French garrisons hoisted the white flag, and also a red one; in consequence of the allies continuing to press their surrender, and they refusing to give them up to the foreign armies. Amongst these, Valenciennes, and several other places on the frontier of the Netherlands, suffered much. It was a strange and unacountable spectacle to see these places attacked and defended, while peace and good will seemed to reign betwixt the armies in the field, and the Government of France, and all the allies.

While these things were going on in various parts of France, the great leader of all the mischief, and chief cause of all the confusion, was endeavouring to make his escape out of France, with the intention of going to America. He had left Paris on the 29th June, with a numerous retinue, and much property; and taking the road by Tours, he directed his route to Rochfort. It was evident he travelled quite at his ease; and not only so, but that every facility was afforded him. Every where, it was said, he was welcomed with acclamations, and treated with the same respect as if he had been still Emperor. He reached Rochfort, on the 3d of July, in safety; and immediately began to make preparations for his departure, in two fri-

* Decree of the King, July 16th, 1815.

gates, La Suale and La Meduse. Every thing was embarked, and ready for a start; but, unfortunately, every avenue for escape was closed against him. Already, eleven British ships of war lined the coast in such a manner, that no vessel of any description could put to sea without being brought to by them. This vigilant force was under the command of Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon of 74 guns. Bonaparte remained at the House of the Prefect, Becker, till the 8th, when he went on board the frigate, La Suale, at ten o'clock in the evening. He, however, durst not venture to put to sea. Next day he landed and inspected the fortifications of the Isle d'Aix, probably with the intention of defending himself there against any immediate attack. On the 10th, the winds were favourable; but the short night, and it also being moonlight at the time, left the frigates no hope to escape. He had sent on board the Bellerophon to solicit permission to pass, as he said he was only waiting for his passports from England. This was, however, refused; and he was informed, that the moment that the frigates attempted to come out, they would be attacked. Bonparte next proposed to escape in a Danish ship; but this would have been equally impracticable; and an attempt in two Chasse Marees, of about twenty tons each, which had come from Rochelle, on the night of the 12th, and in which he was to embark, and to be carried to the Danish vessel waiting for him at a distance,* seemed to promise no hopes of better success. These plans also were abandoned. From the 11th to the 12th, Bonaparte learned from his brother Joseph, the entrance of the King into Paris, and the dispositions of the Chambers. To the last moment, it is said, he cherished the idea that they would recal him; but he was disappointed. Danger now pressed upon him from a side where he never expected to meet any. He could no longer remain in France in safety; and he saw no possibility of making his escape to America. He now felt in his own person, and in the moment of his severest distress, what a British blockade was. Every avenue being thus shut against him, but one refuge remained, which was to surrender himself to the British. For this purpose, Becker and Savary, Counts las Casas and Allemand, were sent

* Devigney's letter to the minister of the Marine and Colonies.

on board the Bellerophon on the 14th, where it was agreed that Bonaparte and his suite should be received on the following day. The whole went on board the French brig Epervier; and on the morning of the 15th she proceeded to the Bellerophon, which received the whole on board, and where Bonaparte was at last secure from escape or from personal danger. He at first wished to make terms with Captain Maitland; but he was told that the latter could agree to none—that all he could do was to receive and "convey him and his suite to England, there to be received in such a manner as his Royal Highness the Prince Regent may deem expedient."* Previous to going on board, or before sailing from Basque roads, Bonaparte wrote a letter to the Prince Regent, in which he informed him, that "exposed to the factions which divided his country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, he came like Themistocles to throw himself upon the hospitality of the British nation." Under the protection of the British laws, he said, he placed himself, which he claimed from him as the most "powerful, the most constant, and most generous, of all his enemies."† This letter was dispatched by the Slaney sloop of war, and arrived in England before him. On the 16th July, about 1 P. M. the Bellerophon, with this important company on board, set sail for England; but, owing to light and baffling winds, it was the afternoon of the 24th before she reached Torbay; which, when she did, she found the most peremptory orders not to allow any communication with the shore. The moment, however, that it was known that the Bellerophon had this mighty prisoner on board, thousands of boats, and many thousands of people, thronged about the vessel, to get a glimpse of the man, who had formerly awed the world, and humbled all but those in whose power he now was. The concourse of spectators was immense, and continued to increase as long as the vessel remained with Bonaparte on board of her. Several accidents happened, and lives were lost by the oversetting of boats in their anxiety to get near the ship. From the time he came on board the Bellerophon, this extraordinary man was treated with the greatest respect; but soon after his arrival it was in-

* Maitland's dispatch, Basque roads, July 14th.

† Bonaparte's letter to the Regent.

timated, that he could only be treated with the deference due to a captive General. On board he spent his time in reading, writing, and conversing with those around him, inquiring concerning the use of every thing he saw about the ship, and seemed quite at his ease and contented. He was very anxious to get ashore; and had made himself certain that he would be allowed to remain in England. He was, however, mistaken. A different course had been determined on by the British Government and Continental powers, with regard to this dangerous being. These resolved that he should forthwith be sent to St. Helena, an island in the midst of the Atlantic ocean, and in the middle of the Southern Torrid Zone, about 4000 miles from Europe. Of the suite of 60 persons, who had come from France with him, only the following persons were to be allowed to accompany him, viz. Bertrand and Madame Bertrand with their children, Count and Countess Monthelon and child, Count Las Cassas, General Gorgaud, nine men and three women servants. All the others were to be sent back to France. When this intelligence was notified to Bonaparte he was very dissatisfied, and those in his suite were thrown into consternation. But the mandate was imperious, and must be obeyed. Against it, however, Napoleon protested, in the strongest manner; and it appears from this document, that the disregard for truth which he had so often shewn, and which had governed all his actions, had not forsaken him. The present, like many other of those documents which had been issued by him, was calculated to keep a door open for future events, even where present facts had prevented all possibility of gainsaying the proceedings with him. In this memorable document, he said, he protested solemnly in the name of heaven and of men against the violation of his most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of his person and his liberty. With that daring perversion of human reason, for which he had been so remarkable, he asserted, that he "came *freely* on board the Bellerophon,"—that "he was not the prisoner," but "the guest of England." He stated broadly, that the British Government had laid a *snare* for him, by directing the captain of the Bellerophon to receive him; and that in doing so they had "sullied their honour and their flag." If the act of sending him to St. Helena was consum-

mated, he asserted that England need no longer talk of her laws, integrity, and liberty—that "British faith would be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon." On this account he appealed to history, which would one day judge him; who, after making war for twenty years on the people of England, now came freely, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum amongst them. "But," continued he, "how did they answer it in England? *They pretended* to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them *in good faith, they sacrificed him.*"* It is scarcely possible to suppose or to find a more daring and willful perversion of truth than is here exhibited, for the meanest and most dangerous of purposes. Its object was obvious. It was to calumniate, if he could, to future ages, the Government which he could not cajole nor subdue. It was to be an excuse for any attempt which he might afterwards make to disturb the peace of the world. It was to leave all his rights, according to his way of reckoning, open to be reclaimed again, by the charge of bad faith on the part of his enemies, established merely by his *ipse dixit*, in opposition to a cloud of witnesses, and those of unsullied veracity, which he was not. With regard to his coming *freely* on board the Bellerophon, it is true he came freely, because he could not in any shape resist or conceal himself any longer, where he then was. He had tried every possible way to escape, and could not effect it; and he, accordingly, came on board the Bellerophon, as *freely* as every other prisoner comes to surrender himself to his conqueror. He, indeed, attempted to negotiate, and claim promises, and ensure articles—but did he gain them? Captain Maitland, aware of whom he had to deal with, says expressly, in order "that *no misunderstanding* might arise, I have *explicitly and clearly explained* to the Count Las Cassas, that I have *no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort;* but that all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such a manner as his Royal Highness the Prince Regent may deem expedient,"† His Royal Highness and his allies, whose prisoner he was, as the whole were engaged in the same cause against him;

* Bonaparte's protest, August 11th.—Bellerophon, at sea.

† Maitland's dispatch, Basque roads, July 14th, Gazette.

determined to send him to St. Helena; and in doing so it is quite plain that Britain violated no faith—and broke no promise to him. It was, however, an old trick of the followers of the Revolutionary school, to assert, that because they asked conditions, that, therefore, their opponents granted them; and that, accordingly, the latter broke their faith when they did not abide by what the former had asked, but what the opposite party had not granted and would not grant. Strange as it may seem, there were numbers who believed the above falsehoods to be true; nay, who went further, and asserted that Napoleon was entitled to all the rights of a British subject; and that neither England nor her allies had any right to confine him, either in St. Helena or any where else; and that no law of nations hitherto known authorized it. Although it was ridiculous to hear the Law of Nations thus brought forward to screen a man, the whole business of whose life had been to treat these with contempt, and openly to violate them all; and whose rancour against Great Britain was so great, that he had trampled upon every law, civil and sacred, in order to accomplish not only her subjugation but her destruction; still it is not upon his want of principle, that the acts of his adversaries are to be defended or justified. For this there is no need. He was their prisoner, and of course they had an unquestioned right to confine him where they pleased, and where they conceived that the general safety of the community was the least likely to be disturbed. Bonaparte was no common prisoner—he could not be tried by the law of any one State as a subject thereof. In this case, therefore, he was the prisoner of nations, united in one grand cause; and if there had been no law, no precedent to guide them in the manner which their own safety required of them to do, still, as a grand community of nations, their general voice and consent could make a law applicable to the present extraordinary case; which they did, and by which Bonaparte was by all the Sovereigns of Europe, and through them as the organs of the united nations of Europe, condemned for their security, and for the general security and peace of the world, to be confined in a place where he should have as little chance as possible of disturbing mankind any more. The right was unquestionable and imperious.

This protest was, therefore, what indeed the protestor well knew, null and useless; but a good handle for factious quibble. It produced, as every one must have seen, no alteration of the determination with regard to him; and Bonaparte saw he must immediately prepare to remove to St. Helena. The Northumberland of 74 guns, Captain Sir George Cockburn, was appointed for this purpose, and fitted out with the utmost dispatch. In this voyage, she was accompanied by the Ceylon frigate, and Weymouth store-ship, on board of which vessels were a detachment of artillery, much military stores, and the 53d regiment, in order to strengthen and re-enforce the garrison of the island, and to guard the mighty prisoner. These vessels, having been got ready with great dispatch, sailed from Portsmouth, while, at the same time, the Bellerophon sailed from Plymouth Sound to meet the Northumberland at sea, in order to transfer their prisoners from the one to the other, at a distance from the shore, to avoid the immense concourse of boats that would otherwise have assembled about them. The ships met off the Berry-head, in company with the Tonant, the flag ship of Lord Keith, who, as admiral of the fleet, had the charge of seeing the prisoners safe on board the Northumberland. Every necessary and accommodation for the voyage, which they demanded or wanted, had been readily furnished to them; amongst the last articles of which were twenty fresh packs of cards, a backgammon and domino table, ordered, as they were about to sail. About two o'clock, on the 8th August, Bonaparte was separated from all his followers, but those already mentioned, and went on board the Northumberland. The parting, as may easily be conceived, was of the most painful kind; and notwithstanding all the miseries which these men had occasioned to Europe, still as men, their situation, at this moment, demanded pity. Madame Bertrand appeared much distressed. The Countess Monthelon said little. A Polish Officer, Colonel Pistouzki, could scarcely be separated from Bonaparte; and he has since obtained liberty to go to St. Helena, to reside with him. Bonaparte himself, in his usual way, broke out at times into bitter invectives against the British government, for their conduct to him. He was angry at being stiled only General; stating, that he had been acknowledged as a Sovereign and

chief of a state, by all the powers in Europe. He was particularly inquisitive about St. Helena, where he was to reside, and if there was plenty of hunting and shooting there. But I forbear to enter into the minute details of his conversation at this moment, as much of what is reported rests upon doubtful authority, and at any rate is not very interesting. The ex-Emperor, and his suite, being now safely on board the Northumberland, Lord Keith took leave of him, and went on board the Tonant; and about two hours afterwards, Lord Lowther, and Mr. Lyttleton, the Commissioners appointed by Government to see their orders fulfilled, also took their leave, and went ashore. The Northumberland being afterwards joined by her consorts, spread her canvass to the breeze, and her ensign to the gale, then blowing fair from the East, and stood down channel for her destination; bearing with her, let us hope, for ever, from the scene of European politics, and from political life, one of the most extraordinary characters that ever appeared in the world.

Thus fell Bonaparte a second time; lower and more abject than before; yet still to a less ignominious state than his conduct merited. He now experienced the fate of all those, who in prosperity abuse their power, and enslave mankind. They now beheld his humiliation without concern, and treated him with contempt. He was another and a striking witness of the punishment that lights upon political depravity, tyranny, and injustice; carried on for no other object, than the gratification of vanity, pride, and ambition. He shared the fate of his predecessors of ancient times; who, by their conduct, had provoked the just indignation of the Judge of all. The world which had been so long oppressed by this man, and alarmed at his appearance again on the theatre of Europe; now that he was overthrown took up the song of exultation and triumph, which the people of Judea did of old, and with them exclaimed—"How hath the oppressor ceased! the golden city ceased! The LORD hath broke the staff of the wicked, and the *sceptre of the rulers*. He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke; *he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted*, AND NONE HINDERETH."* So sure is the justice of Infinite

* Isaiah xiv. 4, 5, 6.

wisdom; and so certain the decrees of Him who cannot err. No time can impair their strength; no human efforts or wisdom can turn aside their steady course; nor can any occurrence in human affairs take place, to which they are not applicable—are not applied. In this case they were conspicuously so. Bonaparte was persecuted, and none hindered. Not a friendly hand was stretched forth to his relief, amongst those millions who formerly adored him, and who promised never to forsake him. He fell unlamented, and unpitied, by all the virtuous part of mankind. His name and power were gone; and his crimes alone, not forgotten. Upon his re-appearance in France, it was prognosticated, that his power would be more stable than ever; we were told in the most confident tone, "that the representatives of the French nation were perfectly agreed in their sentiments of self-devotion to the independence of their country; and perfectly agreed in their support of Napoleon, as their chief magistrate, and as the person best qualified to fight the battle which they had to endure."* Adversity approaches them, and where is their unanimity; storms assail them, and where is their friendship for, and support of Napoleon. All vanish like the morning fog before the meridian ray! and leave not a vestige to shew such things had ever been. He darted forth like a meteor, in the eyes of the world; he traversed with the lightning's wing a wintry sky, and sunk in darkness for ever. His fall was more astonishing than his rise: and his end was more strange than his beginning. If no individual of ordinary birth, ever scaled such a precipice of hazards, and secured such an eminence of grandeur; none, even of those who were born to sovereignty, ever sunk by such a total dissolution of the very ground on which they stood. They fell, but their thrones remained; their heirs, or their rivals succeeded them: Bonaparte fell, but where is the empire he created? for he did create it, in the only sense that a mortal can create. He seized the territory, he usurped the power, he enslaved the people, he dictated the laws, he exercised the authority, that constituted, and for a while consolidated, the monstrous empire which he ruled—ruled with a rod of iron, and dashed to pieces with that rod. It is gone! it is gone for ever! In his

* Morning Chronicle, June 12th, 1815.

exaltation, both in the former part, but more especially in the latter part of his career, his rise was so rapid, that the mind could not follow. It becomes giddy at the prospect. It fears to follow him up the eminence which he trode; and, from the tremendous steep, it dares not contemplate the gulph below it, into which he was precipitated. Yet the extremes of danger were his delight. In the storm he delighted to soar—in the tempest he loved to dwell. There only was he at home, and himself. Amidst the wreck of nations alone he was pleased—amidst the crush of political worlds alone he was satisfied. Thus

> ——— "Soars the eagle 'midst the dark profound,
> While roaring thunders replicate around."

And so the bolt of Heaven strikes him at that terrible height; from whence he descends headlong, and with a rapidity which the eye cannot trace, and the mind shudders to follow. Such has been the fate of this extraordinary man. Extraordinary, whether we regard his elevation or his fall; the talents he possessed, and the talents he abused; the crimes he committed—countless, enormous, unnecessary—the difficulties he had to overcome, and the means by which he overcame them. With a mind formed in no common mould, its strength and its exertions were employed throughout life, only in devising mischief, and spreading evil. He had it in his power to have done good, to have been permanently great; but he scorned to enter the paths which would have guided him to these noble objects. His way was to be his own, and he must also make it. The paths prescribed by infinite wisdom for man to abide in, who wishes to do well, he despised, because he did not appoint them. He wished to be above all, and to have none else besides himself. Good he did do; but not for the sake of doing so. Evil he overturned, but not because it was evil; wrongs he redressed, not because he considered these as requiring redress, but because his views, and his interests demanded it. He destroyed partial errors, but sowed in their place general injustice. He swept away local evils, and in their stead established general wrongs. He tore up, in some places, superstition by the roots; but planted in its place the most daring atheism, and destructive immorality. He trampled upon the Pope,

and proclaimed Mahomet. He confessed there was a God, but defied his power; broke his commandments, and trampled upon his authority. He muzzled anarchy, but let loose despotism; he spoke of knowledge, but fettered improvement; and he broke asunder power, but chained liberty. All this, and much more he did; till the patience of man and the mercy of Heaven was exhausted. When that arm which can crush the Creation, in His anger, overturned in a moment, and to its foundations, that stupendous fabric of iniquity and oppression, which this man's ambition had created and raised, from the materials of former errors; good was thus brought out of evil; and the road to true knowledge left open, and made easy to mankind to walk therein. Such has been the conduct of Napoleon—such its consequences. But, bad as he was, it is mean in France to abuse him. He was her idol, which she fondly adored as long as his ambition kept pace with her avarice and cupidity. As soon as he was gone, she reproached and despised him. "All persons," said they, "are convinced that he is totally destitute of that firmness of soul, that mental courage, which is far more rare and more estimable, than the courage which is requisite for a mere soldier in the field of battle. He completely lost his head on the 18th Brumaire, and in the fields of Marengo, Essling, Leipsic, and Waterloo. Authentic details from Rochfort, and his conduct on board the Bellerophon, fully demonstrate that this despot, so *proud and unfeeling in prosperity*, is in adversity, a *vulgar and pusillanimous being;* like Perseus, King of Macedonia, he had proved that he had vices still more mean and base, namely, the want of heart, and fear of dying; in consequence of which he deprived himself of the consideration of others, the only thing of which fortune cannot deprive the wretched when they have courage."* This, in part, may be true; nay, it is perhaps all so. Yet this is not the quarter, nor this the hour, from which such observations should come. The failings and *pusillanimity* above detailed, is the vice of the nation; and they ought to be silent. Whatever the conduct of Napoleon has been, his punishment at his exit from political life will not exculpate them. His possession of these vices did not render them clear of them. Their complaint shews

* Gazette de France, July 24th, 1815.

more disappointed irritability, than a convicted conscience, and desire of amendment. France must be silent on this subject, or take the share of the odium which she merits. Napoleon did not occasion all the miseries of France, nor all the woes of Europe. He had the nation, undivided, with him in his career against the latter. He only followed what France wished; he only marched whither she impelled him. It is her own restless spirit which, as much as Bonaparte, demands censure. Had she been less willing to second him, he had never conquered at Jena, and at Friedland—he had never been beaten at Leipsic; nor France, with him, crushed at Waterloo; he had, in short, never been a Sovereign in Elba, nor an exile in St. Helena. Had France been more honest, and less ambitious, Bonaparte would have been loaded with fewer crimes, and France with less misery. She encouraged him, and followed him in all his wild projects with alacrity; and now meanly attempts to load him with all her crimes, and all her errors: and, at the same time, retorts upon him contempt and reprobation. Dishonourable conduct; worthy the people that adopt it. This is the usual recourse of all criminals, who, when caught, throw all the blame upon their leaders. Every attempt that is made by France to load his memory with reproach, involves also her own conduct and character. They cannot, and must not be separated. France, as a nation, voluntarily adopted and followed the evil principles and tyranny of Napoleon: France, as a nation, must share the odium of the crime, and the effects of the punishment. Certainly Europe holds France, as well as Napoleon, responsible for her afflictions. Their conduct cannot be separated. Let them, therefore, as a nation, forsake their evil ways, acknowledge their errors, claim pardon for the past, behave better for the future; instead of throwing all the blame of their own misfortunes, and the misfortunes of others, upon the head of one man; because he is no longer their leader and their guide; and because Europe will not allow him any longer to be so. He has enough to answer for and to bear; but, unfortunately, his guilt, however deep, does not constitute their innocence.

No sooner was Bonaparte fled, and his party overthrown, than the usual lamentations were made, about the destruction

of Liberty, by this "*crusade*," as it was called, of Continental Despots. The hatred to the name of a Bourbon, and more, the pertinacity with which those who spoke thus adhered to their own opinions, falsified by all the events of twenty-five melancholy years, led them to suppose no one could do good, but those men whose lives were spent in committing, not ordinary, but gigantic evils. If Bonaparte promised freedom, who could doubt his word? If he broke his promises, it was then his unprincipled enemies who compelled him to do so, and to walk by the force of circumstances. If Louis XVIII. promised the same thing, he is an old enthusiast, and timid; and yet designing tyrant, and cannot and ought not to be trusted. Similar were the accusations, similar were the lamentations at the overthrow of Napoleon. "All the prospect," said the Morning Chronicle, "opening to the world of a representative system being established in France, by the example of which *light and liberty would have spread their wings gradually over Europe*, is now unhappily obscured; and we have now to anticipate the return of our neighbours to that system of mild paternal government, *as it is called*, under which they so long enjoyed the happiness of inventing fashions, rearing dancers, and giving lessons of frivolity to all around them."* If the French nation had really continued to follow their old trade of rearing dancers, and inventing fashions, and of giving lessons of *frivolity*, instead of giving lessons of *immorality*, it would have been a blessing to Europe, and no less to themselves. French liberty had already spread itself over Europe, and she was sick of the poisonous medicine administered by ignorant quacks and designing knaves, under the specious name; and he who could coolly hope to see French *light and liberty gradually* extend over Europe again, argues a degree of intellect in him so perverted, or so mischievous, that it is difficult to say which is most to be reprobated, its weakness or its wickedness. He must be a bold man, who will, in the face of a mourning and indignant world, ruined by their effects, stand forward and tell them, that from France came, or that from France can come, either political light or political liberty. It is a polluted spring, which can never yield pure water. It is a corrupted school,

* Morning Chronicle, July 3d.

which can never teach just principles. When the Grand Seignor shall teach morality, and the Dey of Algiers humanity and justice; then may France be expected to teach the other nations of Europe light and liberty, worthy their attention to walk in, and to embrace. But this is not likely to take place during the present generation; when it is hoped that, with the knowledge which bitter experience has taught her, Europe will be able to do without the assistance of that dangerous school. That the nations of Europe were not likely to be perfectly attentive scholars to their French masters of the revolutionary school, there was the strongest reason to suppose. Therefore, their admirers were inconsolable. But they consoled themselves with the gentle reflection, that the assembled millions of Europeans, combating in the proud fields of France, for European independence, would, in all probability, imbibe so much of those French principles—of that French "light and liberty," which, it was asserted, were so strongly rooted in France, "that the living race of men must be exterminated, before they are subdued;"* that it would, when they returned to their respective countries, induce them to follow their footsteps, and emancipate themselves from the chains of despotism under which it was said they groaned. "May we not then say," said the writer whom I have already quoted, "that the 900,000 foreign soldiers, now *rioting* in the rich plains and vineyards of France, may *learn lessons that will not be lost*, when they return to their respective homes? Will the stifling of the press, prevent the strangers from catching a spark *of the flame, which still burns in France?* The talents of the French people at *seduction*, are universally admitted, and assuredly, as *adepts in arts of intrigue*, they will not be idle in their attempts to make converts of the men who are now their masters. We learn that the danger is foreseen by the potentates themselves—and that foreign force cannot be continued in the country, without melting into the national character; nor withdrawn, without giving vent to the ferment that is now suppressed."* And should this be the case, what a prospect is it for Europe? but what can we think of the feelings which would rejoice at, and wish to see the *flame which yet burns* in France, scattered over Europe; that is,

* Morning Chronicle, August 10th.

that a similar flame shall first consume all the established governments in Europe; and then end, as it must inevitably end, in a similar manner to what it has done in France. Europe has had quite sufficient of this French *flame;* it can scorch her borders no more; and must, in its dying embers, be confined to the distracted country which first gave it birth. That there was danger of some of the allies learning lessons which would not be forgot, there is no doubt. As long as man follows and seeks after what is evil, such could easily be believed would take place. Let those who have visited, or do visit France, state, how much useful knowledge they would learn from her people, either in morality, religion, or political justice. The events we have related, have not at all tended to make us forget that the foundation of what France termed her political freedom, was the grossest irreligion and immorality; and that the flame which enlightened her, and is recommended yet to enlighten Europe, was kindled by Atheism, and fed by the goddess of Reason. The flame, no doubt, yet remains amongst them; but its strength is decaying; its heat is only felt in a corner; it can no more pass the Rhine; no, nor make that its boundary. Their knowledge of intrigue may not forsake them. But its effects will be useless. Their professions have deceived often, but are too well understood to do so any longer. Their efforts in this way, in place of gaining attention, will only meet contempt. The sword of Wellington, on the plains of Waterloo, cut asunder this Gordian knot; and no French ingenuity nor intrigue can unite it again.

While Bonaparte was thus holding on his journey through the billows of the Atlantic, safe from all personal danger, protected by that flag, whose firmness alone had curbed his ambition and broken his power, France continued in the most unsettled state, and exhibited a picture, scarcely ever before known, in any age or country. Nor could it be otherwise among a people where all the elements of evil, discord, and confusion, were set in motion, without any fixed object on which to lean for support, or bond that could control and direct them to any given pursuit. All the evil passions which infest the human breast, were let loose to scourge that devoted country. Her time was now come, when she was to feel the consequences of

that demoralizing system she had reared in her own, and scattered over every other country. She had taught mankind to regard no tie, but convenience or interest; so that the better feelings which unite man to man, and nation to nation, were either treated with contempt, or were unknown. Their constant followers now appeared amongst a distracted and disunited people. All the horrors of war, anarchy, and confusion, seemed to hold equal sway throughout the French borders. A discontented soldiery, humbled, yet thirsting for revenge; when they no longer dared to face the enemies, which their arrogance had provoked, next wished to impose shackles upon their sovereign. While they trembled to reflect on their crimes; they lamented because their days of aggression and triumph were gone. They were without employment, without the means of obtaining any, and without the wish to follow habits of industry. A turbulent and giddy population, divided into factions, each without confidence amongst themselves, because they were without any fixed principles; and hating, at the same time, with the most perfect hatred, all those who differed from them in opinion, or opposed them. Their golden dreams, in which alone they were unanimous, of lording it over Europe, were vanished; and each party blamed the other, as having brought round the catastrophe. Upwards of one million of foreign soldiers, whom their ambition had driven to betake themselves to the trade of arms, now lived at will upon the produce of their labours; and taught them, by ocular demonstration, and actual deeds, the nature and evil of the system which France had established, and followed throughout Europe. The expense thus heaped upon them was enormous. Yet, however great, still it was only as a grain in the balance, when compared to what her exactions had been over Europe. Contributions, requisitions, military quarterings, and the expense of military movements, she now supported, and most justly had them all. She might complain, but without justice. It was only her own system returning upon her guilty head, with a severe retribution. Her fate, at this moment, was an awful warning to every nation, to shun the paths of immorality and injustice; and to avoid the pursuit of the gay bauble of military glory, and the delirious system, of making a whole nation, for

no other object but wars of aggression and ambition, a military people. It has its limits: broken once, it returns upon itself the evils it scattered amongst others; while its very spirit impels it on to that point, where it must produce the re-action that occasions its destruction. But this is the smallest part of the evil. It corrupts and misleads the heart, and hardens it against all the softer feelings of our nature, which can only render life supportable; and leads the mind astray from all those pursuits which alone can exalt, and which ought to distinguish the human character. It leaves behind it a sting which cannot be extracted; a poison which no medicine can cure. Inured to violence, blood, and carnage; and without any other class with which to intermix to soften the asperity of his nature, or meliorate his feelings, man becomes like the savage, who delights only in ruin and blood. He is a scourge to himself, and a terror to his neighbours. Do not, however, let it be supposed that it is here meant to stigmatize, indiscriminately, the military profession. In it are found the brightest ornaments of their country, and guardians of justice and honour. It is the abuse, not the use of it, that is condemned. It is that evil spirit which makes a nation become soldiers, purely for the love of war; not that spirit which induces a nation, from honourable motives, to take up arms to defend their independence, and to banish war from their land. This is a different spirit; and exalts, as much as the other debases, the human character. The history of every nation that has made war their only study, proves the important fact, that war, followed for the sake of war, brutalizes the feelings, and corrupts the heart. A career of success is succeeded by a course of national debauchery and wickedness; which, while it hardens the heart, enervates the mind, and takes from human nature all that manliness and generosity which forms its distinguishing attribute; and ultimately renders it the slave of every guilty impulse, and savage propensity.

France, at this moment, was a striking example in point. Dissensions and massacres amongst themselves; and secret assassinations of the allied troops, wherever these were found in small bodies, or by isolated individuals, took place. Subsequent to the armistice, day after day, many of the allied soldiers

were cut off in this manner; either while performing their duty, or at a time that their behaviour gave no offence. A striking instance of this occurred in the case of a detachment of 30 Bavarians; who, near Bar-sur-Aube, were secretly and cruelly set upon, without any reason, by the peasants of the neighbourhood; and with hatchets, pitchforks, and other weapons of a similar description, were maimed and wounded in the most shocking manner. Such proceedings were numerous and frequent, and occasioned numerous and severe orders for disarming and punishing the districts wherein those atrocities took place. Foremost in this salutary work were the Austrian generals. Severe fines were laid upon the communes where these assassinations took place, and the perpetrators delivered over to military tribunals to be punished with death.* That individuals in the allied armies acted improperly, there is no doubt; but such conduct was instantly punished whenever a just complaint was made. Nevertheless, this odious conduct, on the part of the Bonapartists, could not be checked. But it was amongst themselves, that this ferocious disposition was attended with the most disastrous consequences. Furious from defeat, the Revolutionists or friends of Bonaparte, every where threatened and carried into effect, measures of vengeance similar to those of 1792 and 1793. Numerous assassinations and massacres were the consequence. On the other hand, the party who had so long and so severely suffered from the power and insolence of their foes, perceiving that the power was broken which had formerly treated them so barbarously; and seeing no measures taken to bring them to justice, as quickly as they anticipated, commenced, of their own accord, a similar system of violence and personal vengeance, as had been exercised against them. This occasioned numerous bloody quarrels, and cruel massacres; where the evil disposed had only to assume the colours of a party, to which, in his heart, he was a foe, in order to commit the most horrid crimes. In the south of France, these things assumed the most serious appearance. But of the real extent we are considerably in the dark, as neither party were willing to publish details, which threw odium upon each; while the designing and more malevolent, who did,

* Archduke Ferdinand's proclamation, Dijon, August 11th.

so exaggerated or palliated these, according to the party to which he belonged. The evil was certainly of great extent; and prevailed, not in one place, but less or more over all the south of France. Throughout the Cevennes, the department of the Garde, along the Rhone, and in the mountains of Auvergne, these deadly feuds took place. These were also encouraged and augmented by the refractory chiefs; and soldiers of Suchet's army, and the army of the Loire, who took refuge in those places. At Thoulouse, General Ramel, formerly a Bonapartist, but turned Royalist, was murdered by the populace, because he killed a centinel who refused to fire upon the mob collected to punish some persons for crying *Vive l' Empereur.* It was at Nismes, a town containing about 50,000 inhabitants, and in the surrounding country, however, that those commotions were attended with the bloodiest and most alarming consequences. The partizans of Bonaparte recovering from their surprise, which his abdication had occasioned; and encouraged and supported by the rebel chiefs of the armies, became more insolent and daring. They acknowledged and proclaimed Napoleon II. and defied the authority of the Royal government.* Its friends armed in its defence. This quickly brought the hostile parties into collision, and the consequences were most distressing. The system of the Revolution was renewed. Those who had no property, or who in their own persons, or that of their friends, had been deprived of it, during that odious period of terror and blood, now attacked, murdered, and plundered, those who had. Private hatred and deadly political opposition, assumed the garb of religious animosity; and all of which combined, disclosed the corruption and barbarity of the French character, in all its native deformity. From the 5th July, to the 3d August, it was almost one continued scene of terror and death. The people professing the Protestant faith were the general sufferers; though with these, there were others of a different persuasion, who had been on the same political side. On the 5th July, several domains belonging to the Protestants were burnt; and a still greater number on the 6th. On the 5th, a pretended national guard, headed by a fellow of the name of Toislajon, previously a

* Bulletin of events at Nismes, August 26th.

chimney-sweep, but now become a captain, murdered all the prisoners who were Protestants. The chimney-sweep boasted that he had killed fourteen. They broke open the grave of a young Protestant girl, to throw her body into a common receptacle of filth. Giresseur, the steward of an estate, was stretched over a fire. They exiled all whom they did not kill. Several Royalists were amongst the former number. The 7th, 8th, and 9th, were passed in pillage. From the 10th to the 14th, no courier arrived from Paris. On the 16th, the King was proclaimed. On the 17th, bands of armed peasants, and the national guards of Beaucaire, came to disarm 200 military who refused to submit. These were almost all massacred.—On the 18th, massacre and pillage was general; and the mad perpetrators ran about, exclaiming "another Saint Bartholemew—let us wash our hands in the blood of the Protestants." On the 19th, several of the inhabitants who had fled, returned by order of the Prefect, and were immediately put to death. From the 20th to the 29th, these bloody scenes continued. On that day the Prefect, appointed by the King, arrived, but he found the place in such a state of confusion, that he was glad to leave it, after issuing a proclamation. On the 1st August, 16 Protestants were massacred. These unhappy people were seized in their own houses, brought out, *and their throats cut before their doors.* Many were massacred in the fields. As usual, in French massacres, these cruelties were accompanied with the most obscene and disgusting deeds. Even the women readily joined in them, and whipped several Protestants of their own sex, through the streets, in the most savage manner. What they had suffered at the commencement of the Revolution, they now made others endure. All the horrors of that fatal period were renewed. The night of the 1st of August was most cruel. The former Prefect, Claviere, commanded those who had fled to return, under pain of having the laws concerning emigration, put in force against them. Many returned, and were massacred. Claviere either wanted the inclination or the power to restrain the multitude, but most probably it was the latter. French impetuosity and ferocity defies all authority. It was the same in 1815, as in 1791 or 1793. The number of murders were prodigious; but no accurate enu-

meration has been obtained of them. The number has been estimated at from 300 to 500. To quell these horrors, the Austrian troops were commanded to advance. These, after some resistance, on the part of bands wearing the tri-coloured cockade, to which their first attention was directed, as being their enemies, succeeded in restoring order, and restraining the fury of both factions. The Bonapartists had the audacity to demand a capitulation, but the Austrian general informed them, that he could enter into no terms "*with rebels.*"* The Austrian troops were attacked by this band, and had 13 men killed and wounded. The rebel force were, however, attacked, and after a smart action, defeated and dispersed. Order was thus restored by foreign force. The Prefect appointed by the King, returned and resumed his functions. Fresh horrors under this deceitful calm were meditated. No sooner were the Austrian troops withdrawn, than fresh massacres took place; chiefly of the Protestants, whose places of worship had been shut up. The 16th October was a scene of fresh massacre and blood, attended with the most dreadful cruelty. The King, after the first commotion, issued a proclamation threatening the severest punishments upon all those concerned in these enormities. "Our subjects in the south," said he, "have recently proceeded to the most criminal excesses.—*Under the pretence* of making themselves ministers of public vengeance, Frenchmen have, to satisfy private revenge, shed the blood of Frenchmen. *Most atrocious persecutions*," continued he, "had been exercised against his friends;" but he reminded them that the punishment of these crimes should be "*national, solemn, and regular*," and as these should not escape cognizance; so neither should those individuals, who usurped the place of government, to satisfy their private hatred. They also would be punished with the utmost severity.† Upon the breaking out of these fresh scenes of bloodshed, the King sent General La Gard, an officer of rank and reputation, to punish and repress them. But he was severely wounded by a mob, while endeavouring to arrest the assassin Trestailon. The military, however, being reformed under the Royal authority; were brought in, and quartered in the

* Austrian bulletin. † Proclamation, September 1st.

place; and in some degree have restored order, when these sheets were put to press.* But the passions are not yet laid to sleep; and it is evident, that the authority of Louis XVIII. is not yet sufficiently strong to repress, or punish with firmness, this odious spirit of mischief and blood, in that disorganized country.

These atrocious scenes created great interest over Europe, and more particularly in Great Britain. Her inhabitants, ever alive to the voice of distress, from whomsoever it proceeds, were eager to express their disapprobation of such wanton and unjustifiable proceedings, and also to relieve the distress of the sufferers. This conduct proceeded from noble and from honourable motives. But these deadly feuds were by many represented as entirely betwixt religious parties, and on account of religious principles. This is not the fact. It is not on account of religion, but for the want of it, that makes Frenchmen commit such atrocities. It is to political animosity, imbittered by all that ignorance and demoralization, which had so long despised, and so completely overturned every rational pursuit or moral feeling in France, that we are to look for the origin of these destructive evils. This system the revolution began, and carried on, in order to exterminate the principles of real religion; and the career of which folly has darkened, not enlightened; thrown backward, not improved the human mind. Political immorality, moral depravity, and religious indifference, had been too long followed and gloried in, by every profession of faith, and by those of no profession of faith, in France, for any tie that can bind man to man in society, to remain unbroken. A dreadful outcry was quickly raised, and eagerly circulated, by the friends of Bonaparte, against the Bourbon government; as being the cause, and the secret promoter of these calamities. Through them, as usual, party wanted to direct its poisoned shafts at the whole alliance formed against France; and particularly to accuse the British ministers, for their conduct in supporting this despotic and persecuting government, which they had established in France, on the ruins of Napoleon's authority. But these accusations were without foundation, as it regards both. It was on the 5th July, that these murders began, at the time when the overthrow of the French ar-

* The Protestant churches, that had been shut for some time, were re-opened.

my, and the consequent abdication of Napoleon, divided France, and gave the adherents of Louis an opportunity to raise their heads, and to contend against the remains of revolutionary power. The King did not enter Paris till the 8th. He was not acknowledged nor proclaimed at Nismes, till the 16th; and, in many places in the south of France, till a latter date. Armies hostile to him intervened between his capital and the south, and overspread these provinces; many parts of which being without any fixed government, each individual contended for that authority which he wished to see re-established. In the situation in which France was placed, by the sudden overthrow of an unprecedented usurpation; where the elements of evil remained stupified, but not destroyed; some time must necessarily have elapsed, before the King's authority could be re-established: could act with effect; if, even yet, it can in some places be said to do so. In the interim, between the overthrow of one system and the re-establishment of another, the passions of their adherents became so inflamed, that for some time these despised all authority; and the latter treated with contempt, even that authority which they desired, when it stepped forward to shield those who were its political opponents, and who also had been severe masters. Situated as France was, nothing else was to be expected. But granting, for a moment, that religious principles were the *sole* cause of the present mischief, what does it prove? Two things, and too serious things, which it has been the grand object of all those who pretended to be more humane, enlightened, and wise, among us than their brethren, during the last twenty-five years, to deny namely, that the Roman Catholic religion, where it has the political power, is still as illiberal, bigotted, fierce, and cruel in its principles, as ever it was. Yet we were told by the same party, when it suited their manœuvres, that it was become so gentle and humane, that amongst ourselves, it might safely be intrusted with a power, which it is always certain to abuse. These things also prove that France has not been in any manner, or in any shape enlightened or improved by that revolution, which we were haughtily told by all our sensible patriots, was to banish evil, first from France, and next from the world. If we could have believed them, (and how

near were we of being politically persecuted, for not joining in this belief,) France was as happy and as innocent, as Adam and Eve were in paradise. All things had been made new; and the golden age was, therefore, restored to the world.—But when the indignant arm of Europe tore asunder the veil thrown over France by the ambition of Napoleon, and by the vanity of the nation, we then beheld them cutting each others' throats for religion and politics; and roasting their fellows over slow fires, for the crime of witchcraft.* All these things afford incontestible evidence that every one of the different tyrannies which have in fearful succession swayed France, during the last twenty-five years, have had totally different objects in view, than either the enlightening the minds or ameliorating the spirit or institutions of her people. These were neglected in order to find time to establish the individual tyranny of her factious demagogues, and to oppress their neighbours. This point brings us to consider the true source of those evils which in 1815, desolated the south of France. It recals, and forces us to recal, to the memory, (already beyond measure sickened and tortured by French folly, cruelty, and injustice, in every quarter of the globe,) all those tremendous scenes of butchery and bloodshed perpetrated throughout the south of France, but particularly at Nismes; against the followers of Louis XVI., his family, and those who professed the Catholic religion. It is not here meant to defend the religious principles of the latter, much less to extenuate their present crimes. It is to shew that the present horrors originate more in political feelings, than in religious animosity. To shew this, facts must be stated without partiality for either the one religion or the other. The revolution divided France into two political parties, of which nearly all the Roman Catholics or aristocrats were the adherents of the Bourbons; and the Protestants in general, with all the Atheists, which latter at that period consisted of the greater half of France, formed the democratic or Jacobinical party, which planned, occasioned and supported, the revolution, in all its career of internal and external violence. The justice or injustice of their conduct in doing so, it is not

* Two atrocious instances of the latter, is detailed in their Journals and Courts of Justice within a few months.

intended here to discuss. It is the fact that they did so, which is at present the object in view. And it is a lamentable fact, and one that must not be concealed, that the Protestants in the south of France, under whatever profession these were distinguished, were particularly active in the bloody scenes at the commencement of the Revolution. Amongst them the abominable principles of Voltaire and his associates, had made greater progress than amongst others; principles which were subversive, and then put in motion, to subvert every law, and every institution, human or divine. To murder a Roman Catholic, or to persecute him on account of his political or religious opinions, is surely equally criminal, as to murder a Protestant for his. Yet, in those days, to murder, and to persecute them without mercy; and by all the ways that cruelty could invent, by assassinations, guillotining, and drowning, by hundreds, was not only not accounted a crime, but was praised as a patriotic and meritorious deed. Their temples were polluted with the most horrid mockery, burnt, or shut up. These were afterwards seized by the consent of the ruling power, occupied, and appropriated by the Protestants to their use, and, who, previous to this convulsion, had very indiscreetly and publicly marked them out for that purpose. Their worshippers and guardians were stripped of their all, and their families destitute and forlorn, were scattered over the country, wandering unfriended, languishing in dungeons, or perishing on scaffolds; without trial and without accusation. The atrocities committed at that time over the south of France, and particularly in the town of Nismes, were such as absolutely exceed credibility, and harrow up every feeling of the soul with horror. My limits prevent me from entering at great length into these bloody details, which would have disgraced the savages of New Zealand; and in which the horrors of 1815 were not only equalled, but surpassed in 1790, and other subsequent years. Then, as now, the people of this part of France, not only laughed at human suffering and misery, but they feasted on human blood. Their present sovereign himself, charges them with this odious fact. Portraying the horrors of the revolution, and what its consequences would be, he states with sorrow, that they had left nothing "*but hordes of robbers, regicides, and cannibals.*"*

* Address of French Princes to France and Europe, 1792.

Yes, cannibals! In the strong language of Mr. Burke in the British House of Commons, "Rebellion, perfidy, murder, and *cannibalism! (hear! hear!* from the opposition bench.) Gentlemen, Mr. Burke said, might call out, hear, hear, as long as they thought proper; he had asserted no more than what he *could prove;* he would again assert *cannibalism*, for he had documents to prove that the French cannibals *after having torn out the hearts of those they had murdered, squeezed the blood out of them* INTO THEIR WINE, AND DRANK IT."* This was neither an exaggeration, nor a calumny. It was a melancholy and disgraceful fact, which in more instances than one, occurred in the south of France, at the commencement of the revolution. Yet the perpetrators of these horrid deeds, were not only not punished, but they were *applauded* and rewarded as the benefactors of the human race. Nay, "*solemn and public festivals* were decreed in honour of the basest and the greatest criminals, particularly the assassins of Avignon, Arles, and NISMES."† Of the horrors committed at two of these cities, I shall endeavour to give a short account. Of the political causes which produced them, I cannot enter into the details; but those who wish to be further satisfied that it was political matters, which then occasioned the massacres which took place, may consult the official proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of that period, and the Annual Register vol. xxxiv. and other authorities of the same date, where they will find these things detailed at length, and from unquestionable authority. At Nismes the Catholics and Protestants had constantly lived in bonds of amity and friendship. When the horrors of Saint Bartholemew deluged the Capital, and almost all the rest of the provinces with blood; Nismes, under the direction of the consul Villars, and the vicar General Bertrand du Luc, enjoyed tranquillity and peace! No demon disturbed their happiness, till the principles of Voltaire sapped the foundation of human society; and scattered over France "fire-brands, arrows, and death." The revolution took place with honourable and praise-worthy objects in view. These gained, Atheists and revolutionary madmen overthrew them. Nearly all the Pro-

* Speech, May 11th, 1792.

† Manifesto of the Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, 1792.

testants, or at least those that went under, and who at that period disgraced the name, coalesced with the former; joined their ranks, assumed their banners, aided their schemes, and followed their footsteps. Nismes once united and happy, was thus quickly deluged with blood. Foiled in their object to gain the chief power of the city into their own hands, though the Protestants had, without any jealousy from the opposite party, got 12 members of their party into the magistracy, out of 23 of which it was composed; and although their number, in point of population, was only one fourth, they established a Jacobin club similar to all others at that time established in France; which calumniated the magistrates, blamed them for the evils hatched by themselves; and planned the overthrow of the government, intending to divide France into 83 federal Republics. The parties separated. The Catholics were known under the name of the *red tufts*, and the Protestants the *white tufts*, from the colours of the feathers, which they wore as distinguishing badges. The breach became wider; the danger increased. Each viewed the motions of the other with hatred, jealousy, and alarm. Repeated attempts were made by the Catholics to accommodate their differences. Nothing less than the whole political power, and their constitution, would satisfy the revolutionary party. Jacobinical lies, as usual, fanned the flame. At length on the 2d May 1790, blood was shed in earnest; a rumour had been spread that the Catholics meant to murder the Protestants. False as it was, it had the desired effect. The Protestants had already seduced to their cause, many of the Protestant soldiers, both of the line and of the national guards. The Catholics were every where insulted and attacked; many were wounded. Some of the leaders excited the soldiers at the barracks to rebellion, by telling them that their comrades were murdered; and others stood in the town-house, exclaiming, "It was now the time to stick the Mayor's head on a bayonet!" Women were found giving money to the soldiers, and calling to them, "Courage! the day is ours! down with the Catholics!" By the firmness of the magistrates, however, further mischief was at this moment prevented. But the Protestants and the Jacobin club had now gained the ascendency. The National Assembly, as usual, took their part. They became

more bold. Inflammatory publications were industriously circulated over the neighbouring departments, by the Protestants. Threatening letters were received by the Catholics at Nismes, from the Protestant bodies of the neighbouring country, stating, that 12,000 Cevenols were ready to march to chastise all who opposed the constitution. After numerous quarrels, and much bloodshed, on the 12th June, things assumed a more serious appearance; and next day, a dreadful massacre took place. Fifteen thousand men from the neighbouring Protestant departments, viz. the Vannage, the Cevennes, and the Gardonenque, in direct contradiction to the decrees and laws of the Assembly, marched to Nismes, with an express commission to bring away the heads of the municipal officers. Bands of abandoned and ferocious women followed them, who collected the spoils, and stripped the mangled bodies of the slain. The revolutionary Junta in the city, had for some time previous been preparing; ball cartridges were secretly procured. Many of the Protestants withdrew their children on the 12th, from the different seminaries in the city, preparatory to the convulsion. On the 13th, the magistrates seeing the storm advancing, endeavoured to prevail on both parties to surrender their arms. This the Catholics, in general, obeyed. The Protestants refused; and, in consequence, the former were immolated wherever they were met, without much resistance.* The Catholics, when too late, endeavoured to defend themselves; but their antagonists had completely the advantage, and the command of all the magazines and posts. The Protestant party compelled Abbé Belmont, after the most cruel treatment, to proclaim martial law; which, while attempting to do, the blood gushed from his mouth, from the blows which he had received. He was rescued by the Catholics; but martial law was proclaimed: and the contest began between the people of the city, and soon afterwards, the Protestants were joined by the force from the neighbouring departments, as already mentioned. Nismes then suffered all the horrors of a town taken by storm. The confusion and massacre became general, and lasted for three days,

* *Les rues n' etoient pas sûres: on poursuit les poufs—rouges, on les immole partout ou on les rencontre;* is the account coolly given by the commissioners of the administration of the Department.

and over the country for two months. The houses of the Catholics were demolished, all their property in the town and in the country was destroyed, while every thing belonging to the Protestants was invariably spared. The number of Catholics slaughtered, were estimated at from 4 to 600 in the town, 200 of whom were fathers of families. The total number butchered in the city, and in the surrounding country was estimated at 1500. Of the Protestants, 21 perished; of whom, seven were slain without the walls, by the hands of those who considered themselves justified in avenging the death of their friends. Of these, two persons named Maigre, father and son, perished innocent, and justly regretted by both parties. As usual, the assassins were not content with inflicting simple death upon the Catholics, but exercised the most horrid cruelties. Some had their hands, feet, noses, or ears, lopped away; others were ripped open, and their entrails thrown in their faces, while yet alive: one man of the name of Violet, was stuck by the throat upon a hook, at a butcher's door, and there suffered to hang for an hour, in excruciating pain, till his cries extorted death from those, whom nothing could move to compassion. Barbarities too shocking to relate, were also perpetrated. The churches were profaned with the most horrible mockery; the priests were murdered wherever they were found. One, an infirm old man of 82, was hacked to pieces, in his bed, with sabres; another solicited five minutes to prepare for death. His executioner, with his watch in one hand, and a pistol in the other, stood by him, and counted the minutes, while his victim knelt at the altar. The short time expired; the assassin coolly dispatched him. Order was at length restored, by the national guards of Montpellier; who, in their march to this devoted spot, were, by every artifice and falsehood, endeavoured to be detained, or induced to return, by the inhabitants of the Protestant communes, through which they passed. These asserted that order was restored, and that the advance of their opponents, was contrary to the laws; though that of their own party was looked upon in a different light. These national guards of Montpellier threatened to turn their arms against all who disturbed the public peace, of whatever party they might be. Their firmness overawed men conscious of

guilt. Wearied with carnage, and satiated with blood, the assassins retired to their homes, laden with spoils: while, as if to mock the misery of the sufferers, troops by order of the government, were quartered upon them in particular; and they were besides compelled to pay the expenses incurred by the national guards of those departments, who had been the principal instruments of inflicting those evils upon them. The National Assembly passed over the guilt of the assassins; and afterwards praised, rewarded, and promoted them for the deed. In fact, all these horrors were planned and encouraged by its most violent revolutionary members; and the perpetrators were invariably defended and screened by them. Every effort that the unfortunate Catholics and friends of the Bourbon government made, or precaution which they took, to guard themselves against the plots and designs of avowed cut-throats, was construed into an attempt against the constitution and majesty of the people, and made the handle for treating them with the greatest brutality; for disarming, and leaving them defenceless against the malice of their foes. In midst of these bloody scenes, the Jacobin Club at Nismes was corresponding with the Revolutionary Committee in London, about humanity, justice, benevolence, and freedom: which correspondence was thankfully received, and graciously answered, with praise and exultation. As usual, these horrors were denied, or charged upon the heads of their opponents. This was a Jacobinical trick, which can now deceive no one. Even Alquier, the famous and ferocious republican reporter, who had been employed by the Assembly to draw up a report from the evidence of the assassins alone, was so convinced of the truth of the manly and energetic account given by M. Marguerites, Mayor of Nismes, to the National Assembly,* that he went up to him, at their bar, to which the latter had been dragged as a criminal, and in presence of the members, told him "that he was touched to the quick with his statements. That he adhered to them with all his heart and soul; and if he were not obliged to consult the committee upon it, he would immediately mount the tribune, and avow his opi-

* See Annual Register, vol. XXXIV. page 94.—These accounts were taken by it chiefly from Alquier's report; and the "*Comte rendu les 22d and 23d Fevrier a l' Assemblée nationale au nom de la Municipalite de Nismes, par M. de Marguerites, Maire de Nismes, et Deputé au department de Garde,*" &c. &c.

nion to the assembly." Investigation was, however, hushed, as it always was, when it turned out unfavourable to the Revolutionary Junta.

But it was not at Nismes alone, that the Protestants and their friends visited their political opponents with vengeance. In the subsequent year, they were deeply concerned in the horrible butcheries at Avignon. This city, and territory attached to it, contained a population of 200,000 souls. It belonged to the Pope, from whom it was at this time wrested by violence, on the part of the French government; and because the inhabitants wished to live under their ancient religion and laws, they were proscribed, banished, and butchered without mercy. In page 795, of the former Narrative, the reader will find an account, horrible as it is, of one part of these proceedings; taken not only from official, but, as it regarded the perpetrators, friendly authority. But, besides these, were many atrocious scenes. The infamous Jourdan (not the General of that name,) commanded these horrible massacres. The prisons were crowded with innocent victims. They were daily dragged out, one by one, and murdered. Jourdan always stood by with his drawn sabre, and threatened the executioner when he hesitated. The Marquis Rochegude, while ill of the gout, was dragged out, summarily condemned, and hanged in such a manner that he lingered an hour in torment; while his executioners danced around him, with the most insulting language, and pricking him with their bayonets, till he died. Abbé Offray was murdered in a similar manner. Several towns resisted these banditti led against them. Cavaillon was taken by storm, and many of its inhabitants massacred. In this attack, the Protestants of the South bore an active part, and lost a number of men. Among other instances of cruelty which here took place, is the following: A French deserter having cut off the head of M. Rostang, a captain of artillery, brought it in triumph to his comrades; and mingled the dripping blood, in the cups with the wine, with which they were celebrating their victory. At Carpentras, and around it, even greater cruelties took place. There, the Protestants from Nismes, were again particularly active. Girls were not only violated, but mutilated; and infants were butchered at their mother's breasts. A priest was martyred at the high

altar, for endeavouring to preserve the holy sacrament from pollution. They murdered their own General, (an Irish adventurer named Patrick, or Patris,) because he endeavoured to save the life of a prisoner. Jourdan was then put in his place. During the siege of Carpentras, Guerin de Mazin cut the throats of some unarmed prisoners; and, with his comrades, feasted on their livers.* The revolutionary soldiers wore in their hats inscriptions, with these words, "brave banditti of the army of the department of Vaucluse;" and Jourdan and his followers made it their common boast, that they wanted human heads to play at bowls. Preparatory to the greatest massacres at Avignon, most of the troops of the line, and the national guards of the neighbourhood, were dismissed; and their places supplied by armed revolutionists from Marseilles, Arles, Montpellier, the Protestant towns of the Cevennes, and the Protestant companies of Nismes. Four hundred of the latter marched into Avignon on the 15th June, who threatened to hang every one who pronounced the name of the Pope. I pass over the lighter enormities, or bare murders. The troops of the line, scandalized at the disorders which they were not allowed to prevent, desired permission to evacuate their posts, and were accordingly relieved by the national guards of Nismes. On the 21st, these murderous scenes became more serious. Jourdan seized the palace, the arsenal, the arms, and the cannon. The inhabitants endeavoured to escape in every direction. Eighty were imprisoned in the prisons of the palace; from whence they were drawn out, one by one; and, after a mock trial, shot. During the first three days, fifteen perished in this manner. M. Forrestier was wounded with a pistol, had his two arms hacked off, and was afterwards dispatched with a musquet, and his head carried in triumph on a pike. M. Aime, one of the earliest promoters of the revolution, who had fled from their rage, was brought back stretched on a cart, bathed in his own blood; while his wife and children were, with insolence, prevented from taking a last farewel. These horrors continued to increase. Guilty and innocent were imprisoned together, in the dungeons of the palace; and, by the middle of October,

* La situation politique de Avignon, page 37 and 38.

amounted, by some accounts, to the number of 600.* Their destruction was resolved on. On the night between the 16th and 17th October, 1791, they were taken out, one by one; and after being levelled to the ground by two ruffians, who stood at the prison gate with bars of iron for the purpose, they were dispatched, and hewn in pieces with sabres. M. Nollhac, a remarkable clergyman, 80 years old, was the last that was dispatched, after bestowing his benediction upon his fellow sufferers. To deprive their friends and families of the melancholy consolation of weeping over their mangled remains, the bodies were thrown into the ice-house, and covered with loads of sand. Compelled to notice, in some shape, these horrors, the National Assembly sent commissioners to investigate the affair. Upon their arrival, in order to ascertain the extent of the massacre, they attempted to dig out the bodies. Amidst the most heart-rending scene ever witnessed, many were brought forth; but in such a putrid and mangled state, that they were compelled to desist. Amongst those thus dug out, each of the survivors endeavoured to find a friend or relative: all sought with anxiety, for the remains of their venerable pastor. He was found, distinguished by his clerical dress, and his crucifix beside him. They flocked in crowds round his mutilated body: his remains were exposed to view for several days, to satisfy his weeping flock; who beheld these with feelings bordering on idolatry, so much was he esteemed and beloved. The National Assembly, in opposition to themselves, at first heard of these scenes with horror. The paper dropped from the hand of him who read the report of their own commissioners; and exclamations of horror and grief resounded through their hall. Jourdan was imprisoned. He was strenuously defended by Bazire, Thuriot, and M. Vassall, but more particularly by M. La Source, a Calvinist minister, who, amidst the applause of the galleries, contended that the people (that is the assassins) of Avignon might justly reproach the French, if an amnesty was not granted to them, as well as to those of Nismes, Montauban, and other places. He then endeavoured to turn their attention to M. Bouillé, who had assisted to deliver the King from their tyranny. His sophistry, and that of his colleagues, succeeded. Only four persons were selected for

* Abbe Barreul's history of the clergy; and Annual Register, vol. XXXIV.

punishment, for inferior offences. Jourdan returned to Avignon in triumph. The terrified inhabitants endeavoured to obtain his mercy. The Mayor went forth to meet him, in order to supplicate protection for the lives and properties of his fellow citizens. Jourdan returned him the brutal and afflicting answer, that "*this time the ice-house should be full.*" New murders ensued. The country was laid waste: from 30,000, the population of Avignon, was reduced to the number of 5000. Their destroyers were praised and rewarded; and the men *of the ice-house of Avignon*, became afterwards a title of revolutionary glory; and was boasted of as one of the signal achievements of that calamitous period.*

It would be endless to relate the horrors of that period of bloodshed; and in which, the inhabitants of the South of France, bore the most conspicuous part. No conduct, on the part of their religious or political opponents, could possibly justify such cruel and unwarrantable proceedings against them. Nor can it be dissembled, that the inhabitants from the Protestant districts, were amongst the most active in these revolutionary broils. We again find many of the inhabitants of Nismes acting a conspicuous part at the brutal attack on the Thuilleries, on the fatal 10th of August, 1792. It is not to be supposed, nor is it here meant to state, that there were none who professed the Protestant faith, who did lament and abhor these horrible proceedings. No doubt there were; as there is also little doubt that many of the intelligent Catholics do the horrors of 1815: but, unfortunately in these convulsions, the fierce passions attend to no distinction. Guilty and innocent frequently suffer alike; as was no doubt the case both in 1790 and in 1815. That the chief promoters of these diabolical scenes, at the commencement of the French revolution, were ferocious Atheists, is no doubt certain; but it cannot be denied that the sufferers were almost exclusively Roman Catholics, who remained stedfast to their religion and their King, according to the Constitution of 1789: and it must not be dissembled, that nearly all those who called themselves Protestants, espoused the political principles of that infernal banditti; in general following their banners, and joining in

* Annual Register, vol. XXXIV. page 224 to 264.

their diabolical deeds. There is no doubt also, but the Catholics, particularly the clergy, were in many instances concerned in plans to regain their lost rights and properties. The daily, arbitrary, and unjust decrees of the Assembly, which at last stripped them of every thing, infallibly led to this result. If the late persecution against the Protestants is put wholly upon religious grounds, those of 1790, &c. against the Catholics, may be so also; and would this mend the matter in favour of the former? It would not. The sufferings of the Catholic clergy and their hearers, during the French revolution, were horrible beyond description: and whatever their errors and failings, nay, even in some instances, their guilt, may have been; it is impossible for even the most ordinary feelings not to feel something more than common indignation against their persecutors. Their loyalty to their King; their devotion to their God, according to the dictates of their conscience; in the midst of unprecedented horrors and distress, drew even praise from their enemies, and had a totally different effect to what their persecutors anticipated. In the proceedings against them, the members from the South were the most violent; and as these were, as they themselves said, freely elected by their constituents, they must have spoke their sentiments. Those priests who would not violate their duty to their King and to their God; who refused to take the oath to a Constitution daily assuming new shapes, were proscribed, drowned, and butchered, in hundreds. Nay, to such a height did this hatred reach, that dead bodies of both sexes were dug up, to be buried in unconsecrated ground; because the deceased had not heard mass from a priest who had taken the constitutional oath. These bodies were frequently left to rot above ground. In one instance, a young man and woman at Villeneuve near Cordes, having refused to be married by the new priest, a band of ruffians entered the house on the wedding day by force. The bridegroom having fled, they seized the bride, subjected her by force to their brutal passion; and then mutilating her and tearing off her breasts with their nails, left her to expire in torments.* I conceive it perfectly unne-

* Abbe Barreul's history of the clergy; and Annual Register vol. XXXIV.—If any thing was wanting to establish the extreme ferocity of the French character in 1791, and subsequent years, the two following facts would establish it as

cessary to relate more of these horrible persecutions; all of which arose from political principles, and political objects. It is well known that the great contest during the French revolution was for political power, not for religious pre-eminence. The former was the cause of all the evils that afflicted France, and whose consequences have desolated Europe. In these, the friends of Louis, who were almost all Catholics, were the greatest sufferers. The wrongs they suffered were of such a hideous and heinous nature, that it was certainly beyond the power of human nature to forget, or even to forgive them; in a country whose whole business, from the period of these deadly feuds, had been external war and violence. These things were therefore remembered, resentment cherished, and revenge anticipated, and wanted only a fresh provocation to shew itself. That opportun-

beyond a parallel. Near Lyons, Guillon de Montet, an old man, formerly governor of Senegal, was butchered without any cause. In vain his wife, with her two children in her arms, supplicated mercy from the assassins. The house was set on fire—de Montet escaped—he was taken—in sight of his wife and children; he was literally hacked to pieces alive. With his last breath he blessed his wife and children. His head was cut off; his bleeding limbs were carried in triumph round the neighbouring villages. The rest of the assassins quarrelled about his bleeding trunk; they smeared their hands and faces with his blood. *They roasted and were devouring his flesh*, when they were disturbed by the troops of the police, in their horrid repast. Madame Montet appeared in the National Assembly, and pled her cause with dignity; but she could not repeat these horrors, but which she gave in writing, to be read in her absence. She demanded redress. The Assembly heard her with apparent commiseration, but no murderer was brought to justice.

Defeated by the Austrians, in 1792, the cowardly troops murdered all their officers, who they said had betrayed them, because they were aristocrats. Rochambeau though wounded in battle, fell pierced by their brutal bayonets, as he entered Lille. His body, after being insulted by every indignity and mutilated, was thrown into a fire which they had kindled in the market-place, at Lille; round which they danced like savages, with the most diabolical howlings. His heart was torn from his bleeding body, and sent to a lady of the General's family; who, though newly delivered of a child, had been confined for 36 hours in a damp cellar. She was informed that she might either satisfy her hunger with it, or starve! The Assembly shuddered at the recital of these horrors. La Fayette branded them as "cowardly cannibals," but that was all. These things were only looked upon as mere specks in that blessed revolution, which was by its blessings to compensate for the blood of all aristocrats; a gentle swell on that ocean, which was to settle into eternal calm. The whole language of those in authority always commanded to respect, and to be lenient to those patriots who were willing to shed the last drop of their blood for liberty!—See Annual Register, vol. XXXIV. pages 403 and 404.

ity, as we shall presently see, was most unfortunately afforded them. Under the revolutionary ambition, and imperial tyranny, no measures were taken to spread the light of benevolence and mercy; to soften these resentments, or extract the deadly poison from the sting which these tragic scenes had left. Both had other objects in view. All their endeavours were only exerted to unite these fierce spirits against Europe. Those passions were thus encouraged not repressed—grew with the growth of French power, and strengthened with its strength; but were for a time directed by the tremendous power of the national vanity, exclusively to objects of external violence. It could not however, escape the most ordinary penetration, that the moment in which Frenchmen were deterred and prevented from murdering and oppressing Europe, that these fierce resentments would break forth amongst themselves, in all their bitterest consequences. It was said Bonaparte repressed the violence of this persecuting spirit on the part of the Catholics, and that therefore the Protestants loved him. It is very unfortunate, if their safety is alone to consist in the prosperity of a power, which cannot exist with safety to Europe. But it cannot be that either his power, or rather the revolutionary power, is alone capable of, and absolutely necessary to protect the Protestants in the South of France from religious persecution. When he fell first, there was no persecution either heard of, or intended. During the short reign of Louis XVIII. in 1814, universal toleration was allowed and proclaimed. It was never even surmised in all the factions and false accusations made against him, that such things were ever thought on. His faithful friends in every part of France expressed, as they well might, the most unfeigned joy for the return of a family for whom they had suffered so much. Yet this joy was construed by the fears of their opponents, as expressions indicative of violence and re-action against them. It was, therefore, political principles alone, which could induce the Protestants to espouse so generally and so cordially as they did, the cause of Napoleon, after his return from Elba, and to support the revolutionary system which re-called him. The adherents and friends of the King, in these places, were every where proscribed, banished, or massacred; and it was in the department of the Garde, where

the Duke de Angouleme was treated with every possible indignity; and was arrested like a criminal, after a solemn convention to the contrary. Some hundreds of his followers were massacred or banished, and no punishment whatever was inflicted upon the perpetrators. Even when Napoleon was overthrown, they still endeavoured, by supporting his son, to oppose the Royal Government. This, as has been related, brought the parties into collision; old animosities were recollected; resentments were given scope to, and the horrors of the revolution were renewed. It was not because their opponents were religious opponents, but because they had been political opponents and revolutionary enemies, which made the Catholics now attack them; but which nevertheless forms no justification for the lawless and brutal proceedings against the former. But these are facts which must be attended to, in order to ascertain the origin of the evil complained of. In examining the details, while we condemn the one, we cannot acquit the other; while the political principles of those who thus disgraced the Protestant faith and the Protestant profession in 1790, were also, unfortunately for them at variance, with the political welfare of Europe. Whatever religious feelings were mixed in these disgraceful proceedings, (and, no doubt, these were considerable,) still it is obvious to every one who will take a particular view of the subject, that political motives were the true origin of the mischief. These too were rooted in their worst forms, from general ignorance, old and cruel injuries, a total change of property, and religious differences. These combined, even if Louis XVIII. had been seated on his throne at their commencement, as he was not, would have required a power much stronger, more despotic, and less encumbered with difficulties than his was, to have prevented or punished with the severity such things deserved. How many professions of religion there are in the South of France, where so little of real religion seems to be understood, it is impossible to determine; but the world cannot possibly forget that from these departments in the South of France, where difference in religious principles prevail most, came all the most furious and ferocious of that banditti which scourged France, and which disgraced human nature. The Girondists, of which

the Federates from the south, took the lead; the Brissotines, of which Brissot was the head, and which parties were composed chiefly of the members from the Southern departments, were those who brought their King to the scaffold; who plunged France into a war with the Continent, and in a more particular manner with England. The people of that part of France, and in a very particular manner, those who were not Roman Catholics, have from first to last most assiduously scattered over the world those principles which sapped the foundations of society; and during all its career, most cordially supported that hideous system which, while it brutalized France, ravaged and endeavoured to make the people of Europe slaves and barbarians. The sad effects of all this profligate conduct with religion, and without religion, in civil and in political proceedings, the inhabitants of France are destined to feel. Her present situation is one of those fatal legacies which her national revolution, injustice, and crimes, have left her; and confirms in a strong manner indeed, the truth of the enormities which Europe has suffered from her hand, when they have exercised and do exercise such cruelties upon each other. Where, in another nation that ever was removed a degree from the savage state, did we hear of human beings tearing out the hearts of their victims, and squeezing the blood out of the same to mix with the wine which they drank? Where, in this globe, will we find a nation who dwell where knowledge may be found, any part of whose people would take out either their religious or political opponents before the doors of their dwellings, and in sight of their families cut their throats, the same as a butcher would a sheep? Degraded and worthless race! whose conduct as a nation, Atheist, Catholic, or Protestant, have justly made mankind their foes, and whose barbarous spirit if they had a leader to guide it, a politician to disunite their enemies, who, if they yet saw an opportunity, or if they dared, would in a moment unite these jarring and evil elements, to transfer the iron bars of Avignon, and the daggers of Nismes, to London, Petersburgh, Vienna, or Berlin. While we feel satisfaction at our own happy state, we cannot help deploring the distracted situation of France, whose present government is compelled to adopt the following line of conduct in midst of such horrors. "It ought not," say

they, "to be regarded as a political heresy to assert, that while there exist two parties so decidedly opposed, it is not just to punish the re-action, before those are punished, who, by their bad treatment, have given occasion to that re-action. It is because this eternal truth has been disregarded, that disorder continues in that country."* In a country like this it is a chimera, for some time, to talk of free constitutions. It is idle to talk of religion. The latter is unknown, and the former cannot exist. From such a society we have seen what Representatives have been chosen, and we may form some idea of what will. They must be votaries of ferocity, ignorance, superstition, or Atheism. The amount of the knowledge which France seems to have gained by all her atrocities, internal and external, seems to be, that she has learned only political injustice, moral depravity, and religious bigotry.

While these tragic scenes were passing in the South of France, numerous bands of armed robbers infested the public roads, and carried terror and death over other parts of the country. The free corps, in particular, wherever these appeared spared neither friend nor foe, but carried desolation over whole provinces. "The crops rot on the ground. The inhabitants," said Fouche, "fly before bands of undisciplined soldiers."† To them the Cossacks were mild, and the Prussians merciful. In Paris the rallying cries and the ensign of rebellion were still seen and heard. The violet was thrown aside for the red pink which designated the friends of Napoleon. The presence, however, of the allied armies, prevented the occurrence of scenes like those at Nismes. The gaiety of the Parisians nevertheless, continued undiminished. The march and triumphant reviews of the allied armies which should have recalled to their minds the humiliation and disgrace of their country, were in general, to all outward appearance, beheld with satisfaction and exultation. The King issued ordinances for the better observation of the Sabbath and the duties of religion. But the capital had not time to attend to such serious matters. The theatres, more crowded on Sabbath than on any other day of the week, afforded them greater pleasure. The receipts of

* Narrative of the affairs at Nismes published by the French Government, 1815.

† Fouche's report, afterwards mentioned.

these places of amusement for a month, ending September 14th, was 462,912 francs, (about £23,000.*) Their joy for the return of the King, and the overthrow of oppression, was not shewn in the way that any other rational nation would have expressed it. It was not by the silent thankfulness of the heart, or the solemn voice of religious obedience, No! "we are assured," said their Journals, "that a great number of our most elegant ladies mean to celebrate the return of the best of Kings, by dancing, to-morrow (Sunday) evening, in the garden of the Thuilleries under the windows of the palace. This *charming assembly* would have taken place last Sunday, but for the bad weather."† This "charming" employment continued afterwards to be their Sunday employment, except when compelled to yield to the fury of the elements, or to the seditious cries and wicked tricks of the Jacobins and pink wearers, to whom all days were alike if employed in mischief. A few, but the smaller number, followed a more rational course. In the above manner, Bonaparte was wont to allow the Parisians to amuse themselves and him on the Sabbath. The King was forced to tolerate the system. Such proceedings, however, shewed not that solid judgment and reflection, which constitutes the character of a man or a people; but merely displayed that giddy levity which fixes itself on every object, and yet has affection or care for none. Such things may appear of little consequence. It is because that they were in this instance trifling, that they become dangerous. Followed in such perilous moments, in such solemn hours, big with fate and heavy with collected vengeance, these pursuits are beneath the dignity of the nobler feelings of the human mind. Such proceedings are of much more importance than the thoughtless are aware of, or the irreligious willing to allow. In the minds of my countrymen, and in the breasts of the generality of the people of Europe, such proceedings do, and will continue to excite contempt and abhorrence. Whatever Frenchmen may do, they will consider that six days are quite sufficient for every enjoyment of rational mirth and public diversion, in all times; but more especially when the anger of Heaven, for national crimes, hangs over a guilty land in a

* Gazette de France. September 11th, 1815.

† Journal des Debats, July 15th. 1815.

most conspicuous manner. The Atheist may mock, the fool may laugh at these truths; the immoral and irreligious may treat these conclusions as erroneous; but let them turn their attention to the walks of private life, and see, hear, and learn, from the numerous victims of violated laws, the origin of a life mispent, and these will tell them that thoughtless pleasures on Sunday first led them to days of wickedness—to weeks of dissipation—to months of crimes—to trial—to condemnation, and an untimely and an ignominious death. Let them unfold the volume of the history of those nations which have enjoyed the privilege of revealed religion, and particularly that volume dictated by unerring wisdom, and from whose invulnerable pages the darts of Voltaire, and, the shafts of the goddess of Reason, wielded by her stoutest champions, rebound, discomfited and broken; and they will see this important truth exemplified in a strong and in a striking manner. It forms the severest complaint of the Lord of Hosts against his chosen people, and a continued profanation of this day by them brought with it his anger, foreign armies, captivity and desolation. And was not France at this moment, experiencing a similar visitation for this, as well as for other offences. Let infidelity herself, examine into what the conduct of this people, in this respect, has been for the last thirty years, and she must acknowledge the conclusion to be just. Foreign armies now occupied the capital and overspread the provinces of France; called together to secure all that is valuable to mankind, and to beat down all that is dangerous to them. But not in this instance only was the punishment of France conspicuous. The following important fact appears to me to be so remarkable, that I shall notice it in a particular manner. In a general review of the allied forces under the command of the Duke of Wellington at Paris, this chief, accompanied by all the sovereigns of Europe, with their suites, consisting of the chief men from every state, took their triumphant stand upon that bloody spot, where Louis XVI. was murdered, where the first permanent Guillotine was erected, and the numerous revolutionary murders or rather massacres, were openly and exultingly perpetrated. It was on the 24th July that this review took place. The Duke of Wellington as commander in chief, having on his right the

Emperor of Russia, and on his left the Emperor of Austria, with the King of Prussia, and accompanied with all their retinues, took his stand upon this memorable and fatal spot: and thus, a general of that nation, which had opposed with more firmness than others the principles and the power which had occasioned those catastrophes, and which had been pursued with more than common hatred, was made the instrument before the eyes of all Europe, to tread in triumph over that hideous spot, the bloodiest in the annals of mankind. It was not because Louis XVI. was a tyrant, but because he was a sovereign; not so much because he was a Sovereign, as because he was the head of regular government, order, and laws, that he was cut off; and that those who supported him suffered. It was not that here religion and morality were overthrown, derided, denied. It was not that mere human laws and institutions which were here violated and trampled upon; but it was that here the safe guards of human nature were broken down, and the laws of the Creator, for its protection, trampled upon with exultation, and violated with mockery and scorn. At that moment the good amongst mankind trembled: the opinions of many were shaken. The consequences which followed these deeds, were for a while so successful and so dazzling, that amongst multitudes of mankind these were stripped of their criminality. Time passed: the events were faintly remembered; even where these took place. But these were registered where they could not be obliterated. These were laid up where they could not be forgotten; and the hour advanced with giant steps, which, by the voice of an united and indignant world, was to redress and triumph over those crimes committed against human nature, on that spot where all its feelings were outraged; where all its safeguards were broken down—where all its laws were violated. In the crime these committed all Europe was interested. Its consequences all Europe felt: and it would seem as if the retribution of Heaven had collected the chiefs of Europe to that spot, on it to erect their pavilions, whose appearance and security covered the murderers of that Prince and so many other innocent victims, with shame; and France, because she deserved it, with humiliation. The perpetrators may, and still do, think other-

wise. They may deny these truths; they may treat with contempt this awful inference. It is not expected to convince them of their error, any more than in this instance of the just application of the punishment. But, on the fatal 21st of January 1793, had any one told them, that on the spot where Santerre drowned the voice of his innocent Sovereign, and where a horde of demons afterwards, with cries of "*Vive la Marat! Vive la Nation!*" stifled the voice of nature and the feelings of humanity; had he been told that all the sovereigns of Europe, with their princes and servants, should, at no distant day, take their stand upon it to review those conquering hosts which, in defence of truth and justice, had laid France at their feet, the individual would no more have been believed or attended to than what the prophet Jeremiah was by the obstinate Jews, when, in the midst of Egyptian security, and in their sight, he hid the "*great stones*" in "the clay at the brick kiln," which was "*at the entry of Pharoah's house in Tahpannes,*" and there foretold to them that "the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel," would "send and take Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon," his "servant," and "set his throne upon these stones," and "spread his royal pavilion over them."* Yet the event was literally fulfilled. And from the hand of unerring Justice, violence and murder will, in every age, and in every country, whether perpetrated by a nation or by an individual, receive commensurate punishment.

While France was thus bleeding at every pore, from the effects of foreign invasion and internal commotion, the spirit of revolt and rebellion had spread to her colonies in the Carribbean Ocean. The promptitude and decision, however, of the British officers commanding on that station, with the loyalty and firmness of Count Vangirard, governor of Martinique, saved that fine colony from any convulsion. That island had preserved its ancient affection for its legitimate Sovereign. Captured by the British in 1794, it was saved from all the horrors of that spirit of evil which was beginning to work in the western world. Except from the peace of Amiens till 1808, it was constantly under the British flag, and had imbibed no revolutionary or disorganizing principles. Its inhabitants,

* Jeremiah xliii. 9, 10.

therefore, were well affected to Louis XVIII. But the garrison, newly arrived from France, were not. To a man, they were for their former master; on which account they were, no doubt, selected for that employment. No sooner was the arrival of Bonaparte in France known, than the governor, arming the militia, on whom he knew he could depend, placed them in the forts; and assembling the troops, he informed them of what had taken place in the mother country, and declared his intention to remain faithful to Louis XVIII. He called upon the garrison to do so also, which they refused; and, to a man, shouted out for their beloved Napoleon. Count Vangirard then informed them, that so situated, they had but one course left to choose, which was to return to France in vessels which he had provided for that purpose; as he was determined, with the aid of the inhabitants, to preserve the colony to the King, till the assistance which he was certain he would receive from the British, put it in his power to do so with safety. This expected assistance soon appeared, under Sir James Leith and Admiral Durham. The refractory garrison were embarked for France; and Martinique was put in possession of the British, as a deposit for Louis XVIII. Having thus secured this important place; the British officers immediately proceeded to Guadaloupe, with the forces under their command, and there offered Linois, who was governor of that valuable island, and under him General Boyer, as the commandant of the troops, any assistance they might wish, to secure the colony to Louis XVIII. This Linois declined, stating that his force was sufficient to protect the place, which he assured the British commanders he intended to retain for Louis XVIII. The British Generals satisfied with this declaration, departed; and no sooner were they gone, than the faithless Linois and his odious coadjutor, Boyer, abandoned the cause of Louis, and espoused that of Napoleon. Their former professions of fidelity made to the British commanders were only made to deceive, and to get them out of the way, with the force which they had at that moment, under their command which was sufficient, in the unprepared state in which they were to have reduced them to obedience, and to have captured the colony. This island was in a very different state to that of Martinique. The horrors of

the revolution had visited and taken up their abode in it; and 1794 saw in Guadaloupe horrors and crimes perpetrated, such as yielded in no respect, or rather that surpassed the most barbarous proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal in France. They too had such a judgment seat—they too had their guillotines; which, too slow in their operations to satiate their vengeance, the unhappy victims were taken out by hundreds, and being placed in trenches dug for the purpose, were murdered by discharges of artillery, loaded with grape shot; and their mangled remains immediately covered over with quicklime and earth to hide them from view, and prevent a pestilence from their putrid remains. Under the infamous Victor Hughes, it became a den of robbers, and the refuge for all that was evil in the western world. The greater number of the loyal and peaceable inhabitants were dispoiled of their properties, which were confiscated and sold to the children of the revolution; who therefore preferred the government which succeeded it, to that of their legitimate Sovereign. In Guadaloupe he had but few friends, and those insulted and despised. Linois and Boyer having assembled the garrison, and the leading men of the colony, proclaimed their intention to declare for Bonaparte; which resolution was heard with satisfaction, and eagerly put in execution. An early day was appointed for that purpose. It was a most inauspicious one; it was the 18th of June. On this day the tri-coloured flag was hoisted on all the forts of Guadaloupe and its dependencies. On this occasion, Linois addressed them in a proclamation, which it is needless to quote, as it is similar to many we have already considered; informing them, in short, that Napoleon was the only man fit to govern the French dominions, and swearing eternal love and obedience to him, and hatred to his enemies; and congratulating the inhabitants of Guadaloupe at the certain glory which awaited their future destiny, under the gentle sway of Napoleon; and applauding them for the very ready manner in which they had then so clearly expressed their true feelings and genuine patriotism. Their triumph and their exultation was very great; but it was doomed to be very short indeed. No sooner was this act of treachery, baseness and deception made known to the British commanders, than preparations were made to

attack the place. So vigorous were these measures, that without any supplies from Britain, by the end of July a force calculated as sufficient to capture the Colony, was assembled under the directions of Sir James Leith and Admiral Durham. The first division sailed from Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, on the 31st July, and was met at the Saintes, already occupied by the British troops of the second division, assembled from the islands to Leeward. With this united force, the commanders proceeded to Guadaloupe, where Linois and Boyer had assembled a force of 6000 men, regulars and militia, with armed negroes; the whole considerably exceeding the number of the British forces brought against them. The fortifications also, were extensive and strong; yet, nevertheless, so judicious and decided were all the movements of the British commanders, that on the 10th of August, the British flag waved in triumph over all the fortifications of Guadaloupe. All the garrison and militia who were found in arms were to be sent to France, as prisoners of war, under the directions of Lord Wellington; and all public property of every description, was given up to the British government. No other terms would be granted to the garrison; and little time was allowed for them to accept or reject these. The British loss in this important operation was 16 killed, 51 wounded, and 4 missing. The capture of this island saved it from another scene of revolutionary fury. That abominable spirit was not laid to sleep; nor could it be expected under such a wretch as Boyer, one of the most ferocious of all its tools, as St. Domingo can bear witness. During the short period that Linois and this man reigned, terror and proscription became the order of the day. It is a fact, that many of the royalists were already condemned to death, before the arrival of the British armament; and, incredible as it may seem, were reserved in dungeons, to celebrate the birth day of Napoleon with greater *eclat*, by their murder. Such a set of monsters were never produced since Nero made a sport of human misery. They are enemies of human nature, against whom all its outraged principles call out for stern retribution. It was remarkable how this atrocious, cool, and deliberate deed of wickedness was passed over, almost without notice, by those men who were for ever conjuring up atrocities in the adherents of

Louis XVIII. We were even called upon to disbelieve the fact, which was indisputable. The pen of a British General was never used in communicating falsehood; nor his, who drew a sword under Wellington, in publishing exaggeration. Let us hear his words in this instance: "Under the flag of the most unprovoked rebellion," said Sir James Leith, "the slaves had been *called to arms*, and many were wrought up to a pitch of *sanguinary phrenzy*, threatening the immediate destruction of the Colony. *Every sanguinary measure* had been devised, and the *worst scenes* of the revolution were to be re-commenced; and the 15th of August, the birth day of Bonaparte, *was to have been solemnized by the execution of the Royalists, already condemned to death.*"* These proceedings were in the pure and unadultered style of the Goddess of Reason, and sufficiently established the source from whence they sprang. When, in the month of April preceding, Bonaparte, or rather the party which governed him, made him abolish the slave trade, few were aware of their real views in this measure. It was not because this trade was inhuman, or unjust: it was not because by abolishing it, that they and he might gain popular applause for the moment: No, they had a deeper object in view. If we lose our Colonies, we shall at least make them useless to our enemies, was their calculation; and if we are to have no Colonial establishments, neither shall they. With these feelings, their intentions, no doubt, were to emancipate again, as they had done before, all the slaves in their own islands; from whence they would have scattered the firebrands of rebellion, insurrection, destruction and death, over all the British Colonies, which they had once before attempted, and with too much success. Such unquestionably were their real views; and the conduct of their commanders at Guadaloupe in this instance, in arming the slaves, and working them "*up to a pitch of sanguinary phrenzy*," was only the beginning of that system, which was to have been scattered over the Caribbean Archipelago; and which would have left every island in it, one general scene of mourning, misery, and ruin. Such are the ultimate views and general pursuits of what are called French humanity, always dictated by a Machiavelian policy, which it would require the

* Sir James Leith's dispatch, August 12th.

wings of a demon to follow in its progress, and the pen of a Machiavel to trace.

After considerable delay and apparent inaction, the King began to take more serious and decisive measures with regard to the numerous traitors, whose treason had driven him from his throne. A decree was issued, degrading some from the rank of Peers of France, for having sat in the Assembly of that name under Bonaparte's usurpation. Some were ordered to be arrested, and carried before a council of war for punishment; and a still greater number were by this measure directed to place themselves under the surveillance of the police, and to take up their abodes in whatever part of France it might direct or command them. Amongst the former were Counts Clement de Rio, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Abbeville, de Croix, Dedelay d'Agier, Dejean, Fabre de l' Aude, Gassendi, Lacepede, Latour Maubourg, de Barral (Archbishop of Tours,) Boissy de Anglas, de Conclaux, Cassabianca, de Montesquiou, Pontecoulant, Rampon, de Segur, Valnee, and Belliard; Marshalls the Dukes of Dantzic, Elchingen, Albufera, Cornegliano, Treviso; and the Dukes of Praslen, Plaisance, and de Cadore. From this number was to be excepted all those who within one month, should prove they had not sat, nor been willing to sit in the soi-disant House of Peers. Amongst the number directed to be arrested, and carried before a council of war for trial and punishment were, Ney, Labodeyere, the two Lallemand's, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebre Desnouettes, Amulh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clauzel, Laborde, Debele, Bertrand, Dronet, Cambrone, Lavalette, and Rovigo. Amongst those who were commanded to quit Paris in three days, and to retire into the interior, to such places as were pointed out to them by the police were, Soult, Alex, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehée Fressinet, Thibadeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Peré, Barrere, Arnard, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean de Angley, Arrighi (Padua) Dejean (the son) Garnau, Real, Bouvier, Dumolard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defremont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courten, Forbin Janson (the eldest son) and Lorgue Dideville. These men

were to remain in this situation, until the Chambers decided whether they were to be sent out of the kingdom, or delivered over for trial to the Tribunals. These were afterwards banished from France, by a fresh decree; but where they are to take up their abodes is uncertain. St. Jean de Angley went to America, as did also the King of Spain. This list was declared to comprehend all whom it was found necessary to mark out for punishment; and was never "to be extended to others for any causes, and under any pretext whatever, other than in form and according to the Constitutional laws, which were expressly departed from for this case alone."* Foremost on the arrested list were Labodeyere and Ney. The former was immediately brought to trial, because he was the first who openly espoused Bonaparte's cause; and, from his youth and respectable connexions, his fate excited considerable interest. He denied having had any intercourse with Bonaparte previous to his leaving Elba, and stated his belief that no such intercourse any where existed: he and many others were discontented, but he "knew nothing of any determined plot." He said he had nothing personal to complain of; that he obtained nothing from the King, and had done nothing for him. From the proceedings in the court, it appeared, that as soon as he heard of Bonaparte's advance towards Grenoble, he left that garrison in open defiance of the commanding officer, Marshal Devilliers. The Field Marshal succeeded in bringing back to their duty 100 men of the 7th regiment of the line. Labodeyere, however, carried off the rest, exclaiming "*Vive le Empereur!*" and replying to Devilliers, "country and honour;" which words, unfortunately, said the Marshal, he did not "understand in the same manner that I did." In his defence, Labodeyere wished to impress upon the audience that it was his "honour," not his "life," that he was most anxious to defend. "I may have been deceived," said he; "*misled by false illusions*, by recollections, by false ideas of honour; it is possible that *country* spoke a chimerical language to my heart." He wished, he said, to preserve in his regiment the "*esprit de corps*," *and not to allow them to forget the warrior who had so often led them to victory.* This spirit, he said, that he should

* Decree by the King, 24th July, 1815.

have been *happy to have taught to his troops, on account of the Bourbons*, whom so many great deeds had made illustrious. "I do not conceal," said he, "that I set off with sad *presentiments*, but Napoleon was far from my thoughts." He could not, he said, foresee that France under a *new regime* would in three months resume a political attitude. "I had not," said he, "*foreseen this coalition of all Europe;* but I was the victim to a *vague uneasiness*, of which, nevertheless, I could explain, and perhaps justify the cause." He then proceeded to state, that "in 1814, neither the nation nor the army could any longer suffer the yoke of Bonaparte—it was tired of a war without motive—exhausted by sacrifices without utility." Every one, according to him, wanted a "*repairing* Government." This they found in Louis XVIII. but the "outrageous zeal of faithful servants did much harm." As he was proceeding to lay open their faults in justification of what he had done, the President reminded him that it was not a "political," but a "military" crime of which he was accused, and they were to judge. "It is," said the President, "for a violation of your duties as a soldier and a Colonel; try to destroy the proofs which are furnished against you." This, however, Labodeyere declared, that he neither had the means nor inclination to do; and concluded his speech to the court, by an eulogy upon the King; in whose return, he said, he saw "all promises fulfilled, all guarantees consecrated, the Constitution perfected; and foreigners will see again, I hope, a great nation in the French united round the King." The firm and dignified manner in which he addressed the Court, greatly interested all present. The sum of his defence, however, seemed to be, that he was right, because he thought so. But the proofs against him were too plain, and the offence too serious, to admit of pardon. He was accordingly sentenced to die. He appealed to a revision of his sentence, but without effect. Every intercession was made with the King for mercy, but it was of no avail.—His young and amiable wife, habited in deep mourning, threw herself at the King's feet, and in agony bathed them with her tears, and entreated for mercy to her unfortunate husband. But in vain; the King declared had the offence been against himself, he would have pardoned it; but being

against the peace and honour of the nation, he could not.—Labodeyere, therefore, prepared for his fate. He met it with firmness. At six o'clock, in the evening of the 19th, he was led out to the plain of Grenelle. He refused to allow his eyes to be bandaged. He entreated the soldiers, who were to fire, to take a sure aim; "above all," said he, "do not miss me." He gave the signal—in a moment he was no more. Thus fell Labodeyere. His unfortunate widow died soon after, of a broken heart, leaving an only son, whom the King took under his protection. A prodigious outcry was raised against the King for not pardoning this man. He was styled the murdered and the martyred; while his crime as a soldier, throwing all other circumstances out of consideration, clearly subjected him to the fate he met. Better and braver fell at Waterloo; and had he remained firm at his post, the career of Bonaparte might never have extended beyond Grenoble, nor all Europe been again thrown into alarm and confusion, and thousands upon thousands of lives might have been spared.

If Europe felt indignation and surprise at the admission of Fouche into a principal share of the ministry, under the King; which she attributed to the weakness of the party she esteemed, and the strength of that which she dreaded; she soon after felt greater astonishment and surprise at, to all appearance, the bold and decisive step which the King took in making a complete change of his servants. Talleyrand and the whole ministry were displaced, and a new set brought into power. The Duke de Richelieu succeeded Talleyrand as Premier, but the latter continued to enjoy the King's favour. Clarke was chosen Minister of War. Fouche, however, to the general satisfaction of mankind, was disgraced and sent upon an embassy to the Court of Dresden. There Prussian vigilance will prevent his chicanery from doing much mischief. This unexpected change was, it is said, brought about by the firmness of the Royalist party, at the head of which was the Duchess of Angouleme. This Princess enjoyed the cordial hatred of all the Jacobins and their friends. Her conduct was distorted and misrepresented, as usual, by them; and she was described as the greatest, the most unrelenting and ignorant bigot in France. Her conduct, however, it was well known was very

different. Her firmness was of the most essential service in confirming the King's power; therefore, she was hated and traduced in every manner, and loaded with every species of obloquy and reproach. She, indeed, did not disguise her hatred against those who had brought her father and her mother to the scaffold, with the most unrelenting barbarity; who destroyed her unfortunate brother, and immured her tender years in a hideous dungeon. Nor did she disguise her indignation at seeing those men who had covered France with scaffolds, and Europe with mourning, intrusted with the Government which they had so lately joined to overthrow. This Princess did not, and could not feel otherwise; and it was only amongst the friends and admirers of the Revolution that she had enemies, and from whom she received reproach. Fouche and his agents, were particularly active in this worthless proceeding, and in misrepresenting her conduct in the South. He endeavoured to sow dissensions between the King and the allies, to calumniate the latter, and to arouse the passions of the French nation against them. This he did by circulating insidious and exaggerated reports, which it was insinuated he had secretly laid before the King; and in which all the firm friends and faithful adherents of the latter were held up as public nuisances, and his most inveterate enemies praised as the guardians and saviours of France. These reports were forwarded to London, where they *first appeared* in the Morning Chronicle, as official documents which had been delivered to the King of France. In these, however, there was nothing but a repetition of those, a thousand times repeated stories, and refuted jargon of the democratic school. Europe treated the indefatigable and designing authors and propagators of these calumnies, with the contempt they merited. But the accusations and assertions against Europe are so daring and extraordinary, that I shall select the chief of these in this place. We were ourselves, said these men, the first victims of all our tyrants, "*and we have twice delivered Europe from them.*" "It is not in foreign countries, *but in France*, that terror has constantly troubled the repose of Napoleon. Notwithstanding his power, he was never able to make the *war national;*" and though France joined him, "instruments are not accomplices." The allied Sovereigns were accused, for dispersing thier troops

over the country without reason. "The Sovereigns declared," said they, "that they only made war against Napoleon, and yet all their measures *belie* their words. Every where, wherever the armies are, (always excepting the English,) pillage, fire, rape, and murder, have been carried to the fullest extent; avarice and vengeance have left nothing for the soldiers to desire. To speak with freedom, they *exceed* even the atrocities of which the French armies have been so often justly accused." Their accusations of such wanton excesses, were false and unjust. Drawing a fearful picture of what France was, and what she would be, when the allies were withdrawn; all of which was attributed "to their prolonged stay;" they accused them for having occasioned all this, by their introducing "*immorality, that sad scourge* of nations," into a nation like France, who was "*unjust, vain, and jealous.*" The allies, however, were certainly saved this trouble, by Fouche and his adherents; who, in 1794, "founded republican morals upon a *dissolution of all morals;*" and who had so far corrupted France, that it was scarcely possible for iniquity itself to contaminate her more. With unequalled insolence and falsehood they asserted, that the tyranny of Napoleon was not their work. No! "It was not our work, *but that of Europe.* It was the Sovereigns who consolidated his power by their treaties, their alliances, and even by their friendships; and even if we had resisted him, the other *nations would have ranged themselves under his eagles, or humbled themselves before him.* It was by *foreign obedience* that he endeavoured to bend us under the yoke."* How had Europe been deceived. She had always been given to understand differently. Upon their dismissal from office, they sent beforehand their resignation to the King; in order to make it appear in the eyes of the nation, that they could not attend to the interests of the State, on account of the Councils which were acted upon, and listened unto, from behind the throne.—They told the King, that the "love of their country was no where to be found but *under the tri-coloured flag;* they accused

* "Who shall decide when doctors disagree." The Edinburgh Review, No. L. page 511, says, "the danger to the restored Emperor, therefore, was *wholly from without,* while that to Louis XVIII. was *wholly from within.*" Carnot perhaps told them this. Fouche and them cannot both be right.

the allies of unjustly and unnecessarily "*robbing*" them of all the "public monuments, the tokens of their former glory. They seize the monuments of arts, which alone remain to us after twenty years of conquest." They "*ravage*" the provinces, "*dissipate*" the funds, "*devour*" the provisions, and "carry off the magazines of arms, the ammunition of war, and the cannon from the ramparts of our cities. The white flag floats only on ruins. France contains two nations contending against each other. The French humiliated and discontented are ready to proceed to the last extremity." The allies have "presented a treaty which would consummate the ruin of the nation, and which would cover it with eternal shame." Therefore the ministers gave up their places and refused their assent to that treaty, because by acting otherwise they would have rendered themselves "*culpable to the nation.*" This was their affair, not the business of Europe. It was her safety, not their *glory* nor security, which she had to consult.

The accusations brought against the allies by the *honest* people of France, about robbing them of the pictures and monuments of art, the fruits of their conquests and the remembrancers of their glory, tended only to excite in Europe feelings of indignation and contempt. These the different nations were determined to remove, and did remove. Italy, Germany, Prussia, the Netherlands, Holland, and Spain, had each their valuable property thus restored; and brought back from Paris, that great storehouse of plundered goods. In this, as in every thing else, the French nation wished to act, and did act, with their wonted insincerity and duplicity. They wished to have it inserted in the capitulation of Paris, that these things should be considered as their property. This was instantly objected to by the allied chiefs, and particularly by Blucher; who peremptorily declared, that he was resolved to take every thing to which Prussia had any claim. The fate of these valuable treasures was, therefore, reserved to be determined by the decision of the Sovereigns of Europe; and they very justly and very wisely directed that these should be restored to their original owners. Because, however, no claim was inserted in the articles concerning the capitulation of the Capital, the French nation held that these things belonged to them by a right

conferred from the treaty of 1814. They argued strongly that it would be most injurious to the arts, to scatter these things again over different countries; when they could thus be seen in a collected manner, by every admirer of them, in their comfortable and elegant habitation in the Louvre. Had this argument been attended to, it would have been a very convenient thing for every one who was stronger than his neighbour; first to compel the latter to erect an elegant mansion, or adorn and enlarge it with the fruits of his labour, and then tell him that he can set off all his best articles of furniture in it, better than he could in his humbler dwelling; and that, therefore, these must be forthwith placed there. In vain the owner would remonstrate, that the possession of them was all his wealth, and their value all that he had to adorn his country or support his family; the other who could not and would not occupy his time in producing such pieces, must have them to enrich himself, adorn his dwelling, and support his extravagant and unprincipled family. Similar were the arguments; similar were the views of France; but which were most justly spurned by indignant Europe. No intention, however, was shewn by France, to restore any part of this property. In consequence of which, Blucher, without any ceremony, set about packing up, and sending off what formerly belonged to Prussia. This inflexible veteran paid no attention to either their sorrow or their anger, but took what was his own, in person superintending their departure; and when the catalogues could not be found, being kept up or mislaid on purpose, his memory and the memory of others, enabled him to be no loser by French obstinacy. "As my conduct," said that resolute chief, has "been publicly animadverted upon for not having allowed the property *plundered* from Prussia, by a *banditti*, to remain in the museum of the Louvre; I have only to remark, that *ably supported* by the illustrious Wellington, *I pursued the thieves*, who have despoiled many of the nations of Europe of their inestimable monuments of the fine arts; I attacked and dispersed them, and restored to my country the plunder they *had unjustly taken; spurning* the idea of negotiating with the French commissioners on this subject: *they may now thank Providence for our not following their base example.*"* Cer-

* Blucher's letter to Count Muffling, Paris, October 19th.

tainly they might do so, for had the Prussians demanded some of their own, as interest for the use of theirs, they were justly entitled to it. Other nations followed the example of Blucher. The King of the Netherlands, through his General the Duke of Wellington, demanded what belonged to the countries under his sway. Application was accordingly made. Talleyrand shifted the business to the shoulders of Denon, their keeper, and he shouldered it back to Talleyrand; till wearied with chicanery and delay, the articles were directed to be taken by force, if opposition was made thereto. None, however was made, though French ingenuity contrived it so, that the thing was done in a manner, that in their opinion threw every possible odium upon the allies, and the British commander. Against him a severe outcry was accordingly raised, which he, however, victoriously silenced by a complete exposition of the conduct of all parties in this affair; wherein, as usual, French duplicity and insincerity were very conspicuous. Paris was quickly stripped of her ill-gotten ornaments, and of these articles, each, in some measure got his own; though many of the paintings were pilfered by the French keepers, and then pretended to have been lost. The quantity and variety of articles now carried off was incredible, and shewed that the iniquitous system so long pursued by France, had been carried to a length much greater than the public had generally conceived, or had reason, great as it was, to believe. The exasperated population of Europe, also stripped their former oppressors of all the ornaments which had been been raised, and acquired at the expense of bleeding nations. From every pillar, from every post, from every hall, from every temple in Paris, all the memorials of their former defeats and disgrace brought upon them, as these were by French bad faith and domestic treason, were completely obliterated. France had set them the example, and they here only in justice visited her with her own maxims. Grievous and humiliating, no doubt, to French vanity was all this. As their conduct for haughtiness in the days of their prosperity, had been unequalled; so their humiliation was deeper than that of any nation on record, and yet still mercy compared to their deserts. If the allies had assumed the bare and unquestionable rights of conquerors, and appro-

priated the whole collected store of paintings, statues, &c. of which France had plundered other countries; and if closely imitating her conduct, they had taken all that were her own to divide amongst themselves, there was no law could blame them; because victory in a *just cause*, had given them the right. Such a proceeding would have been sufficiently severe and humiliating. But when, instead of this, they touched none of hers; none of these belonging to others, they thereby upbraided her for her immoral conduct; and by restoring to each what had been unjustly taken from them, they thereby marked in characters, stronger than language can express, their detestation of the conduct of France, and which they would not tarnish their fame by imitating. This moral lesson must have sunk deep into many reflecting minds in France; though upon others, it had only the effect of rendering them more furious and distracted in their hatred, and desire of revenge against the nations of Europe. This, however, she fearlessly told them, she wholly disregarded, and was determined to repel. She feared not their anger; she despised their hate; and continued to do what was just and what was politic; and mark with her united anger, in a manner very positive and very solemn, the odious light in which she viewed the conduct of France, as exercised over others.

If their pride, however, was hurt, and vanity humbled at the destruction of these monuments which their ambition had raised, and the restoration of those ornaments which their injustice had collected; their feelings were still more acutely touched by the *glorious* system which they had so long pursued with unfeeling hands, of making "war support war;" and for the doing of which, their former Emperor was idolized and extolled, beyond all the warriors of ancient or of modern days.* Military governors from whose decisions there was no appeal, according to her own system, now directed these measures. The resolution of all the allies to live at the expense of France, was no where concealed. Foremost in the ranks of those who treated France after her own manner, in these things, were the Prussians. None had suffered so much as those people had done; none were so eager to repay their treatment upon the heads of their oppressors. They acted to France in some de-

* Moniteur, October 18th, 1815. See former Narrative.

gree, as France had acted to Prussia; and as far as they were able, wisely and justly singled out for this purpose, their former oppressors, their friends, or their relations. From these they took possession of their elegant mansions; drove their owners from their best apartments to their garrets, perhaps to their offices without doors; and then with the best of every thing which was in or about the dwelling, regaled themselves and their friends, making their landlord serve them. When this was done, they made their astonished host judge himself, (as Nathan did David), in condemning the conduct of the Prussians as barbarous and oppressive in the extreme; by informing their respective hosts that, similar to that conduct which they had thus seen followed for one day by the Prussians in France, had been the conduct of their fathers, husbands, sons, brothers, and countrymen, for days—for months—for years, in unfortunate Prussia. But here the gallant Prussian stopt. He carried his resentment no farther. He polluted not the borders of the Seine with such crimes as were committed on the banks of the Oder. He acted with severity; but he acted with justice: he neither courted their smiles, nor regarded their anger. To all complaints and murmurings his invariable reply was, go into Prussia, see what you have there done; see our wasted fields, our plundered homes, and our wretched families; and then complain if you dare. Similar indeed, was the conduct of all Europe. In the same manner they had been treated, and similar was their reply. Injustice was thus taught in his den, that his conduct was oppression: and the people of France were most justly taught, what the miseries of war were, when conducted in the smallest degree after their own fashion. Blucher expressly declared that the Prussian army, rather than draw money from their impoverished country, to enrich that "*detested*" country France, "would suffer every privation, and serve without any thing, but what was necessary for the wounded."* The conduct of the Prussians, however, in particular, and of the allies in general, in France, was held up by the latter and her advocates, as unjust and impolitic in the extreme. They were reminded that nations never die; and, as if the allies had been equal, the only, and the first

* Blucher's letter to the King, Chartres, August 12th, 1815.

aggressors, they held out that France might one day have the opportunity; and the power of inflicting severe chastisement for this. France very probably thinks after this manner. But they are neither her friends, nor the friends of Europe, who would try to persuade her to continue to cherish such thoughts. The times that are past, can no more be re-produced; and the scale of Justice is not yet lightened of European wrongs.

The expenses occasioned to France by the invading armies, we may form a tolerable accurate idea of, from the rations directed to be given out to the Prussian soldiers. These were, *viz.* for each man daily, 32 ounces rye or wheaten bread, 16 ounces fresh meat, one ounce salt, three ounces rice, and six ounces beans, or other substances in lieu thereof; three ounces butter, one demilitre (pint) wine, one decilitre (gill) brandy; one ounce tobacco, one mattress, one pillow, one blanket, and two sheets. For each horse, daily, nine lbs. oats, six do. hay, six do. straw, all French weight and measure. These rations, allowing that there was one million of men and 300,000 foreign horses in France, calculating their stay at 120 days, would require, of bread, 240,000,000 lbs.; of meat, 120,000,000 lbs.; of salt, 8,500,000 lbs.; of rice, 25,000,000 lbs.; of butter, 25,000,000 lbs.; of tobacco, 8,500,000 lbs.; of wine, 15,000,000 gallons; of brandy, 3,000,000 gallons; of mattresses, 1,000,000; of pillows, 1,000,000; of blankets, 1,000,000; of sheets, 1,000,000 pairs; the whole worth at least 450,000,000 francs, for the soldiers. For the horses, it would require 324,000,000 lbs. oats; 216,000,000 lbs. hay; and 216,000,000 lbs. straw; the whole worth 90,000,000 francs. The pay, clothing, and lodging, would cost 150 millions; altogether, at least 690,000,000 francs, or £29,000,000 sterling: of itself, a tolerable sum to have paid for three months of madness and folly.

Ney, who had been one of the chief agents in the revolution, was arrested, brought to Paris, and imprisoned in the Conciergerie prison, preparatory to his trial. His wife made every exertion through means of the allied Sovereigns, but particularly the Emperor Alexander, to obtain his pardon, but without effect. Moncey, appointed President of the Council of War which was to try him, refused to act, and was in consequence cashiered, and imprisoned for three months. Though detested by both

parties; the one for betraying the King, the other for his supposed treachery to Bonaparte; an attempt was made by his counsel, Berryer, to prejudice and feel the public mind, by the publication of his intended defence. This defence was truly in the French style; but I can only notice the more remarkable passages of it. With a boldness only innocence should assume, M. Berryer began by asking, "what a sudden and a terrible change had taken place in the public opinion, with respect to Marshal Ney." "But a fault, and a serious fault, was committed by Marshal Ney, through a fatality which requires explanation." This explanation brings him from his retirement, where he had fled from the gaieties and follies of the court, back to the giddy capital again, where he was "*electrified*" by the flattering manner in which the King addressed him. Directed to proceed to Besancon, he there for a few days, amongst other things desired every one to inform him "of every thing *interesting* to the good of the King's service." From Besancon, he went to Lons le Saulnier, where he "was *left* in the rear of Bonaparte." On the 13th, "a *cloud of seducers* (not Cossacks) had inundated his little army, and heated their imaginations by proclamations. On the evening of that day, the emissaries of Bonaparte came to him, and found him in *great agitation;* accessible to all impressions, and trembling for the fate of France." Bertrand, by them, informed him "that Bonaparte had concerted his enterprize with Austria and England; that Murat was advancing to the North of Italy triumphant; that the troops of Russia were returned to distant quarters; that *Prussia could not contend alone against France;*" and, in short, that Ney's situation was hopeless, "unless he joined Napoleon." Resistance, therefore, was vain; the means no longer in his power, for "*the sub-lieutenants and soldiers had recalled Bonaparte.*" If he resisted, "France would thus be plunged into a civil war.—These last words completed the triumph over Marshal Ney's best resolutions.—He was subdued by *illusions;* but he was not gained in the *sense of a traitor.*" He joined Bonaparte, who was beaten; and Ney "*too honest a man to compound with his conscience;* too much the friend of his country, to suffer it to be abused by *fresh lies*, (Carnot's communication), declared openly, that the 18th June

had left *no other alternative, than that of a speedy submission.*" Considering all these things, "did it result that Marshal Ney has committed the odious crime of treason," or "*even a real moral degradation?*" It was "the error of the moment; the *effect* of an unheard occurrence, of the most strange incidents; a praise worthy principle ill-directed: in short an error which *served* the usurper nothing; which *profited* nothing to the person committing it;" therefore, such an error, was no more "than a *fatal mistake.*"

After a considerable lapse of time, Ney was at last brought to trial. A council of war was assembled for that purpose, of which Jourdan was president. In their proceedings, this court, like every authority in France, began at the wrong end of the business. They first constituted themselves a tribunal, heard evidence on both sides, and the third day, when the prisoner appeared and protested against their authority, they found out, that in reality, they were not competent to try him. The evidence in his favour, beyond what has been already related, all went to maintain, that he was an honest man till the 13th, when, like the rest of France, he was drawn on by a *fatality* and by *illusions*, he could not tell why nor wherefore, "*as his head was turned*" at the time. He acknowledged, however, that he kissed the King's hand, when he left him, and *might have* promised to bring Bonaparte in an iron cage to Paris, (it was proven that he said so); he had done wrong, he said, but he was no traitor. The proclamation issued, was received by him ready drawn up; but which he acknowledged that he published, and it was proven that he caressed the troops for readily espousing the cause of Bonaparte. He said Bonaparte approved much of Soult's plan, when Minister of War under the King, of having *two* Lieutenant Generals in each department, one of which *corresponded only with himself.* He was heard to have said, they must have "*a new dynasty,*" and that he "only caressed the King, to deceive him the more easily." He stated that Bonaparte was in the habit of drawing up papers in the name of his Generals, which they never wrote, and giving them to the world as their official communications. There was one point which came out on his trial, and which concerned Europe, namely, that he had stated upon the arrival of Bonaparte,

that "*they would find no difficulty in conquering the left bank of the Rhine.*" Indeed, he had previously told the King that he could re-conquer the Netherlands in three months. The Council of War having determined that they were not competent to try him, he was indicted before the House of Peers, which the Constitution in reality had fixed as his proper judges. While the necessary arrangements were making, Ney and his friends addressed a letter to all the ministers of the allied powers, denying the right of any Tribunal in France to try him at all; because he was included in, and protected by the Convention for the capitulation of Paris, under which he claimed protection, as he insisted that it was not only a military but a political Convention. He urged that this capitulation was binding on all the allies, and also the King of France as one of them; and he founded his proof upon the declarations of the 13th and 25th March, forgetting, however, two important facts: first, that France refused to listen to these. Besides, the allies at the date of the last, did not know that Louis had left France; when, the whole nation deserting him, they could not consider him as an ally till again re-instated on his throne. Next, the allies had again and again declared that they would not interfere in the internal affairs of France, either as to who was to be their ruler, (excepting Bonaparte), or his conduct to his subjects. The Duke of Wellington, however, rebutted this false charge made against them, of having violated their word or their honour. In his letter to Ney, he told him, what Ney indeed knew well, that the capitulation of Paris related "*exclusively to the military occupation*" of that city; and that "it never was intended, and never could be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander in chief (Davoust) must have acted, or any French government which might succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might seem fit."* Upon turning to page 399, the reader will see this account of his Grace fully confirmed, if confirmation was necessary, by one of the members of the Provisional Government, (Carnot), under whose orders Davoust acted after the solemn determination of a council, in which Ney himself was a member, and who

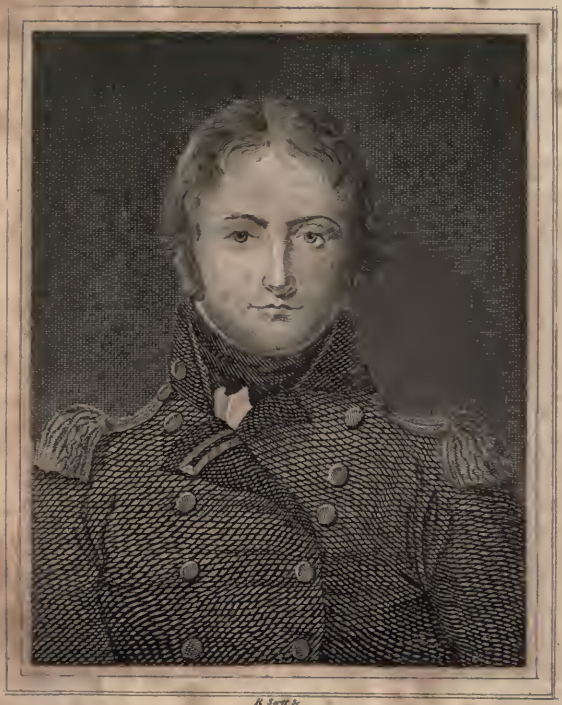
* Wellington's letter, Paris, November 13th.

says expressly, that this Convention was "*purely military*," and embraced *nothing* concerning "*any political opinion*." Fouche also, who was President of that government, under whose authority this convention was concluded, was perfectly aware that this was its true nature; when, as Prime Minister of the King, he, on the 24th July, counselled and directed that decree which commanded the arrest of Ney and others. The snare was artfully laid to save Ney, and catch the allies in direct interference with their internal affairs, in order to raise the national jealousy against them. But the bait would not take. Madame Ney, much to her honour, continued to interest herself with all the foreign ministers, in order to get them to interfere, and to prevent the ignominious fate of her husband. At length the Peers met, to whom Ney had appealed as the only Tribunal which could try him. The same objections were stated to them; but these were over-ruled, and the trial directed to proceed. A delay of ten days was, however, granted at the earnest solicitations of Ney's counsel, in order to bring forward his witnesses. The 4th December, the day appointed for the trial, at last arrived. It was opened with all due solemnity. Beyond what has been stated, Berryer, Ney's counsel, endeavoured to impress upon the mind of the Chamber of Peers, that the events of the month of March were connected with a *fatality*: that these were only "*a relapse of the revolution*;" and that Ney was a faithful servant of the King "till his *sudden discouragement*." He asserted that Ney could not be expected to remain free from the contagion which had seized so many; and that he was "*struck and stunned*" with Bonaparte's glory, which all Europe had acknowledged; and compared the proclamation of the 14th March to a common newspaper article, to which his client only *called the attention* of his soldiers. He attempted, however, to rest his defence chiefly on the Convention of Paris; which, notwithstanding the explanation given by Davoust and others, so contrary to its nature, was over-ruled. A defence still more extraordinary and untenable, was then resorted to by M. Dupin, stating, that as Ney was a native of Saare Louis, which, from the general treaty of peace, no longer formed part of the French territories, so he was no longer amenable to their laws. This was, however, rejected.

by the Chamber with murmurs; and even by Ney himself with indignation. At this point farther investigation stopped, Ney, asserting that his defence being shackled, he would not allow his counsel to say any more. This, however was not true; except in so far as he was prevented from wandering into untenable and improper arguments for his exculpation. Having withdrawn, sentence of death was passed upon him, to be executed within 24 hours. He received the account of his fate with great firmness. The parting with his wife and family early next morning, particularly with regard to the latter, was most affecting. Whatever were his crimes; to such sympathies every heart must yield, and every bosom praise. After they were withdrawn from him for the last time, and after some reluctance expressed against it, he accepted the assistance of the Rector of St. Sulpice, in religious duties; and at eight in the morning of the 7th, he left his place of confinement, accompanied by the Rector already mentioned. He was carried to the grand alley of the garden of the Luxemburgh, which was fixed upon as the place of execution. Two hundred veterans accompanied the coach. Arrived at the spot, the Marshal embraced his confessor, gave him his snuff box to give to his wife, and some pieces of gold for the poor. He then advanced with a quick step to within eight paces of the wall. There he faced the detachment that was to fire; and taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right hand upon his heart, he cried out in a strong and loud voice, "Soldiers, I die innocent: I appeal to God and to posterity; but do your duty. *Comrades, straight to the heart: fire!*" The officer commanding gave the signal with his sword; and the Marshal fell dead, without a struggle. Twelve balls had taken effect; three in the head. The body, after having, according to military regulations, remained exposed for a quarter of an hour, was removed for interment. But few people were present at the execution, as it was generally supposed the plain of Grenelle would have been the spot chosen, and where a great crowd was collected. Thus terminated the life of Ney; a complete soldier, without any other qualification; loaded with the crime of treason, of a nature almost unprecedented: he fell unlamented by

the honourable part of mankind; a sad example of the want of principle, and the effects of a career of insatiable ambition.

Lavalette was the next person brought to trial. He was one of the first to join in the conspiracy; and it was through his means, and under his authority, that all the correspondence with Elba was securely carried on. It was very easily substantiated that he entered the Post-office on the 20th March, and took possession of the office "in the name of the Emperor, several hours before the King's government was dissolved." This he attempted to deny; as also having refused "*with vehemence*" to grant a passport to the Countess Ferrand, the wife of the Director, in order to enable her and her husband to leave Paris; he only, he said, for some time refused it for Ferrand to proceed to Lille, and perhaps in doing so he might have spoke "*with too much vivacity.*" He was shewn several circular notes issued by him on that day, to be carried to the departments by couriers, and to be circulated in Paris, stating in substance that "Paris was tranquil; no civil war would take place. That enthusiasm reigned in the capital for the Emperor's arrival, which would take place in a few hours." The Postmasters were also directed to give horses to none, but those who had an order from him or the Emperor. These documents he acknowledged; and with regard to the former, he said that he merely wrote them to prevent a civil war, which might have taken place had the couriers spread the alarm, that Paris was in confusion and commotion. His defence was foreign to the subject for which he was indicted; and was much the same in spirit, to those we have already detailed. He was found guilty, condemned to death, but appealed to the Court of Cassation against his sentence. This appeal was rejected. Every means to save him, by interceding with the King, was tried by his friends. It is said the King of Bavaria exerted himself greatly in his favour, perhaps owing to his connection with Eugene Beauharnois, the son of Josephine. To her niece, Lavalette was married. His wife, much to her honour, was also unwearied in her exertions to save him; and at last, when all hopes of forgiveness had vanished, and on the evening before the day intended for his execution, she succeeded in her heroic efforts of extricating him from immediate danger. Admitted into the prison



R. Scott Jr.

SIR ROBERT WILSON

with her daughter, she changed clothes with her husband, and in that disguise he safely made his escape; while his noble wife remained in his place, where she was still detained when these sheets were put to press. Her husband, it is understood, has reached Bavaria in safety.

In the meantime, while the negotiations for peace continued to be actively carried on at Paris, the troops belonging to the countries most remote from France, began to make preparations to quit that country. Previous to this, however, they were assembled according to their different nations, and reviewed by their respective Sovereigns, accompanied by the other Sovereigns and chiefs of Europe, assembled in France. The Russians were the first collected for that purpose. The number of troops brought forward by this power was immense. Two hundred thousand had entered France, with 700 pieces of artillery; 100,000, under Witgenstein, were on the frontiers; 60,000 under Beningsen, and 70,000 reserve guards and grenadiers, were either ready or marching to the same point. On this occasion 160,000 were assembled on the plains of Vertus. On an elevated spot, from which the eye could take in the whole army, the Sovereigns, the Generals, and their attendants stood. The army went through the manœuvres to the satisfaction of the beholders; and were thanked by their Emperor, for their bravery and good conduct. On the following day a solemn thanksgiving took place; and at which all the army, the Sovereigns, and the Generals, assisted. On the declivity of Mount Cormant, at a little distance from the spot where the troops had manœuvred on the preceding day, were erected seven altars; that where the Sovereigns were, was more elevated than the others, which stood nearer to the plain of Etrechy. The army having formed in seven squares, one side of which was open, the infantry without arms and the cavalry on foot, and with the feelings and look of humility befitting men when they approach the Almighty, advanced to these altars. At a general signal all the squares put themselves in motion, and marched in the order in which they were formed, each towards its respective altar; which, when the troops had halted, was on the open side of the square. Divine service began, and

ended at the same moment, at all the altars. The whole ceremony was grand and affecting. This done, these brave men commenced their march, in columns, to re-cross the Rhine; which, by the end of October, all those had done which were for some to do so. They left France praised as much as they formerly were blamed. Even the Cossacks were represented as the kindest and most gentle people imaginable. The Emperor Alexander, after having visited Brussels, the immortal field of Waterloo, and then the review of the Austrian troops at Dijon, set out for Berlin, where he was received with enthusiasm and respect; and from whence he proceeded to Warsaw, where he was welcomed as King of Poland, with general joy and satisfaction. From this he continued his march to Petersburgh, from whence he had been absent about three years. On the 13th December, he reached his capital. Before entering his palace, he went to the Church of Casan to return thanks to Heaven, for his happy return. Whether he and his gallant bands may again be re-called to the south of Europe, by the unruly spirit of French ambition, time must determine. But in the meantime we may rest assured, that the repose of southern Europe is not, and cannot be, a matter of indifference to Russia. The Emperor of Austria, having in a similar manner reviewed the principal part of his forces assembled at Dijon, set out to visit his Italian dominions, and the mighty states there united to his great Empire. He was met in Italy; by the Empress, who had left Vienna for that purpose; and together, they visited in great state, Milan, Venice, and other places in Italy. In the meantime, the Austrian troops began to evacuate France. The King of Prussia also set out for his dominions, and after him a great part of his army. Blucher remained with the remainder; but he and the chief part of these, soon after quitted France. A great part of the troops of the German states also followed their footsteps. Wellington and his British force, alone remained for some time undiminished in numbers; but the greater part of these also began to leave France, and during the month of December, to arrive in their native country. A certain number of the troops from each state remained, and were destined to remain in France.

The attention of Europe had, for some time, been directed to the meeting of the French new Legislature, in order to see what measures they would follow, to heal the wounds of a distracted country. Their meeting also was generally understood to be the period intended for disclosing the terms of peace. Every argument had been exhausted, and delay created in adjusting this important matter. The allied troops evacuating France were commanded to halt, which soon brought matters to a conclusion. At length the Legislature met, and the King with a heavy heart, communicated to them that this important document was ratified, and wanted only some diplomatic formalities to enable him to lay before them the extent of the sacrifices demanded of them, as a punishment for their turbulent conduct, and as a security for the future repose of Europe. These diplomatic formalities having been at last gone through, the treaties were submitted to the French Legislature, and made public. Considering what France had so shortly been, these were severe and humiliating; but taking strict justice for our guide, far otherwise. In communicating these documents to the Chambers, the Duc de Richelieu disclosed the disagreeable fact, that the Ministers had been forced to conclude the Convention as it was, "after having *exhausted* all the means of discussion and resistance which could be suggested, because "the disposition of the Ministers of the powers" and their "determination, was irrevocably fixed" on this point. Recurring to the re-appearance of Bonaparte; he described in just language, the alarm and indignation of Europe, "at this terrible appearance." A common instinct of preservation, *instantaneously concentrated* on the same object, all the fears, all the hatred, all the interests, of the alarmed nations. The rivalry of politics was forgotten; all the products of agriculture, of commerce, of all kinds of property, have been offered in sacrifice; *all ages and sexes, all classes of the population*, have been led away by the same impulse, and *more* than a million of soldiers *precipitated* themselves upon our frontiers." With that vanity, however, characteristic of the nation, he stated that the allies were *ill informed* of the true feelings of the French nation with regard to Napoleon, for "without doubt, such a display of force was not necessary" to put down his

party. "We are but too well authorized," said he, "to tell foreign nations that *they have been in an error concerning the extent of the forces they had to combat;* and, that at the very moment when faction poured forth its furies, the French people were united by their wishes to their legitimate Sovereign." They (the allies), have considered the fall of the tyrant as the immediate effect of their victory;" and continuing, he complained that France thus situated should be forced to suffer, and to be punished for what "might have been the result of an *exaggerated alarm.*" Proceeding, the Duke disclosed the appalling fact, that whatever were the personal dispositions of the Sovereigns of Europe for generosity, that the people they governed would no longer permit them to be generous to France by neglecting their security. "Nations," said he, "on their side *influence* the councils of Sovereigns, by the powerful action of opinion;" and "doubtless these determinations" on the part of the Sovereigns, "savour of the passions which their personal generosity disclaims." Those passions, however, were not called forth without reason; "for during twenty-five years, the respect due to alliances, to the engagements of peace, fidelity to promises, good faith, probity, the basis formerly so revered as the security of states, have been shaken to their very foundations," by those "*fatal* principles which have been *unhappily professed in France with so much eclat and so recently.*" Yet "the greatest of our misfortunes is, that of being *still*, after all our disgrace, and the useful lesson which you wish to draw from them, an object of *distrust and of fear*, to all those upon whom we have exercised rights, which fortune has put it in their power to exercise in their turn upon us.

Having thus developed the true situation of France with regard to Europe; and from the example of their King recommended patience and honour in all their future conduct, the treaties concluded with the allies were laid before them.—These were five in number. The three first were the most important. But as I annex the chief of these important documents entire, in an appendix to this work, I shall here briefly recapitulate their leading particulars. France ceded in perpetuity the fortresses of Landau, Sarre Louis, Phillippeville, Marienburgh,

Versoye or Versaix, near the lake of Geneva, and the whole of the Pays de Gex. The fortifications of Huninguen were to be demolished, and no fortifications to be erected within three leagues of Basle. France renounced the right of garrisoning Monaco; and ceded to Savoy and to the Netherlands, those parts of the territories of these States incorporated with France, by the treaty of 1814. France was to pay to the allied powers a war contribution of 700 millions of francs,* besides the fortress of Saare Louis, valued at 50 millions of francs, (about 31 millions sterling.) She is to pay, clothe, and maintain for five years, or till the preceding contribution is paid, 150,000 troops taken from the different nations of Europe.† The whole were placed under the supreme command of the Duke of Wellington, with the fullest powers and discretional instructions. The expense for their clothing, pay, and maintenance, was fixed at 130 millions francs per annum. During the succeeding period of five years, the following fortresses are to be garrisoned by the above troops, viz. Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Mabeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsche, and the *Tete-du-pont* of Fort Louis. Besides these terms, France engaged to liquidate all the just claims of British subjects, for their property which was vested in the French funds, at the commencement of the revolution; and which her delirious Government had confiscated, and every succeeding system of tyranny refused to pay. This will, no doubt, be a bitter pill for France to swallow, but it is only an act of justice to those individuals which she attempted to rob, and to the general law of nations, which she had so grossly violated. These, with some conventions of a subordinate nature relative to the mode of paying and maintaining the troops to be left in France, comprehended all the articles of peace between France and the Allies. Whether France will faithfully fulfil these conditions is doubtful, and not unless the principles which she has so long professed are forsaken by her.

* See Appendix for particulars.

† Viz. Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, 30,000, each, 120,000; Bavaria, 10,000; Hanover, 5,000; Wirtemburgh, 5,000; Saxony, 5,000; Denmark, 5,000.——Total, 150,000.

At the same time, that the important treaties, which we have just noticed, were laid before the world, documents of even greater importance made their appearance and accompanied them. The most important was a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, founded upon the treaties of Chaumont and Vienna, binding themselves, not only to fulfil the stipulations of these treaties, if necessary, but to bring forward again, if events should ever require it, the whole of their forces to combat, and to overthrow every revolutionary system, under whatever name or whatever leader these might arise in France, against the system there re-established, and with which Europe, from experience, was fully convinced she could alone remain at peace in the spirit thereof. To prevent, if possible, any cavilling for the future about their views, their promises, and their intentions, they therefore, resolved "to fix before-hand, by a solemn treaty, the principles which they propose to follow, in order to *guarantee* Europe from the dangers by which she may be menaced." Accordingly, "the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with *all their forces*," not only the principles which they had previously laid down in the exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from the throne of France; but against "the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, which might again under *other forms*, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other States."* Not only does these important documents embrace the objects already enumerated; but these further declare, that *united Europe* will oppose with all her strength, and with all her means, every ambitious and aggressive attempt made by France against any one of her neighbours, under whatever cloak it may be made, or whatever system may undertake it. "They engage, that in case the same body of troops, (those left in France,) should be attacked, *or menaced with an attack on the part of France*, that the said powers shall be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that power;" and should the forces to be furnished by each, conformable to these treaties, not be sufficient to accomplish the object in view,

* Treaty, Paris, November 20th.

" they engage to employ the *whole of their forces*, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, *reserving* to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, *such conditions of peace*, as shall hold out to Europe a *sufficient guarantee* against the recurrence of a similar calamity." They also further declare, that even after the time specified for the temporary occupation of the French fortresses; " the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be deemed necessary for the maintainance of the stipulations," and objects already related. Along with these documents the Ministers of the allied powers transmitted to the Duke of Richelieu a note explanatory of their views, and also another informing him that the Duke of Wellington was appointed to the chief command of their forces left in France, with powers to act as he may see necessary. " Because," said they, we " do not dissemble that in the *variety of forms* under which the revolutionary spirit might again manifest itself in France, doubts might arise as to the nature of the case, which might call for the intervention of a foreign force; and feeling the difficulty of framing any instructions precisely applicable to each particular case, the allied Sovereigns have thought it better to leave it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington to decide when, and how far it may be necessary to employ the troops under his command."* The responsibility is, no doubt, great; but not too much for the conqueror of Waterloo. He will not employ his troops in the cause of oppression and injustice.

Along with the very important documents already mentioned, appeared the official notifications of the French Government, abolishing the slave trade; and a most interesting treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia, whereby the Ionian islands were given up by the latter power, and to be erected into an independent state, under the sole direction of Great Britain. The positions of these interesting islands gives Great Britain, not only the command of the Adriatic, and the preponderance in the Mediterranean; but opens an easy communication with the countries which composed the states

* Letter to Richelieu, November 20th.

of ancient Greece, and thereby into the very heart of Turkey in Europe. The advantage of these possessions to the political power and commercial greatness of this country, is incalculable; and such as future times can only fully develope. All these treaties were a deathblow to the idle fabrications so industriously spread, and with which disappointed faction, for some months preceding, had endeavoured to alarm Europe, and encourage the spirit of disorder in France; by asserting that jealousies reigned in, and disunion had taken place amongst the councils of the allied powers, particularly with regard to Russia. The usual hue and cry was raised against these treaties, as being the work of madness and folly; and a complete and direct interference in the internal affairs of France, contrary to all the previous declarations and promises of the allied powers. Those who condemned these measures forgot altogether, that events subsequent to these promises, which France in fact derided, and proclamations which she defied, had, in the just language of the ministers of the different powers, "carried consternation and alarm to every part of Europe; at a moment when the Sovereigns and their people flattered themselves that after so many afflictions, they were about to enjoy a long interval of peace." That "it was impossible so soon to efface from the minds of cotemporaries the recollection of such a convulsion. That which was sufficient to satisfy them in 1814, cannot content them in 1815;" nor the line of demarcation then drawn by the treaty of 1814, "satisfy the just pretensions which they now prefer." Proceeding in their reasoning, to which they were determined to assimilate their deeds, they add, in language equally just and strong, that "it is impossible to suppose that the plenipotentiaries of France wish to revive in the actual state of affairs, the doctrine of the pretended inviolability of the French territory. They too well know that this doctrine put forward by the chiefs and apostles of the revolutionary system, formed *one of the most revolting chapters in that arbitrary code*, which they wished to impose on Europe. It would be to destroy entirely every idea of equality between the different powers, if it were once established as a principle, that France may, without difficulty, extend her limits, acquire new provinces, and unite them to

her territory either by conquest or treaty; *whilst she alone* shall enjoy the privilege of never losing any of her ancient possessions, either by the misfortune of war, or by the political arrangements which may result from it."* Nothing could be more just than these principles now applied to France. The system put down, however, in France, some of its admirers congratulated themselves upon its appearance in other quarters. After a tirade against "*anointed legitimacy*," similar to the thousands published since 1789, the Morning Chronicle, in fury adds, "the contracting powers *will find*, notwithstanding their *audacious and unparalleled Convention*, that as the French army first learned the principles of liberty in the fields of America, so the Prussians and Russians have heard the word 'CONSTITUTION' in the plains of France. And, '*by the* GRACE OF GOD,' they will speedily *demand* it."† If the Prussians and Russians do demand a Constitution by "the Grace of God," they will certainly not follow the footsteps of France in carrying their demand into execution; for it was not by His Grace that France either learned in America, or followed in France, to obtain theirs, as the Morning Chronicle and its friend Carnot well know; for it is the virulent sneers of the latter against these words, in his famous pamphlet published in 1814, that the Chronicle here quotes. The Prussians and Russians, however, as the exile of St. Helena well knows, are very well satisfied with the Constitutions which they have; and the world has quite enough of imitating French principles, or learning French liberty, or of armed bodies "*demanding*" such things. Whatever the Russians and Prussians require to amend or ameliorate in their Constitutions, it must be confessed from what has been lately seen and known of these gallant nations, that they are literally and in sincerity to request it by the "Grace of God;" which, while they abide by, will do Europe no injury: and if ever France, and the principles she learned in America, again step across the Rhine to inquire, she will learn to her cost that if these nations require any thing from their Sovereigns, by the "Grace of God," they will defend them and

* Letter from the Ministers to the French Plenipotentiaries, Paris, September 23d, 1815.

† Morning Chronicle, December 5th, 1815.

their country from the same principles. Let the Morning Chronicle and their correspondent, Carnot, give up their errors; and say to France, "go ye and do likewise."

Having considered so fully the important documents which form the guarantees, and let us hope the complete termination of the miseries of Europe, these naturally recal to the memory those declarations which were promulgated to the world at the commencement of this terrible struggle. Europe has been compelled to end, as every unprejudiced and reflecting mind was sensible that she would be, namely, by enforcing the principles with which she began. The coincidence is so extraordinary that I cannot omit the opportunity of calling the attention of the reader to these things at considerable length. I shall notice first the conduct of the Continental powers, and then that of our own Government; and from these shew, that it is to the principles of Pitt, and his colleagues, that we—that France—that Europe owe independence and safety. It is true their declarations were misrepresented; their intentions denied, vilified, and turned into ridicule by the patriots of the day, as they chose to denominate themselves. But it is equally true that the sad experience of twenty-five years have not only tended to confirm their justice and their truth; but that Europe has been compelled in 1815, unanimously, and for her own security, to do that which she professed in 1792. These resolutions so justly taken, it is also unfortunately true (with the exception of Great Britain,) the powers of Europe abandoned; and let the ashes of Moscow and the blood of Madrid speak, and say how dearly they have paid for this dereliction from their duty.

The intentions and views of the European powers have at this solemn and important moment been clearly defined and strongly marked. The preamble of the treaty we have already alluded to, states in a few words, what they required from France; namely, "*proper* INDEMNITIES *for the past, and* SOLID GUARANTEES *for the future.*" The object of the treaties among themselves, is to maintain with all their forces, as we have seen, "the order of things re-established in France;" because "the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things, founded on the maintainance of the

Royal authority and of the Constitutional charter."* There is no one who can say that their present resolutions are unnecessary or unjust. Precisely similar were their objects in 1792. In their able manifesto issued against France in that year, *after being attacked*, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia very clearly state their views, and very justly trace the horrors of that revolution; which they correctly stated, was not so much directed against either a particular Sovereign, or a religion, or state, but against all Sovereigns; all nations; all order; all religion. Every thing that concerned man was to be remoulded anew throughout Europe. "The revolutionists," said they, "leagued together to plunge France into all the errors of yet savage nations, and to *form* a Government after the *rude sketches of infant states*, making the first advances toward civilization, and which *at present would mark the last stage of their decline*. Religion was involved in the general wreck. Its property was seized; its altars were overturned; its temples profaned, sold, or demolished; and its ministers persecuted. Thus attacking Heaven itself, an impious sect villified all religions. In their room they substituted political irreligion; without *comfort* for the unfortunate; without *morality* for the vicious, and *without* any check on crimes. Nay, crimes themselves were every where *tolerated, encouraged, and rewarded*. Insurrection was *consecrated* as the most sacred duty. *Solemn and public festivals were decreed in honour of the basest and greatest criminals.*† All those who had property to make them objects of plunder, were *denounced* as enemies to the public good; and in a word, amidst accusations, *commanded, solicited, and paid for;* in the midst of committees of research, clubs, assemblies of all kinds, and *national prisons*, into which tyranny arbitrarily crowded faithful subjects, *whom judges, even chosen by the factious, could not condemn, and* DURST *not acquit;* amid the agitation of all passions, excited at the same time, *virtue alone was a crime*, established right was usurpation; and every one was a Sovereign but the Sovereign himself. In *violation* of their own laws, and contrary to their pretended renunciation of making con-

* Treaty of Alliance.

† To the soldiers set at liberty from the gallies, and the assassins of Avignon, Nismes, Arles, &c.

quests, they invaded the country of Avignon and the *bishoprick of Basle*, pretended to set an arbitrary pecuniary valuation on the sacred property, which they had in Alsace and Loraine, taken from several Princes and States of the Empire. Inflammatory writings were industriously circulated; missionaries of revolt were every where dispersed to corrupt the people, and to *invite them to attack private property, to dethrone Kings, and to abolish all religions.* They in their delirium conceived the project of *extending* their usurpation, and the licentious principles of the French to the Germanic Empire, and *without doubt, to the whole world.* They thus trusted that they should be able to reward the crimes of their satellites, and the activity of their patriotic agents *with the spoils of their neighbours*, and the riches of a peaceful and industrious people. On this criminal basis, *detestable in the eyes of all nations*, they founded their wish for war, *as well as their plan for executing it.*" The Sovereigns, therefore, "take up arms for the purpose of preserving social and political order among all polished nations; and to secure to each State its religion, happiness, and independence, territories and real Constitution. They think that, on this occasion, all Empires and States ought to be *unanimous*, in order to rescue a great nation from its own fury, to preserve Europe from the *return* of barbarity, and *the universe from* that anarchy with which it is threatened. God forbid that their Imperial and Royal Majesties should have any intention to employ their forces to *introduce despotism into France.* Their Majesties declare to Europe, that, in the just war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of personal aggrandizement, *which they expressly renounce*, and to France, that they mean not to *interfere* with its internal administration, but that they are firmly and fully resolved, *To re-establish in it order and public security*:—To cause the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King, their lawful Sovereign to be protected."* At this period, however, these important facts were denied and ridiculed. The principles of the foe succeeded; as he had calculated, in throwing disunion and jealousy into the councils of the Sovereigns, and discord between the latter and

* Manifesto against France, 1792.

their people. Each nation fell in their turn; and the deluded people found themselves with a smile of contempt and derision, grasped firmly by the arm of a military despotism, and trampled upon by the most cruel oppression.

With regard to Great Britain, forced at last into a just war, by every provocation that could irritate or insult a just, a generous, and an independent people, her principles were plain, and her views could not be mistaken. Without entering into the important affairs of that period, beyond what my limits will allow, I shall choose the subject of the attack on the Netherlands, and the opening the navigation of the Scheldt, to elucidate the views and unshaken honour of our native land. The French government were well aware that Great Britain was bound by solemn treaties to prevent both. So also was France herself by the same treaties. Although these treaties were perfectly fair and just, the conduct of France was very different. She first promised not to infringe them; and next, under that cover, abrogated them: and when Britain complained, France boldly and openly defended her aggression and want of good faith, by resolving "to maintain these open and injurious aggressions."* In combating these principles, Lord Grenville, with his usual energy, disclosed the true principles, the unshaken honour, and inviolable fidelity of Great Britain; and in his own words, "not in a tone of haughtiness, but of firmness."† Chauvelin and his government, like every one who does wrong, treated the affair quite lightly. "But you cannot," said Grenville to him "be ignorant that *here the utmost importance* is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish, and to those consequences which result from them. France can have no right to annul the stipulations with regard to the Scheldt, unless she has also the right equally to set aside all the treaties between all the powers of Europe; she can even have no *pretence* to do it, unless she were Sovereign of the Low Countries, or *had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.* England will never consent that France shall arrogate to herself the power of annulling *at her pleasure*, and under *pretence of a pretended natural right*, of which she makes herself the *only*

* Grenville's letter to Chuavelin, December 31st, 1792.
† Do. do. January 18th, 1793.

judge, the political system of Europe." England "will also never see with indifference that France shall ever make herself either *directly or indirectly*, Sovereign of the Low Countries, or *general arbitress* of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, *she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to* CONFINE HERSELF WITHIN HER OWN TERRITORY, *without insulting other governments; without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.*"* This just and reasonable demand, France spurned. "But is France," said the Executive Government, "authorised to break stipulations which oppose the opening of the Scheldt? If we consult the *rights of nature*, and of nations, *not only* France, but all the nations of Europe are authorised to break them. *No doubt can remain on this point.*"†

In a similar manner every explanation given, or defence of her conduct by France, always rendered the original cause of complaint more offensive. This was her object; it was the foundation of her system of falsehood and deceit. She was to commit what wickedness she pleased, and no one was even to move to guard against it. If the principles here laid down by Lord Grenville are clear, those in all his Britannic Majesty's declarations at that period, were equally so. There is a sort of honest dignity about them all that bespeak their venerable author, and the mild, the merciful, and the just Sovereign. His object for entering into the war, was "for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, *which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe*; but are peculiarly so, when connected with the *propagation of principles* which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society."‡ His object was "to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system which *strikes* at the security and peace of all independent nations; and is pursued in *open defiance* of every principle of mo-

* Grenville's letter to Chauvelin, Dec. 31st, 1792.

† Reply of the French Executive Government to do. Paris, Jan. 4th, 1793.

‡ Message to Parliament, Jan. 28th, 1793.

deration, good faith, humanity, and justice."* "Neighbouring nations have been exposed to the repeated attacks of a ferocious anarchy, the *natural and necessary* enemy of all public order. They have had to encounter acts of aggression *without pretext*, *open* violations of all treaties, *unprovoked* declarations of war; in a word, whatever corruption, intrigue, or violence could effect for the purpose, so openly avowed, of subverting all the institutions of society; *and of extending over all the nations of Europe, that confusion* which has produced the misery of France. His Majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force, with respect to the particular form of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers. Under these circumstances he demands from France, *and he demands with justice*, the termination of a system of anarchy, which has no force but for the purposes of mischief, in order to disturb the tranquillity of other nations, and to render *all Europe* the theatre of the *same crimes, and of the same misfortunes.* The King demands that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining, with other powers the accustomed relations of union and peace. The King would impose none other than equitable and moderate conditions, *not such as the expense, the risks, and the sacrifices of the war might justify*, but such as his Majesty thinks himself under the indispensable necessity of requiring, with a view to these considerations, and still more to that of his own security and the future tranquillity of Europe."† All his Majesty's declarations breathe, in every succeeding year, the same spirit; those of France the tone of defiance and acts of injustice and violence. I shall conclude this part of the subject with the clear and strong language of that great statesman, Mr. Pitt. His comprehensive mind saw through all the mists of party, all the storms raised by foes, that under the garb of French liberty, stalked the demon of French ambition. In

* Message to Parliament, February 11th, 1793.

† Declaration, October 29th, 1793.

the debate, April 25th, 1793, the object of the war, he said, was "to repel the unjust attacks of France; if possible, to punish her, and to obtain *indemnification for the past, and security for the future.* These were the principles on which they engaged in the war. These were the principles they must look to in carrying it on, and which they must keep in mind at its conclusion." And again, in the debate in the House of Commons, June 17th, 1793, concerning the occasion and object of the war, Mr. Pitt, with those feelings which came from his heart, in addressing the House, thus proceeded: "At the commencement of the war on the part of France," said he, "we contended, 1st, That she had broke a treaty with our allies, which we were bound to support: 2d, That she was engaged in schemes of ambition and aggrandizement, inconsistent with the interests of this country, and the general security of Europe: 3d, That she entertained principles, hostile to all governments, and more particularly to our own. The necessity of security against those three points, their disregard of treaties, their projects of ambition, and their dangerous principles, certainly become greater, inasmuch as these injuries are increased by the aggression. REPARATION AND SECURITY" were the objects which we had in view. But "the degree of reparation and security itself depended upon circumstances of comparison. *I declare that on the part of this government there was no intention, if it had not been attacked, to interfere in the internal affairs of France.* But having been attacked, I affirm that there is nothing, either in the addresses to his Majesty, or the declarations of his servants, which pledge us not to take advantage of any interference in the internal affairs of France that may be necessary. I do not say, that if without any interference, sufficient security and reparation could be had for this country, I would not, in that case be of opinion, that we ought to abstain from all interference, and allow their government to remain even upon its present footing. But I consider the question of obtaining these, while the same principle continues to actuate their government, to be extremely difficult, I will not say impossible. But I should certainly think, that the best security we could obtain would be in the end of that *wild ungoverned system,* from which have resulted those injuries, against which it is

necessary to guard. But when you have seen yourselves, and all Europe attacked: when you have seen a system established, violating all treaties, disregarding all obligations, and, under the name of the *Rights of Man!* uniting the principles of usurpation abroad, tyranny and confusion at home: you will judge whether you ought to sit down, without some security against the consequences of such a system being again brought into action. And this security appears to me can only be obtained in one of three modes: 1stly, That these principles shall no longer predominate. 2dly, That those who are now engaged in them *shall be taught that they are impracticable*, and *convinced of their own want of power to carry them into execution*; or 3dly, That the issue of the present war shall be such, *as by weakening their power of attack, shall strengthen your power of resistance*. Without these, you may indeed have an *armed truce; a temporary suspension of hostilities*, but no *permanent peace*; no *solid security*, to guard you against the *repetition* of injury, and the *renewal* of attack. It is not merely to the character of Marat, with whom we have to treat, that I object; it is not to the horror of those crimes which have stained their Legislators —crimes in every stage rising above another in point of enormity; but I object to the consequences of that character, to the effect of those crimes. They are such as render negotiation useless, and must entirely deprive of stability any peace which could be concluded in such circumstances. The moment that the mob of Paris becomes under the influence of a new leader, the most mature deliberations are reversed, the most solemn engagements are retracted, or free will is altogether controlled. In every one of the repeated stages of their revolutions, we have said, 'Now we have seen the worst, the measure of iniquity is complete; we shall no longer be shocked or astonished by the contemplation of added crimes and increasing enormities.' The next mail convinced us of our credulity; and by presenting us with fresh crimes, and enormities still more dreadful, excited impressions of new astonishment and accumulated horror. All the crimes which disgrace history have occurred in one country, in a space so short, and with circumstances so highly aggravated, *as to outrun thought and exceed imagination*. A band of leaders had swayed the

mob in constant succession, all resembling each other in guilt, *but rising one above another in point of enormity;* each striving to improve upon the crimes of his predecessor, and swell the black catalogue with new modes and higher gradations of wickedness.

> Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
> Nos nequiores, mox daturos
> Progeniem vitiosiorum.

No treaty can exist on their good faith, independent of the terms of peace. To make a treaty with them would only be to afford them an opportunity of *breaking it off before it was finished*, or *violating it in its very commencement.* The question then is, whether in conjunction with our allies, with whom our own prosperity is so intimately connected, we shall persevere vigorously to oppose those *destructive principles*, with which, even though baffled at present, we *may expect to contend to the the latest hours of our lives.* And on this issue I allow it to rest. I have trespassed so long on the patience of the house, that I ought to be ashamed; but it is a subject *which lies so near my heart*, that when I once begin to speak, I have scarcely the power to stop. My duty to my country, to my King, and to this House, and the *strong impressions* which the subject never fails to *make on my feelings*, have obliged me to take up so much of your time, and to declare, *in the most explicit manner*, my sentiments; *sentiments which must remain unaltered and unimpaired with me, so long as* REASON HOLDS HER SEAT."

He who turns to the history of Europe with attention, and who strips it of that denationalising jargon of falsehood and deceit thrown over the same by Atheism and the Goddess of Reason, will see that the principles as these concerned Europe and the world in general, which contended against each other in 1815, were the same as those in 1792; but better understood, and their consequences fully appreciated. He will see and applaud the wisdom, the firmness, and the foresight of those counsellors of his native land; who, through every difficulty, and through every danger, have preserved us from the effects of those pernicious principles and their diabolical power, the Constitution of his country uninjured, her honour inviolate, and her power augmented: become, as she is, the saviour of all

nations, the object of gratitude, and respect with all. He will contrast it with the humiliating condition of her rancorous foes justly despised, hated, and suspected, and learn to appreciate the difference between right and wrong—justice and violence—good and evil. The opinion of Europe on these subjects, has been pronounced in a manner very public, very positive, and very solemn. It requires no comment. They have a second time told France, you deserve punishment; we again, in a great measure forgive you, but beware. Do not provoke us again, for our resolutions are fixed, if you do so, to prescribe "by common consent such conditions of peace, as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity." At the commencement of the revolution, as we have seen, France, under the mask of regulating her internal affairs, planned the subjugation of Europe. While confusing their private concerns, they never confused that great object. While planning how each should send the other to the block, it was only to change the measures not the object. To accomplish this, all interests were the same—all passions were directed. Democrat or Aristocrat; Jacobin or Imperialist; Catholic or Protestant; Atheist or Deist; still all had the same views. The Constituent Assembly, with more activity and less principle than Louis XIV., had as much ambition; the Convention more than either—the Directory as much as all the former three, and Napoleon more than all. It is the vice of the nation, which any fortunate individual who gets to its head and wishes to please, will find ambitious and aggressive wars the best and the easiest road to do so. Europe has seen re-established in France, that power, which as far as experience can go, she only can trust. It too may deceive her; but when it does so, she is resolved to resent it. French ambition, in every shape, she is determined to repel, and must repel, be it directed by a Carnot, a Bonaparte, or a Bourbon. Those who hate the latter, and who are the real enemies of European independence, thunder in our ears that the object of all the wars was the restoration of the latter family. This was the dress in which faction shielded French ambition, till mankind in general mistook the object. It was to repress the latter was the care of Europe. The object with her was to destroy

that ambition, and that the result of her labours produced the other, is one of the strongest claims of that unfortunate family to the regard and support of Europe. It is much in their favour, that after twenty-five years of every political crime, injury, fraud, violence, falsehood, and injustice, that Europe justly united and indignant would not and could not, trust France under any other form of government. Yet though the people of France have been compelled to relinquish their ambitious pursuits, still they have not abandoned their immoral and unprincipled conduct which prompted them to it. Till they do so, it is much to be feared, that though Europe may unbuckle her armour, she cannot with safety lay aside her arms. They hate Austria—they abhor Russia—they breathe vengeance against Prussia, and they cordially hate, but fear Britain. On the latter Europe depends, therefore all their Revolutionary emissaries will be set to work in every land, in order to libel our character, manners, pursuits, and to describe our finances as ruined. Every thing that is false, mean, or base, will be said of the character of Great Britain, in order to rouse the rancour of the whole French people against her again. In these endeavours she will be but too ably seconded by the discontented politicians among us, who for ever describe our burdens as insupportable, and our resources as ruined; thereby encouraging our inveterate foes to make another attack against us. It is their endeavours which prolonged the late, and may yet plunge us into a fresh war. Ask the exile of St. Helena, why he persevered to destruction—why he trampled upon the neck of Europe to ensure our ruin. He will say it was the gloomy accounts of instant national ruin so strongly drawn by the opposition in Britain. But another year; but another outrageous decree against her and against justice, and proud England will own me as her Lord.

They call'd, Napoleon march'd, and thus he sped.

France complained loudly and most bitterly of the conditions of peace, which she choosed to term harsh and severe. Galling and humiliating it no doubt was, to a nation which only three years before, with her arms, threatened the confines of Asia with chains; not only to have lost every thing, but thus to have the bridle of Europe placed in her jaws, in order to curb her future motions. But she is yet too strong for any of her

nearest neighbours, and the petty States of Germany complain, and complain most justly, that their security has been neglected by not dismembering some of the provinces formerly wrested from Germany by France, in similar unjust wars, to those that had so lately been carried on against them, and erecting them into an independent state; or adding them to the territories of the powers bordering on France, in order to secure Germany from her future vengeance. They are sensible that in the first movement of aggression on the part of France, when once she has recruited her strength, their territories will be the theatre of war. No wonder, therefore, that they are anxious to see her power sufficiently curbed and chained. For this purpose, they insisted upon Alsace, Loraine, and the territories from thence to the Netherlands, being separated from France. These contain about 4½ millions of inhabitants, which still leave 23,000,000 of a condensed population for France.—Prussia alone supported this measure with energy, and by doing so, she has gained the friendship of all the western and northern parts of Germany, so deeply interested in proper measures of defence against French ambition; which, whoever, may be their Sovereign, will still cry out for, and maintain that the Rhine should be the boundary of France. This unreasonable idea has taken such a deep hold of the minds of the whole population of France, that scarcely any reverses or misfortunes will induce them to abandon it. But with regard to this idea of natural boundaries, does not any one who will take up a good map, see that the natural boundaries of France are from the Mediterranean to Geneva, along the line as it run before the revolution. But she will say the highest barriers of the Alps, and therefore the natural boundary, is on the eastern side of Savoy; and, therefore, that kingdom should belong to her. Upon the same principle she may claim all Switzerland. From Geneva, the Jura mountains form a natural boundary, till these passing the bend of the river Doubs join the Vosges, which chain forms another boundary, but deviating in a north west direction, the line should run along that elevated chain, which passing between the springs of the Saone, Marne, Seine, &c. and the Mozelle, Meuse, and other rivers, is continued between the Aisne, Somme, Scheldt, and Sambre, to the east

end of the Straits of Dover, thereby separating all the waters which flow into the Rhine or its estuary, from those which flow into the Rhone, the Seine, and the English channel. This, in reality, is what may be called a natural boundary; and what, after all, may one day become the boundary of France, if not confined to narrower limits. In fact, France should never be allowed to look over the summits of the Vosges. If she sees the Rhine, she will be for reaching it. If she reaches it, she will cross it if she can, cost what it may: then the Elbe, then the Oder, and then the Vistula, will, each in its turn, become a natural boundary to her ideas; and lastly, the confines Asia of will inspire her ambition to reach them.

Short as the last revolution has been, it has been most fatal to France. Half a century will not repair the sad consequences of three months of folly. Low as her moral character before was, this has most justly sunk it deeper in the scale. Last year her word was believed; this, it is treated with derision, however candid and sincere. Something more tangible than words—more stable than promises, has been exacted by indignant Europe. As France had oppressed every nation, so she brought them all to view her disgrace, and to confirm and continue it. Let us put into a short compass what it has cost her.

	Francs.
Her own expenses, estimated at - -	1,500,000,000
Contributions by allies, - - - - - - -	700,000,000
Requisitions, food, clothing, &c. &c. -	690,000,000
Maintenance, 150,000 men, five years, -	650,000,000
Total,	3,540,000,000

or about 148 millions sterling, in money; and at least 150,000 lives in France, and 50,000 in Italy. The above sum added to her national debt, makes it nearly double what her public burdens were before the revolution. Her colonies lost, her navy ruined, her trade and her commerce gone, and her name rendered infamous and detested over the whole Continent of Europe, whose wrongs have been such, that these will be remembered by succeeding generations with feelings as strong as at the present moment. Her morals are vitiated. Her religi-

ous establishments an empty name. She is torn by factions, and by a set of men as devoid of feeling, as they are of principle: who thirst only for plunder and for blood, and whom no government with ordinary measures can control. Many of her peaceable and industrious inhabitants, are leaving a land where wickedness, and her usual attendant misery, have taken up their abode. They are passing in crowds to seek an asylum in distant lands under the Russian flag, around the borders of the Don, and in the territories of the Crimea. From Alsace, the emigration for this purpose is great. Europe has also suffered much. One hundred millions sterling, at least, has been exacted from the pockets of labour and industry, to guard against, and to overthrow the lawless military banditti of France; and at least, 60,000 valuable lives, have been sacrificed around her cursed borders, and still she seems eager that these should be moistened with blood; and though humbled, yet as vain and as thoughtless as ever; she still looks forward to be able to inflict vengeance on Europe.

Those who, for thirty years, have advocated the cause and admired the conduct of France, under whatever anarchy she was controlled, had now the assurance to call upon Europe to consult French honour and French feelings, in their proceedings; and to charge the nations of Europe with injustice and unnecessary severity towards France. These men forgot that France was the aggressor, that it was her conduct which first provoked the nations of Europe to general unanimity and an universal cry for justice. Do they think that France can beat down this power? Dare she again try it? What has France suffered in comparison to what she has made other nations endure? Has she paid a tenth of the sums she has exacted in an unjust cause? has she felt one hundredth part of the miseries she has made Europe feel? Let her examine the population of the latter, and she will hear such tales as will terrify her heart; and meet such anger as will shake her soul. Let then some other plea for lenity be advanced, than delicacy for French feeling—than tenderness for French honour. These cannot be admitted—they have outraged every honourable principle—they have trampled upon every generous feeling, and mus we—must Europe—must the world, be bereft of peace a

happiness for a whole generation—our strength wasted—our resources scattered—

"Tax'd till the brow of labour sweats in vain,"

in order to guard the liberty we enjoy, the small part of the fruits of our labours which have been left us, from protecting our wives from dishonour, our daughters from violation; in short, from guarding against the dark designs, the mad ambition, the treachery, and the baseness of France. Must we be compelled to do all this, and when Europe has beat these to the ground, shall she then be told that she must pursue such measures as will not wound the feelings of the former; or, in other words, that will enable her to pursue, in a short period, her former course. Away with such idle reasoning—to hear it advanced

"Fear, justice, passion, indignation start,
Tear off reserve, and bare the swelling heart."

And we are ready to accuse even Blucher of weakness, when irritated at their unjust accusations, he tells them, that "they may thank Providence for the allies not having followed their base example." In truth they may do so. The allies have, in this instance, only taken what was their own; demanded the one third of the expense the campaign has cost them, and, let us hope, guarantees not less than is sufficient for their own security. How much they require the latter, the unprecedented events of the year which we have related, but too fully establish. How much they have to dread French ambition, and above all, French principles, the situation of every nation in Europe proclaims in sorrow and in anguish. I might fill volumes on this lamentable subject, but I shall content myself with the following short account, which I believe is but too accurate a description of the situation of all the nations of the Continent, where either French liberty or French tyranny extended. The former indeed was even more destructive to the principles of nations than the latter. In an address of the Evangelical Prelates of Wirtemburgh to their Sovereign, they proceed: "Pressed down to the dust of the earth by poverty, distress, and despair, thousands can scarcely any longer rise above visible things, and are become deaf to the voice of religion.

Struggling with present burdens, and anxious cares respecting a still more gloomy future, the fruits which the preaching of the Gospel should produce on their minds are choaked in their first germs. The hope of a better period, and the trust in a Divine Providence regulating every thing for the best, which for several years communicated spirit and strength for endurance under the *severe pressure of the concussions* of the world, disappear, and sink into comfortless unbelief; and the hardships under which the people sigh, *by their long continuance*, surpass the power of human endurance. The decay of morality amongst all ranks cannot be misunderstood. Luxury and dissipation increase, not because property increases, but because it is sunk; because want and despair diminish inclination for the domestic virtues, and men seek to *drown in the noisy enjoyments of sensuality*, the bitter feelings which their hardships inspire. Instead of the old German uprightness, honesty, and truth; falsehood, dishonesty, and fraud, become daily more general, and poison the lives of men; while exhausting taxes, and continually increasing burthens, appear to deprive the suffering and the poor of all means of existence, and of improving their station. The efficacy and respectability of the servants of religion, are things despised. Such, gracious Sovereign, is a lamentable, but *true* picture of the situation of things, which the *recent periods*, so destructive to the old establishments of our country, have introduced, with regard to things the most sacred to man, morality and religion."* Such, no doubt, is a true picture of Europe, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the banks of the Nieman; but more particularly in Germany. And to whom are they indebted for all this? To revolutionary France; to her ambition, in every stage; to her principles; to her practice, and to her constant pursuits; to Brissot, Danton, Robespiere, Fouche, and Carnot, and to Bonaparte!

To them—to him we owe it all.

Let France look across the Rhine, and see the deplorable consequences of her own wickedness. Let her fear to provoke those passions she has raised; those principles which she

* October, 1815.

has corrupted. Can she suppose that such a population will be averse to war, and that they will not conceive that they could live as well in the rich plains of France, as in the ruined fields of Germany. Why, they will leap at the prospect with as great alacrity, as a giddy Parisian jumps at a "*Matt de Cocagne*" on a Sunday; and in doing so, they will most assuredly not fall short of their prize.

As the King's government gained strength, many of the revolutionary characters began to disappear; either by leaving the country, or sinking into insignificance. Some went to America, and others to Germany. Amongst those who remained in France, and who soon made their appearance again, justifying their conduct before the world, was Carnot. This man published a book containing a defence of his conduct. He asserted that he had no hand in, nor knowledge of Bonaparte's return; though he was the first to visit him, and to be employed and exalted by him. These assertions, however, few will credit, and fewer will pay any attention to. Carnot's name is inscribed in registers where the characters are wrote in letters with the blood of innocence, which only the tears of the recording angel can blot out; and which all the logic of Carnot and his friends, will never be able to erase or conceal. It might have been supposed that this hoary headed traitor, and even from the authority of his admirers, a *wholesale murderer*, would have been suffered to remain hid from the world, unless where he forced himself into notice. But not so. He has friends; he has defenders; and these too in Britain, against which he organized and directed "*fourteen armies*" to destroy. Annexed there is a defence of this man's conduct, the most extraordinary and audacious that ever was promulgated, since Robespiere thundered murder from the Mountain, and Barrere insulted humanity from the Tribune.* Against the *learned clamour* of persons, who thus outrage truth and insult humanity, the world has a right

* Bringing forward the abandonment of the accusation made against Carnot, immediately after Robespiere's fall, as a proof of the innocence of the former; the reviewer thus proceeds: "It ought to go a great way, and, at this time, it would be *rash*, not to say *unjust*, in the extreme, to pronounce a contrary sentence. But let us look a little into the merits of the case. The only matters *alleged* against Carnot, are reduced to a *very small* number of signatures, *officially* given by him

to protest and condemn. But in reality, Carnot's iniquity is drawn by his defenders in glowing colours, into a short compass, and making bad worse, consists in the following "*details:*" namely, that from economy or secrecy, in saving the expense and prying eyes of a secretary, Carnot signed, without examining into the subject, the death warrant of thousands. I am bent upon the conquest of Belgium; I am determined to make the Rhine the boundary of France; I am resolved to blot royalty from the face of Europe: therefore, my dear colleagues, though I know you are great blockheads in warlike affairs, and no better than you should be in some of your other deeds, still if you will lend me your assistance to procure the means necessary to accomplish these objects, I will allow you, without enquiry or comment, to murder whom you please; and, "*in rotation,*" I will "*nominally and officially,*" lend you my signature, "*out of my office,*" to sanction "*your worst deeds.*" Precisely similar is this defence of Carnot, when collated with facts. But what was the Committee of Public Safety, that *terrible body* over which Carnot presided in rotation, and which it is *alleged* he aided? It was the Executive Government of Revolutionary France, in its worst and bloodiest shape. It was composed of nine members, chosen monthly from the worst men in the Convention, and of which Robespiere was long the

to the decrees of the Committee of PUBLIC SAFETY. Upon this it is to be observed, that he confined himself wholly to the affairs of his own department, *the conduct of the war;* and that, though he PRESIDED IN ROTATION over the *terrible body* to which he belonged, and as President *nominally issued,* that is, signed *its orders,* he did so in virtue of the *arrangement,* that each should *affix his authority* to the acts of his colleagues, and that no one should *interfere* in another's department. *Had he refused his concurrence to them,* they would have *refused their ratification of his military proceedings;* and in order to shew *how little* he could, by possibility, have known of the *orders signed out* of his own department, he informs us of the extraordinary fact; that he was, at the time, carrying on the whole correspondence with *fourteen armies,* without a secretary. After all, situated as he then was, he had but one alternative; either to continue in this dreadful situation, co-operating with men he abhorred, and lending his *name* to their *worst deeds,* whilst he was fain *to close his eyes* upon their details; or to leave the tremendous war which France was then *waging for her existence,* into the hands of men so *totally unfit* to conduct the machine an instant, that immediate conquest, in its *worst shape,* must have been the consequence of his desertion." Further, "we protest against the *ignorant clamour* of persons, who, upon *ordinary grounds,* object to Carnot's conduct, unacquainted with the facts, and quite unaware that his country *exalted him in a transport of gratitude,* at the very moment of Robespiere's fall."—Edin. Rev. No. 50. p. 448.

head, for the enormity and wickedness of whose conduct and actions, as a body, and as individuals, the English language does not supply an epithet strong enough to express.* They were allowed to carry on their proceedings in secret, and to act divided into sections. Their business was to decree the arrest and imprisonment of all suspected persons. To order before the Revolutionary Tribunal, so notorious in the annals of blood, and which was so much their mouth-piece, that it was the same as to try, condemn, and order for execution, persons of every age, sex, class, or degree, guilty or innocent, but chiefly the latter. It was this "terrible body" which appointed, sanctioned, and directed similar "terrible bodies," with similar terrible tribunals, *in every town and in every village* throughout France, and even *ambulating ones*, to traverse the country; the labour of all of which terrible bodies imprisoned, shot, drowned and guillotined, thousands upon thousands of innocent victims. In Paris alone, in the course of a few months, 2500 persons were guillotined; and in eight months, 8000 were imprisoned, and ten times as many over the rest of France; the proportionate number of which, every ninth day, Carnot, when chosen, (and it was during the periods when he was so, that its conduct was most atrocious,) "*in rotation* nominally and officially," sent to the block without inquiring into the details; and in doing which, though he might "*close his eyes*," the orders for it became *his orders*, not "its orders." The only rational reason his fellow monsters gave for their conduct was, that they punished only such as were traitors, after a patient investigation; not so Carnot: he shut his eyes, signed, and inquired nothing about the matter. Besides all this, Carnot, *with his eyes open*, "confined himself wholly to the affairs of his own department;" that is, directing all the military operations when half a million of men were immolated in the in-

* It was first instituted on *Sunday*, April 7th, 1793. The members for the first month were, Barrere, Delmas, Breard, Cambon, Jean de Brie, Danton, Guitson, Morveau, Trielhard, Cacroix of Eure and Loire. For the third month, Barrere, Couthon, Gasparin, Heraut, Sechelles, Thomas Lindet, Prieur of Marne, St. André, St. Just, and Thuriot. On the 30th July, Prieur, the President, complained that this terrible body "*was too much overburdened with prosecutions;*" and consequently its members were doubled. They frequently attended in secret apartments near the Revolutionary Tribunal, to hear its proceedings, and to compel it to condemn. From October 1793, when Robespiere's influence became predominant, its members were not changed; but their powers renewed from month to month.

terior of France, by civil war and military massacres, because they would not abandon their King and their God; and some of her finest provinces laid waste by ferocious villains appointed by Carnot, and advanced and rewarded by him according as they exerted themselves in these bloody scenes. His country at that time "exalted in a transport of gratitude," many a desperate villain, and many a similar tyrant, from the murderers of Avignon to the murderers of the King; from Brissot, Danton, Pethion, Marat, Collot de Herbois, Carrier, Robespiere, and Carnot, to Bonaparte. And if my Lord Castlereagh should, for want of a secretary, "close his eyes," and out of his own office, or even in it, sign a warrant to send half the House of Commons to Botany Bay, and the other half to the block, it would be neither "*rash*" nor "*unjust in the extreme*," to pronounce a sentence of condemnation against him, though a hundred years hence. Yet how many similar documents, and even much worse, did Carnot "close his eyes" and sign. Carnot also became minister of the interior to Bonaparte after his return, when orders were given to General Lamarque, in La Vendee, to "*blow up and destroy the houses of the Vendean chiefs;* to destroy the bells, and to carry off hostages, and to *condemn and immediately shoot the chiefs who might fall into his hands.*"* The utmost, therefore, that can be said in the defence of Carnot, is, that perhaps he was less guilty than Robespiere; a point, however, which only the Judge of all can determine. But the least share which Carnot had in these guilty deeds, forms a load sufficient to sink a navy.

To Carnot succeeded Soult: he also dared to defend himself for having basely deserted his King. He was, he said, perfectly innocent. The order of the day published by him (see page 229,) was not his work, but the work of the government. He denied having had any knowledge of Bonaparte's intention to return; advised immediate submission to the King after the disasters at Waterloo, and at which place, as "he fought the English and Prussians," he ventured to persuade himself there was nothing criminal in his conduct. He accused the English for sacrificing the emigrants at Quiberon; and concluded some equally irrelevant declamation, by saying, that "a Prince who

* Lamarque's letter to Louis XVIII. Dec 1815.

is reduced by force to leave his States, cannot exact obedience, while he is unable to afford protection." Upon which principles, if satan, should drive the French Sovereign from the Thuilleries, compel him to pass the frontiers, and set himself in his place, all France was bound to obey him, and could not be punished for having done so, and having fought under his banners to prevent the return of the lawful Sovereign. But, certainly, when the legitimate Sovereign returned, if he could not catch his sable Majesty, he might at least justly hang those adherents, who did not do their duty in resisting him. To Soult succeeded the gentle Vandamme, who was quite astonished why, after his return from the custody of Rostopchin, he never was permitted to visit the King, and why he was commanded not to attempt it. He consequently was compelled to leave Paris and stay upon his estate, till the King having left Lisle, he made his appearance at the court of Napoleon. This man, before the revolution, had been condemned to be hanged, for the crime of robbery; but, by the humanity of his judge, his sentence was commuted to be branded on both shoulders, and confined in the gallies at Brest for ten years; from thence he escaped, when the rights of man set villains free; he became Jacobin, then a General; murdered the judge who had formerly saved him, even after Robespiere had liberated the former; and then purchased the estate, once his property, for a trifle. He shot the emigrant prisoners; and was the first who put the bloody decree for giving no quarter into execution, by shooting a Hanoverian officer with his own hand. He was disgraced by Moreau; and rewarded by Bonaparte. He could not then be astonished at the coldness of the King shewn to him; and instead of thrusting themselves forward to public notice, in this manner, these men would do well to take the advice of Anaxagoras: he being at sea in a great tempest, all the crew and passengers fell on their knees to implore the protection of the gods. One of the passengers, a man of very bad character, was louder in his prayers than the rest. "Prithee be silent," said Anaxagoras, "for if the gods find out that you are here, they will punish us all, and we shall certainly be shipwrecked." The less Vandamme and his colleagues say the better.

In the proceedings of the French Chambers there was for

some time but little that was remarkable. Their first business was the passing a law, similar in its import to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act in Great Britain, in order to check the daring attempts of treason and sedition. These attempts to kindle fresh revolutions, were carried to most alarming lengths. To check these, the old Prevotal Courts were re-established. In the act now passed, upon an amendment unanimously adopted, a clause was inserted, that the punishment it decreed should be inflicted upon the usurper, a person of his family, or, "*any other chief of rebellion*,"* which important amendment pointed out that other competitors for the French crown might be brought forward, besides Bonaparte, or any of his dynasty. It was upon the question of the amnesty bill, however, that the true feelings of the Representatives were discovered. The King and his ministers wanted a general amnesty passed, except for those persons included in his Ordinance of 24th July, 1815. This the Representatives wanted to prevent, and to extend the punishment of banishment, death, and confiscation of goods, to a much greater number. Ministers, after a hard contest, were obliged to yield so far, but no further, that all those who voted for the death of Louis XVI. and who had been pardoned in 1814, but again joined Bonaparte in 1815, should be banished from France for ever. The numbers for still further increasing the exemptions from the Ordinances were 175 to 184. Consequently, the motion was rejected. In the number of regicides was Fouche, who had been previously disgraced from his embassy. At this time it was ascertained that only 33 † out of 380, who voted for that atrocious deed, were in existence; and almost every one of the latter number had perished in a miserable and untimely manner. The law passed the Upper House without any opposition: and, in one month, all the remaining regicides were compel-

* Sitting of Chambers, 28th October, 1815.

† From the most accurate accounts which can be procured, there only remain the following persons of all that dreadful crew; namely, Ducos, Cambacores, Fouche, Cavaignac, Lecarpantier, Pons, David, Carnot, Barrere, Richard, Sieyes, Alquier, Tallien, Albitte, Cochon, Andre Dumond, Barras, Garos, Thibadeau, Guy Vernon, Merlin de Douay, Quinette, Jean de Bry, Gamon, Garnier, Granet, Dubois-Dubais, Milhaud, Foucher, Michaud, Bertezene, and Boulay de la Mourthe These alone remain out of upwards of 380. The national *razor* settled nearly all the rest.

led to leave France. Thus justice at last overtook the few survivors, and the most dangerous; because the most able and cunning of all that terrible band. These survivors were unquestionably the great cause of the last revolution, as they certainly were of the horrors of the first. Their banishment from France shewed the confidence, the wisdom, and the strength of the royalist party. But, though banished because they were regicides, let it not be forgotten that the murder of their King was but a part of their guilt—an item in their enormities. During 1793 and 1794, when these men reigned most conspicuous and triumphant, the lawless rabble of Paris was paid to insult and violate justice, to deride and trample upon humanity.* When we trace that fatal period, wherein to acknowledge the Creator was a crime; and to suffer the sigh of anguish, or tear of pity to escape at the fate of the dearest friend, was immediate death—when we remember their diabolical accusations against their unhappy Queen, and which it required their cruel authority to extort even from villains—when, at their command, we behold the darkest dens of ferocity in the Parisian Fauxbourgs set loose to accompany with derision, and insult the innocent victim to the scaffold—when we hear those horrible *bravos*, which, issued from the mouths of a pensioned multitude of women and men, degraded below the most savage tribes, and which assailed her ears in her passage to the fatal spot. When we have studied all this, we have still only studied one bloody line in the ponderous volume of these mens' enormities. But the hour of retribution did not stand still, nor the sword of Justice rest in its scabbard. Their adherents fell, and they are at last overtaken. Though at a first view we may suppose that the present punishment of these men is light and inadequate; yet, upon a serious consideration, it is the severest could possibly have befallen them. Driven from a country which they ruled and misled; which they have corrupted, de-

* Amidst the various shews at this time devised to amuse the rabble of Paris, there were erected in the streets places of exhibition, where monsters paid by government, imitated the gesture, attitude, and manner of those guillotined; and to which places the mob, after having applauded the latter spectacle, retired to laugh at the former; and these were the villains who were to enlighten Europe. To Waterloo they continued the same. There they mimicked the last pangs of their dying comrades.

graded, and ruined; scattered over a world which their principles and their pursuits have covered with irreligion, immorality, sorrow, and misery, they must unpitied drag on a short and wretched existence, amidst the awful contempt of an injured and an indignant world. No conduct of theirs can ever again replace them in that society which they so grossly outraged, and whose bonds they have so cruelly broken. Despair and anguish must be their portion here; happy if their sorrow shall appease that unerring and impartial Justice which shall judge them hereafter.

While the events we have considered were passing in Europe, the Northumberland held on her way through the vast Atlantic, bearing far from Europe her former oppressor and scourge. On the 24th August they reached Madeira, and left it again on the 26th. After a tedious voyage, the convoy, with the most extraordinary cargo ever conveyed to St. Helena, made that island on the 16th October. On the evening of the 18th, about 7 P. M., the debarkation took place. Bonaparte took up his lodgings in the town till a house, in the country, was prepared for his reception. The greater part of his companions were, by this time, completely sick of the expedition. It is a curious fact, that the Northumberland, which conveyed him to St. Helena, was the vessel which, in the action off St. Domingo, took the "*Imperiale*," much her superior in point of force, and the only vessel in the French navy named after the Imperial dynasty. It is also a remarkable coincidence of events, that Bonaparte, from the consequences of the battle of Waterloo, should land in St. Helena on the 18th of October, the anniversary of the memorable battle of Leipsic, whose consequences sent him to Elba; and also of the anniversary of the battle of the Nara in Russia, which compelled him to leave Moscow on the following morning.

St. Helena, the present residence of Bonaparte, is a small island in the South Atlantic ocean, situated in lat. 15° 55′ South, and 5° 49′ West Longitude from Greenwich. From the Lands End in England, it is 4600 English miles distant in a direct line; and by the nearest course which a ship can take thereto, it is about 5800 miles from the same place. It is distant from the coast of Congo, in Africa, 1400 English miles;

and from the coast of the Brazils, in South America, nearly 2100. The nearest land is the small island of Ascension about 700 miles N. W. from it, and which, like St. Helena, is equally distant from either Continent. The latter remarkable island is either the highest peak and remains of some vast Continent, overwhelmed in some tremendous convulsion of nature by the Atlantic billows; or, more probably, the production of some tremendous volcano in a convulsion of a different kind. In either case, it is a fit prison for him who had so long convulsed the world. The island was first discovered by the Portuguese, who stocked it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and at which they were accustomed to touch for provisions. It was afterwards neglected by them, and taken possession of by the English in 1600. In 1673, the Dutch took it by surprise, but it was soon after re-taken by the brave Captain Munden; since which period it has remained in the possession of England, and under the control of the East India Company, forming a great rendezvous for all the outward and homeward bound trade from the Eastern world. It is about 20 miles in circumference.—The land rises to a great elevation, so that it can be seen from sea at the distance of 70 miles. It consists indeed of one vast rock, perpendicular on every side, like a castle in the middle of the ocean, whose natural walls are too high to be attempted by scaling ladders. There is not the least beach except at the bay called Chapel Valley Bay, which is fortified with 50 pieces of cannon planted even with the water, while other batteries rise in rows above these at a greater elevation. It is further defended by a heavy sea, which continues to dash its foaming billows against its rocky walls. There is a small creek where two or three men may land from a small boat, but now rendered inaccessible by a battery. At Chapel Bay is the only anchorage; and as the prevailing wind is from the South East, it is not only difficult to land, but equally so to fetch the island, if a vessel overshoot the port ever so little. Although the island at a short distance, appears to be a vast barren rock; yet the surface is covered with good mould though not very deep, but which produces excellent crops. Few large trees are to be seen, as the soil is not of sufficient depth to bear them. After ascending the rock the country appears prettily diversified with

rising hills and vallies. The soil produces grain, grass, roots, and vegetables, in plenty and in perfection. Lemons, oranges, pomegranates, and a variety of other tropical fruits grow in considerable quantities. Partridges and pheasants are numerous. Large herds of cattle are fed in the vallies, both for the use of the inhabitants and of the shipping. Innumerable swarms of rats here, as in many other tropical islands, annoy the inhabitants and consume their crops. These live in the fields, during every season, and form their homes in the thick brushwood with which the country abounds. It is thus impossible to extirpate an animal that is so extremely prolific. In the vallies are situated the houses and elegant plantations of the settlers, wherein they attend to their cattle, hogs, poultry, fruits, and gardens; and seldom visit the town except on Sunday, or when the shipping arrives, when almost every house is converted into a punch house and lodgings for their guests, with whom they barter their commodities. They receive in return, by the ships from India, all the rich and valuable productions of the East; and from Europe wines, brandy, beer, malt, calicoes, chintzes, muslins, ribbons, woollen cloths, &c. The vine has been attempted to be cultivated, but it does not succeed, probably from the exposed situation of the island. The number of inhabitants may amount to about 300 English families, or such as are descended from them, exclusive of the garrison. Centinels are placed in the centre of the island, in order to give notice of the approach of any vessels; which, from the general clearness of the atmosphere, can be discovered at a great distance in all directions. Though situate so far within the tropic, the climate of St. Helena is by no means remarkable for the heat. Surrounded as it is by the vast Atlantic, the constant sea breeze cools the air, and renders it both healthy and agreeable. The only difference of seasons are wet and dry, the same as in other tropical regions. The longest day is 12 hours and 50 minutes, and the shortest 11 hours and 10 minutes. Their longest is the European shortest; their spring our autumn. The twilight is very short, as in all countries within the tropics; but the nights are remarkably cool, clear, serene, and in moonlight particularly beautiful. During the stay of the shipping, the place is

very gay; but as these will no longer sail with convoy, this will not now be so much the case. To a European, however, St. Helena is a sequestered and lonely spot. To an Emperor it must be particularly so. Yet he is better there than at the Berezina. Cold and Cossacks will annoy him no more. Such is the spot appointed for the future residence of Napoleon and the few followers which were allowed to accompany him. If any place of a similar nature upon this globe can prove a secure place of confinement for this extraordinary man, St. Helena is the best fitted for that purpose. Every precaution is taken to prevent his escape. No foreign vessels are to be allowed to touch at this place, and the utmost vigilance is to be observed with regard to all British vessels that do. Nothing but treachery and gross neglect on the part of those who guard him, can enable him to escape. Were they, however, to connive at his attempt, it would be no difficult matter. With a small boat, in that climate, he might easily, without much risk, run to the coast of Brazils in 15 days, or to the isle of Ascension in 5 or 6. In our autumn, which is their spring, the wind is fair, strong, and steady for that purpose, and no tempests are to be apprehended at that period. But this he could not accomplish without assistance to a very considerable extent; and there is no other way he could escape unless by the treachery of his guards, in opening a correspondence with his former friends, and getting him off during the night to a vessel at a distance. In short, there seems little chance of his getting away from this place to disturb the world again, unless they allow Frenchmen to mix with the guard which attends him. Every necessary, even to luxury and sumptuousness is allowed him for his convenience and his comfort. There he amuses himself playing at cards for *sugar plumbs*, with two young ladies, or any other person who may join him; fortunate for the world and also for himself, if he had never played for a higher stake. Thus terminates the last page of the political sheet of the fine history of the Emperor. There let him remain, the wonder and the scorn of the world, till death summons him to the bar of the Judge of all.

Although Spain was the first to declare war against Napoleon, she was the last to come into active operations. After the

abdication of Bonaparte, her armies, in considerable force, crossed the frontiers, and from Catalonia and Navarre, entered France. At the intercession of the Duke de Angouleme, however, the Spanish generals agreed to withdraw their armies into their own territories. The people of France were, not without reason, greatly alarmed at the appearance of the Spaniards in their country, when no longer restrained by the conqueror of the Pyrennees. Portugal, from some cause hitherto unexplained, took no part in the contest. Immediately after the landing of Bonaparte in France, 60 transports were dispatched from Britain to the Tagus, to bring 15,000 Portuguese troops to join the allies. But these vessels were forced to return empty; owing, as it was said at the time, to the Regency having declared, that they could not permit any troops to be taken out of the country before they received permission from the Prince Regent in the Brazils: long before that could be obtained, there was no use for their services. Sweden joined the coalition, but none of her troops were engaged in active service; indeed there was scarcely time for them to have done so, before affairs were settled so as to render their assistance unnecessary.

I have thus, (in comparison to the magnitude of the events,) but with a feeble hand indeed, endeavoured to record the occurrences of 1815. What their final results may be in France, and what their consequences may be to Europe, time only can determine. Two things alone appear certain. The first is, that Europe never can be subdued again by any single power. The second is, that even if this could be the case, it cannot be done by France. With regard to France herself, she must for a long time to come, be a divided and a distracted country.—Completely demoralized as she is, the present generation may wear out, but they can never cordially return to the bonds of national union or social order. Revolutions they will have, if they can; and the only way to keep them from mischief, is to deprive them of the means. The King is now old. Disputes may arise about the rights of succession, which, forgetting Bonaparte altogether, may give the "two nations into which France is divided," an opportunity of wrecking their hatred upon each other, particularly the Jacobinical party against the Royalist. Amongst the latter, particularly in the South, the

Duke and the Duchess de Angouleme are generally beloved. Among the former, the Duke de Orleans has a large party; and the most odious of the gang will, in all probability, unite with the others in supporting his interests; not from any regard which either the one or the other has for him, but purely from motives of the most deadly hatred and revenge against the brother and family of Louis XVI. Foremost in this list will be all the old staunch friends of liberty, as they are called, who were concerned in his murder, and who would obey any one, and make any thing of France, in order to get clear of those personages, whose names must forever recal to their bosoms the memory of their crimes. The party that coalesced with the father of the present Duke, so notorious and so infamous for his crimes, will, no doubt, more readily turn their attention to the son than to any other. France may thus become a divided country, and woes innumerable may yet be reserved for her.—Should the present Duke de Orleans be so unfortunate as to tarnish his name by listening to such counsels, he may rest assured that his race of honour and of security is run; for the party who may flatter and support him, will only do so in support of their own ends, and when these are gained, they will sacrifice him to their views of French glory, with as much savage exultation as they did Louis XVI., or as little pity as they did their great idol Bonaparte. Gratitude and honour are foreign to their hearts. These have no place of abode in their bosoms.

But though divided amongst themselves, let not Europe suppose that France will relinquish the idea of again troubling her repose, and restoring the mighty preponderance in the European scale she once enjoyed, and which she still sighs to regain. Any prospect of this, or any attempt to gain it, will quickly unite all internal dissensions. No means will be neglected to accomplish this end. She will endeavour to arouse jealousies, to sow dissensions amongst the powers of Europe, that by such means she may recover, if not the dominion, at least, in some degree, the influence, which she has lost.—Disunited, she calculates that she will again overpower them all. She believes that if she has been vanquished, that this has been brought round by a train of unfortunate circumstances: in a

few words, by *fatal mistakes;* and even with these, that her subjugation could only be accomplished by the indissoluble union of all Europe against her. This is her present feeling. Her advocates adopt and inculcate the same ideas and assert, that if she can by any policy disunite for the moment, any great power on the Continent, Russia for instance, from assisting the rest, that her object would be speedily gained. Goaded on by wounded vanity and humbled pride, and by this idea, France may be mad enough to provoke another contest with her neighbours, without reflecting upon her own situation, or theirs, and without thinking on discomfiture, or upon what the consequences of failure will be. Even at this moment the lurking spirit of evil betrays itself. Her clamours and her accusations disclose the true feelings of her heart. They feel themselves humiliated and broken, but they do not feel that they have merited it. Their anger is the offspring of guilt; their lamentations the wailing of a broken power, which sighs to return to its former errors, and which conceives that they are not, and cannot be wrong. It is of little consequence what may be the wish of her Sovereign, and his more immediate friends. Him and them, however, much contrary to their inclinations, will be hurled away by the spirit of the nation. But all her efforts will be in vain to accomplish her views. France has made the people of Europe, from necessity, all soldiers. They are become a military people in a good cause, as she became in a bad one. She has taught them the trade of war; and she may rest assured, that against her, in the first place, will their anger and their conquering swords be directed. Whatever revolutions or political changes take place among themselves, they will never forget the cruel wrongs which France inflicted on them. The nations of Europe individually are brave. Their generals are all experienced. They are strong. France is weak. They are united. She is divided. Their finances, it is true, are almost ruined by the avaricious imposts levied by France. But confidence in their government and public spirit is restored; and France has taught them how to make war at the expense of those whom they attack. She cannot prevent them from beginning any future contest on her territory, whereby the expense will fall upon her, not upon them. The

nations have men. These men have energy. Thousands follow war as the profession which will carry them easiest to greatness, and soonest to glory. All individually, and collectively, are animated with hatred against a nation which has inflicted upon them all so much misery; and every one will march with alacrity to the combat against her. She can only escape by following peace in the spirit of peace Do not let her deceive herself. The conduct of others, were they to act as ambitiously and as unjustly as she has done, cannot exonerate her from the evil she has committed: nay, does she not tremble to think that such conduct, if followed by others, may not, in the course of events, be called forth for her severer punishment. The paths of contrition, justice, and truth, can alone save her. All other ways will fail; and though the tree of her strength for a moment may again flourish, high, and strong—though it may shoot its top to heaven, and spread its branches into distant lands, still that will be but for an hour: a short and bloody hour. "*The day of retribution must come.*" There remains the worm at the root, which consumes the juice that should support its vigour, and the same messenger of Almighty power and of unerring justice stands ready with the irresistible ax, which, when the command is given, will "hew down the tree, cut off his branches, pluck off his fruit, and scatter his leaves," in order to dismiss "the beasts from under his shadow, and the fowls from his branches;" and who will bind with Omnipotent aid, "the stump thereof with bars of iron."

"Because France is determined to be France," said Duboys de Angers, "must she be degraded, torn, dismembered, and is the fate of Poland reserved for us?"* Yes, if France is determined to be what this man calls France, that is, if she shall again recal Napoleon Bonaparte, or adopt his system, she may in reality become a torn and dismembered country. Not that Europe wishes this should be the case, but not that she will refrain from it if tormented by French perfidy and ambition, as she has been. The fate of Poland may yet be reserved for her. The fate of Poland! Poland though divided from her own folly and her own weakness, and above all

* Address to the Emperor, Champ de Mai, June 1st.

from following one of those idle theories put in execution in France, namely, electing their Kings, is still not planted by another race of men, nor her people removed into other lands. She may, she will one day resume her rank in Europe, and she will resume it to the satisfaction of mankind; not with the jealousy and apprehension of her neighbours. Not so can France resume her dignity or her influence; these must be the objects of dread, because these have been by experience the objects of unparalleled destruction. "Nations never die," is one of the hopes of Frenchmen; that the times that are past, may be re-produced. They may never die; that is, generation may succeed generation in their natural order. But nations change and are lost. Greater than France have been so: as powerful as she are now sought for on the map of the world in vain. And what is France? Is what she calls France one people, or sprung from one origin. No, certainly! how many of her best and her finest provinces have been wrested from different nations in unjust wars, prompted by her ambition. Alsace, Loraine, and the whole country from these provinces to the shores of the English channel, are they not so; on her south-eastern and southern boundaries, are they not in a similar state; and why, in the course of events, courted and accelerated by her own ambition and wickedness, may not these be dismembered and separated from her? The thing is perfectly possible, perhaps near at hand.

With regard to the rest of the Continent of Europe, French policy by any means she can contrive, will endeavour to sow disunion and jealousy among them. Russia will be the first she will attempt to alienate from the European confederacy. Prussia and Austria she hates too much; and they hate and understand her so thoroughly, that all attempts in that quarter will be of no avail. They have all felt the sad consequences of disunion; and on that rock it is not probable they will again split. The arts of France, however, with regard to Russia, are likely to be counteracted by the proposed family alliance between the Imperial family of Russia and the Prince of Orange. This will bring the interest of Russia and that of France into immediate contact, in a part which nothing can ever lead France away from casting an anxious eye upon. But however

far French policy may succeed in misleading the Russian government, it can only be for the moment; because, betwixt the people of the two countries a lasting hatred must remain. The Russian population never can forget the unprovoked French invasion; however, the policy of the government may, if ever it should, induce them to pass it over. Turkey, however, forms the immediate object of Russian power. Instigated by France in 1812, the former power was preparing to break the treaty which she had so shortly concluded, when the disasters of Bonaparte held her hand. The return of Napoleon again set French intrigue to work at Constantinople, and prompted the Turks to make hostile movements against their formidable opponent. In this, Turkey only accelerates her own ruin. The war that is waged with Russia will inevitably end in her destruction. A few months will see the Russian eagle hovering over the spires of St. Sophia, and their cannon controlling the waves of the Hellespont. These will be the first and the more immediate objects of Russia. Austria has the consolidation of her Italian Empire to attend to. To this France will also cast a greedy eye; which will induce Austria firmly to coalesce with Prussia, that France may not, as she has already done, be able to overthrow each separately. Prussia will also most assuredly become a leading power on the Continent. Her territories come into immediate contact with France, therefore she must be constantly on her guard to watch them. She has at the present moment stood forward with more firmness than any other, for the interests and safety of the smaller states. She has thereby gained their confidence and their gratitude; and they will all most cordially unite with her, either to resist or to attack French ambition. A coalition more formidable, or more to be dreaded by France than what this will form, is not to be conceived. It will come forward heart and soul—bone and nerve, with a force that can hardly be calculated upon; with a fury proportionate to the miseries which they have endured. Prussia, as is well known, has suffered; and appreciates, and will continue to appreciate the conduct of France. The rest of Germany has equally suffered, though these sufferings are in some measure forgotten by the world. Let me for a moment recal to the memories of my readers a

few instances of republican atrocity in that unhappy country, during the invasion of 1796, that we may be the better able to judge of what the feelings of the inhabitants in that part of Germany may now be.

At Pfullendorf, under the eyes of Moreau, the most humane of all their generals, a poor woman of 60 was thrown down by a republican soldier, while another stood by her aged husband with his bayonet, and threatened him with death, if he interfered with his comrade in the gratification of his brutal desires. They rifled the church and the minister's house; and when Moreau was applied to in order to check their wanton acts of barbarity, he answered, contemptuously, I cannot prevent it. At a hamlet near Markdorf, ten brutal French soldiers, in the presence of her husband, alternately violated the chastity of a woman, who was hourly expected to be taken in labour. At the moment they were perpetrating the deed, one of their officers entered the house. He was applied to, in order to refrain them; when, horrible to relate, instead of doing so, he followed the example of his men. In another village, a woman who had born a child only eight days before, was treated in a similar manner; and, when in her shift, and with her infant in her arms, she endeavoured to escape from her persecutors, she was pursued with taunts and loose jokes, by these Gallic barbarians. On the 6th October, in the village of Bremen, neither maiden, wife, nor widow, escaped being forcibly dishonoured; and not only their husbands and fathers, but even young children, were compelled to view these horrid scenes of violence and iniquity. One woman who, with her husband, had ineffectually endeavoured to resist these furies, was pursued over hedges and ditches, repeatedly dishonoured and left for dead; while her husband was most cruelly beaten with sabres. Others at this place, and in the other villages, were first tied to trees and then violated by successive numbers. The enemy then rifled the churches with the most blasphemous expressions. They destroyed the altars, *polluted the communion table with their ordure;* pulled down and reviled the *image of our Saviour;* trampled the host under foot, and then threw it to the dogs. In one church, after pillaging it, they placed in mockery and derision, a figure of Satan upon the altar; which figure they had got

from a representation of the temptation in the wilderness. In another place they placed the crucifix before the fire, and amidst shouts of the most indecent mirth, turned it round like meat roasting on a spit; while the grey headed minister of the parish, aged 83, after being plundered of his all, was forced to witness it. Every thing indeed that belonged to religion was the peculiar object of republican hatred. In the environs of their camp, numerous bodies of women were found who had been abused unto death. The monsters, worse than the brutal ape or ferocious tiger, even satisfied their beastly appetites with dead corpses. They also murdered the children which the unfortunate women who followed them had born unto them. Bodies of young women, who had expired under their treatment; and women, who but a few days before had been in labour, were made use of to satiate the lusts of these monsters, degraded by such conduct far below the beasts of the field. Girls from ten years of age were deprived of their innocence and their health by these demons. Ten, twelve, and even twenty successively gratified their passions with the same object; while their shameless and brutal comrades either kept guard at the door, or held loaded pistols or fixed bayonets at the heads of the unhappy sufferers. Even persons labouring under maladies which precluded them from communication with mankind, were forced to submit to their desires. At the village of Waterdengen, three women who had passed their 70th year, six lying in women, four far advanced in pregnancy, and twelve young girls, were by the cruel treatment which they experienced, brought almost to the gates of death. At Emmengen, an old woman near 70, was successively dishonoured by four of them. Crimes unheard of, and cruelty hitherto unknown, were every where perpetrated by them. General Turreau, one of the most furious and ferocious of all these pests which insulted, and at this time scourged humanity, exacted contributions, and plundered in the most arbitrary and lawless manner. He allowed his followers to do as they pleased. The rich were stripped of their wealth, and beggars of their rags. Turreau said "he only repented of having at any time acted with humanity, and of not having converted into dust all the cities, villages, and convents, he had seen on his march." In fact, lit-

tle escaped. Desolation marched in their rear, and cruelty in their ranks. They burnt, they plundered, and they slew all that came in their way. They mixed together all kinds of grain, farming and instruments of cultivation, and then destroyed them. The country was laid waste. The cities plundered of their wealth.* But it is impossible to record a tenth part of their atrocities. Nor are these related from doubtful authority. "Their conduct," said Sir Robert Anstruther, "during their abode in this country, has exhibited a scene of depravity which is degrading to human nature: robbery and peculation have been universal in every rank and in every department of the army. Every species of violence has been exercised upon the persons as well as the properties of individuals; many villages have been reduced to ashes, without even a pretext for this act of barbarity; and the countries through which their armies have passed, exhibit every where a spectacle of the utmost desolation and distress."†.

Has the thoughtful and reflecting German forgot these atrocities? Did the tyranny of Napoleon help to wipe them away? No, certainly. These altered, but not obliterated their griefs and their wrongs; and those cruel conscriptions which broke asunder all the finest ties of nature, and carried the victim of ambition to perish on the banks of the Tagus, or amidst Russian snows, are not forgotten. Look at the reception which the veteran Blucher has received on his return from France. In every town in Germany through which he passed, all ranks, and particularly the lower classes of people, thronged around him, and greeted him with unfeigned joy and the most heartfelt satisfaction. His conduct in France, so much approved of by them, sufficiently explains their sentiments and their feelings. France is not sufficiently aware of this deadly, and, as it regards her, this dangerous animosity; and which time can hardly soften or impair. Divided as Germany is, into small States, disunited she can do little. But each is animated with a spirit which will firmly unite and cheerfully embrace, coalesce with, and support any great power who will stand forward to advocate their cause, assist them to secure their future safety, and

* Address by Anthony Aufere, Esq. to the people of Great Britain.

† Sir R. Anstruther's dispatch, 10th Sept. 1796.—London Gazette Extraordinary.

enable them to avenge their wrongs. Prussia is that power. A Rhenish confederation was instituted by France to trample upon Germany. A Rhenish confederation, sanctioned by Germany, will certainly be formed to curb and to overawe France. Austria will sanction such a proceeding. England will not oppose it; because the more that is wrested from France, in Alsace and Loraine, to which points the views of this confederation will certainly turn, the more secure does the kingdom of the Netherlands become; and which it concerns the near and the deep interests of Britain, at all times to see rendered stable. The strength of a coalition formed upon such principles, will be such as that without assistance from any other power, France would find herself unable to withstand; and the policy which would make her believe that she might with safety threaten its security or provoke its anger, will be found to be the scourge and the bane of the latter power. The population of France, however, united, cannot much exceed 26 millions. That of Prussia, together with all the smaller German States, is not much short of that number; without reckoning any thing upon the kingdom of the Netherlands, and the Austrian Monarchy with a population equal of itself to that of France. The Austrian Empire is now more consolidated, and consequently more powerful, than ever. Her communication with the sea, from the possession of the Venetian States situated along the shores of the Adriatic, is of immense advantage to her; and has none of those restraints upon it, that the communication of Belgium with the sea formerly had. Situated as each power therefore now is, unless the folly of Turkey, and the rashness and impetuosity of the French character, shall again rekindle the flames of war, the Continent of Europe may enjoy long peace and repose.

But Europe must not altogether flatter herself with this pleasant prospect. France is a country whose population delight in war. Violence is the constitution of her people, and aggression the foundation of her Government. It is not to day that she has become so; and it only remains to be seen if experience has brought her to adopt a more rational line of conduct. The former has been her fault for ages; till by an increasing impulse it arrived at the late unprincipled tyranny

which proclaimed its will the law; its military despotism the Sovereign of fate, and the arbiter of the world. Britian has been her constant opponent; and the ruin of the latter, the undeviating and continued aim of the former. It is a remarkable fact, that during the last seven hundred years, above one third of that period has been taken up in wars between France and England. The war which began in 1110, lasted two years; that which began in 1141, one year; in 1161, twenty-five years; in 1211, fifteen years; in 1234, nineteen years; in 1294, five years; in 1339, twenty-one years; in 1368, fifty-two years; in 1422, forty-nine years; in 1492, one month; in 1512, two years; in 1521, six years; in 1549, one year; in 1557, two years; in 1562, two years; in 1627, two years; in 1666, one year; in 1689, ten years; in 1702, eleven years; in 1744, four years; in 1756, seven years; in 1776, seven years; and, in 1793, twenty-two years; in all, during 705 years, there has been 266 years of war!!!

Before concluding this Narrative, let us take a general view of the military strength of the different European powers at this moment, and which it will by no means be very difficult to array against their former oppressors again, should that unfortunately prove necessary. The disposable force of Russia, in France and Germany, was last year above 400,000 men, and her whole establishment could not be less than 600,000. The military force of Prussia must have exceeded 300,000; as she had 236,000 engaged. The Austrian army consisted of 57 regiments of the line, 78 battalions of light infantry, (in all 430,000;) 37 regiments of cavalry, (60,000,) and 4 regiments of artillery, (13,000,) in all 503,000 men. The army and navy of Great Britain, at least 400,000. Switzerland about 60,000; and the disposable quotas of the smaller States, were as under, viz. Bavaria 60,000, Netherlands 50,000, Wirtemburgh 20,000, Baden 16,000, Saxony 16,000, Sardinia 15,000, Hesse Cassel 12,000, Hanover 10,000, Hesse Darmstadt 8,000, Mecklenburgh Schwerin 3,800, Nassau 3,000, Brunswick 3,000, Hanse Towns 3,000, Saxe Gotha 2,200, Saxe Weimer 1,600, Anhalt 1,600, Oldenburgh 1,600, Schwartzenberg 1,300, Lippe 1,300, Reuss 900, Mecklenburg Strelitz 800, Saxe Coburg 800, Waldeck 800, Frank-

fort 750, Saxe Meinungen 600, Saxe Hildburghausen 400, Hohenzollern Sigmaringen 386, Hohenzollern Hechingen 194, Lichtenstein 100; total 235,130. To this they may join the united force of Italy, about 140,000; and without including Spain or Portugal, we have the enormous sum of upwards of 2,230,000 men, all trained and ready for war. Will France by her conduct again provoke this terrible mass?

When we review the occurrences of 1815, we are struck with amazement. In the first three months thereof, Europe enjoyed profound peace. In the next three the flames of war spread to her utmost borders, and were extinguished in blood. In the third quarter, Europe prepares to disarm; and in the last, we behold each nation returning to their respective homes in peace. In March, Murat held peaceable possession of the kingdom of Naples. His dynasty seemed fixed. In April he threatened Italy with chains. In May he lost his army, capital, crown, and dignity. He became, for a few months, a wretched outcast and a wanderer, even in his native land. From thence compelled to fly, he seeks safety in another, and almost immediately lands; and is tried, condemned, and executed, in the land which, only six months before, obeyed him; while his wife and family are prisoners in a foreign country, forlorn and unfriended. But he hears no more the curses of his enemies; he is gone, and will be forgotten. Not so Napoleon. Leaping from his rock in the middle of the sea, he appears in Paris with the Imperial crown on his head. France owns his sway, and worships his image. Europe feels fear through all her borders. In three months he and all who supported him, are dispersed, in durance, or buried at Waterloo. In 1812, with Continental Europe at his back, we see him trampling upon the ruins of the Kremlin; and in 1815, after the most astonishing vicissitudes of fortune—an Emperor in Elba—a Jacobin tool in France—we see him a prisoner, playing at cards for *sugar plumbs* (not kingdoms,) in St. Helena. From being Sovereign of the first Kingdom in Europe, he is become a solitary prisoner in the above island, a speck in the Atlantic ocean, at an equal distance between the old world and the new,

——— "far from all the ways
Where men frequent, and sacred altars blaze."

There he must live humiliated but not forgotten, while that flag which he endeavoured to sweep from the ocean, will bear under its guardian folds to his ears, the curses of a ruined and indignant world. The mind that feared to follow him in his rise, turns giddy in pursuing his fall. Trampling upon the Continent, we behold him with the mean rancour of revolutionary revenge, refusing to the relations of an honourable and a brave man, who had fallen on the field of battle in defence of his country, the permission to bury his remains in the tomb of his ancestors. From that point we trace his progress till we see him driven from the abodes of that society, which he had so outraged; while the terrors of the Most High proclaim to his affrighted soul, in the language addressed to the tyrant in ancient times: "All the Kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit; as a carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people: the seed of evil doers shall never be renowned."* May his fate be a warning to others, to shun the paths which he followed; and may the disgrace and distress that has overtaken the nation which he ruled, teach others to abandon delusive theories in government, and to follow only the paths of peace, of truth, and of justice.

* Isaiah xvi. 18, 19, 20.

R. Scott Sculpt.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS the PRINCE REGENT.

APPENDIX.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE.

OFFICIAL COPY.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

THE Allied Powers having by their united efforts, and by the success of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were menaced by the late enterprize of Napoleon Buonaparte, and by the *Revolutionary System re-produced in France*, to promote its success; participating at present with his Most Christian Majesty in the desire to consolidate, by maintaining inviolate the Royal Authority; and by restoring the operation of the Constitutional Charter, the order of things which had been happily re-established in France, as also in the object of restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and good will which the fatal effects of the Revolution and of the system of Conquest had for so long a time disturbed: persuaded, at the same time, that this last object can only be obtained by an arrangement framed to secure to the Allies PROPER INDEMNITIES FOR THE PAST, AND SOLID GUARANTEES FOR THE FUTURE; they have, in concert with his Majesty the King of France, taken into consideration the means of giving effect to this arrangement; and being satisfied that the indemnity due to the Allied Powers cannot be either entirely territorial or entirely pecuniary, without prejudice to France in the one or other of her essential interests, and that it would be more fit to combine both the modes, in order to avoid the inconvenience which would result, were either resorted to separately, their Imperial and Royal Majesties have adopted this basis for their present transactions; and agreeing alike as to the necessity of retaining for a fixed time in the frontier provinces of France, a certain number of allied troops, they have determined to combine their different arrangements, founded upon these bases, in a Definitive Treaty. For this purpose, and to this effect, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for himself and his allies on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other part, have named their Plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign, the said Definitive Treaty; namely, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart Viscount Castlereagh, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of his said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament, Colonel of the Londonderry Regiment of Militia, and his said Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

and the Most Illustrious and Most Noble Lord Arthur, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Wellington, Marquis of Douro, Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, a Member of his said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a Field Marshal of his armies, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Prince of Waterloo, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and a Grandee of Spain of the First Class, Duke of Vittoria, Marquis of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimiera in Portugal, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, of the Spanish Military Order of St. Ferdinand, Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa, Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of St. George of Russia, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia, Knight Grand Cross of the Portuguese Royal and Military Order of the Tower and Sword, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of Sweden of the Sword, Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of the Elephant of Denmark, of William of the Low Countries, of the Annunciade of Sardinia, of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, and of several others, and Commander of the Forces of his Britannic Majesty in France, and of the Army of his Majesty the King of the Low Countries; and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, the Sieur Armand Emanuel du Plessis Richelieu, Duke of Richelieu, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, and of the Orders of St. Alexander Newsky, St. Wladomir, and St. George of Russia, Peer of France, First Gentleman of the Chamber of his Most Christian Majesty, his Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council of his Ministers; who, having exchanged their full Powers, found to be in good and due form, have signed the following Articles:

Art. 1. The frontiers of France shall be the same as they were in the year 1790, save and except the modifications on one side and on the other, which are detailed in the present Article. First, on the Northern Frontiers, the line of demarcation shall remain as it was fixed by the Treaty of Paris, as far as opposite to Quiverain, from thence it shall follow the ancient limits of the Belgian Provinces, of the late Bishopric of Liege, and of the Duchy of Bouillon, as they existed in the year 1790, leaving the territories included (enclaves) within that line of Phillipeville and Marienbourg, with the fortresses so called, together with the whole of the Duchy of Bouillon, without the frontiers of France.—From Villers near Orval, upon the confines of the Department Des Ardennes, and of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg as far as Perle, upon the great road leading from Thionville to Treves, the line shall remain as it was laid down by the Treaty of Paris. From Perle it shall pass by Lauensdorff, Walwich, Schardorff, Neiderveiling, Pelweiler (all these places with their banlienes or dependencies remaining to France) to Houvre; and shall follow from thence the old limits of the district (Pays) of Sarrebruck, leaving Sarrelouis, and the course of the Sarre, together with the places situated to the right of the line above described, and their banlienes or dependencies without the limits of France. From the

limits of the district of Sarrebruck the line of demarcation shall be the same which at present separates from Germany the departments of the Moselle and of the Lower Rhine, as far as to the Lauter, which river shall from thence serve as the frontier until it falls into the Rhine. All the territory on the left bank of the Lauter, including the fortress of Landau, shall form part of Germany.

The town of Weissenbourg, however, through which that river runs, shall remain entirely to France, with a rayon on the left bank, not exceeding a thousand toises, and which shall be more particularly determined by the Commissioners who shall be charged with the approaching designation of the boundaries. Secondly, leaving the mouth of the Lauter and continuing along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs and the Jura to the Canton de Vaud, the frontiers shall remain as fixed by the Treaty of Paris. The Thalweg of the Rhine shall form the boundary between France and the States of Germany, but the property of the islands shall remain in perpetuity, as it shall be fixed by a new survey of the course of that river, and continue unchanged whatever variation that course may undergo in the lapse of time. Commissioners shall be named on both sides, by the High Contracting Parties, within the space of three months, to proceed upon the said survey. One half of the bridge between Strasbourg and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the Grand Duchy of Baden. Thirdly, in order to establish a direct communication between the Canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the Pays de Gex, bounded on the east by the lake Leman; on the south, by the territory of the Canton of Geneva; on the north, by that of the Canton de Vaud; on the west, by the course of the Versoix, and by a line which comprehends the communes of Collex Bossy, and Meyrin, leaving the commune of Ferney to France, shall be ceded to the Helvetic Confederacy, in order to be united to the Canton of Geneva. The line of the French custom-houses shall be placed to the west of the Jura, so that the whole of the Pays de Gez shall be without that line. Fourthly, from the frontiers of the Canton of Geneva, as far as the Mediterranean, the line of demarcation shall be that which in the year 1799, separated France from Savoy, and from the County of Nice. The relations which the Treaty of Paris of 1814 had re-established between France and the Principality of Monaco, shall cease for ever, and the same relations shall exist between that Principality and his Majesty the King of Sardinia. Fifthly, all the Territories and Districts included (enclaves) within the boundary of the French Territory, as determined by the present Article, shall remain united to France. Sixthly, the High Contracting Parties shall name within three months after the signature of the present Treaty, Commissioners to regulate every thing relating to the designation of the boundaries of the respective countries, and as soon as the labours of the Commissioners shall have terminated, Maps shall be drawn, and Land-marks shall be erected, which shall point out the respective limits.

Art. 2. The fortresses, places, and districts, which, according to the preceding Article, are no longer to form part of the French territory, shall be placed at the disposal of the Allied Powers, at the pe-

ods fixed by the 9th Article of the Military Convention annexed to ie present Treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces or himself, his heirs and successors for ever, the rights of Sovereign- and property, which he has hitherto exercised over the said fort- esses, places, and districts.

Art. 3. The fortifications of Huninguen having been constantly n object of uneasiness to the town of Bale, the High Contracting Parties, in order to give to the Helvetic Confederacy a new proof of heir good will and of their solicitude for its welfare, have agreed a- mong themselves to demolish the fortifications of Huninguen, and he French Government engages from the same motive not to re-es- ablish them at any time, and not to replace them by other fortifica- ions, at a distance of less than that of three leagues from the town of Bale. The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to the ter- itory situated to the north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that own being included to the south of the Lake of Annacy, by Faverge, as far as Lecheraine, and from thence, by the lake of Bourget, as far as the Rhone, in like manner as it was extended to the Provinces of Chablais and of Faucigny, by the 92d Article of the final act of the Congress of Vienna.

Art. 4. The pecuniary part of the indemnity to be furnished by France to the Allied Powers, is fixed at the sum of 700 millions of francs. The mode, the periods, and the guarantees for the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a Special Convention which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the presenty Treaty.

Art. 5. The state of uneasiness and of fermentation, which after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the last catas- trophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of her King, and the advantages secured to every class of his subjects by the Constitutional Charter, requiring, for the security of the neighbouring States, certain measures of precaution, and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by corps of Allied Troops, certain military posi- tions along the frontiers of France, under the express reserve, that such occupation shall in no way prejudice the Sovereignty of his Most Christian Majesty, nor the state of possession, such as it is re- cognized and confirmed by the present Treaty. The number of these troops shall not exceed 150,000 men. The Commander in Chief of this army shall be nominated by the Allied Powers. This army shall occupy the fortresses of Conde, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Gi- vet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the Tete-du-Pont of Fort Louis. As the main- tenance of the army destined for this service is to be provided by France, a Special Convention shall regulate every thing which may relate to that object. This Convention, which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the present Treaty, shall also regulate the relations of the army of occupation with the civil and military authorities of the country. The utmost exten-

of the duration of this military occupation, is fixed at five years. It may terminate before that period, if, at the end of three years, the Allied Sovereigns, after having, in concert with his Majesty the King of France, maturely examined their reciprocal situation and interests, and the progress which shall have been made in France in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the fortresses and positions occupied by the allied troops, shall, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his Most Christian Majesty, or to his heirs and successors.

Art. 6. The Foreign Troops, not forming part of the Army of Occupation, shall evacuate the French Territory within the term fixed by the 9th Article of the Military Convention annexed to the present Treaty.

Art. 7. In all countries which shall change Sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present Treaty, as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit to do so, and to retire to whatever country they may choose.

Art. 8. All the dispositions of the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the Countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

Art. 9. The High Contracting Parties have caused representation to be made of the different claims arising out of the non-execution of the nineteenth and following Articles of the Treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the Additional Articles of that Treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined, by two separate Conventions, the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two Conventions, as annexed to the present Treaty, shall, in order to secure the complete execution of the above-mentioned Articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted, word for word, herein.

Art. 10. All Prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all Hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the Prisoners taken previously to the Treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

Art. 11. The Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the final Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the Articles of the present Treaty.

Art. 12. The present Treaty, with the Conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)
(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L. S.) WELLINGTON.

(Signed)
(L. S.) RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The High Contracting Powers, sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures with which they occupied themselves at the Congress of Vienna, relatively to the complete and universal abolition of the African Slave Trade; and having already, each in his respective States, prohibited, without instruction their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to unite again all their efforts to ensure the final success of the principles which they have proclaimed in the Declaration of the 4th of February, 1815, and to concert, without loss of time, by their Ministers at the Courts of London and Paris, the most efficacious measures to obtain the entire and definitive abolition of a traffic so odious and so highly repugnant to the laws of religion and of nature. The present Additional Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of this day. It shall be comprehended in the ratification of the said Treaty.

In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th November, in the year of Grace, 1815.

[Signatures.]

[The same day, in the same place, and at the same moment, the same Treaty, as well as the Conventions and Articles annexed to it, was signed between France and Great Britain, France and Prussia, France and Russia.]

SEPARATE ARTICLE.—(Signed with Russia alone.)

In execution of the Additional Article of the 30th May, 1814, his Most Christian Majesty engages to send, without delay, to Warsaw, one or more Commissioners, to concur in his name, according to the terms of the said Article, in the examination and liquidation of the reciprocal claims of France and the late Duchy of Warsaw, and in all the arrangements relative to them. His Most Christian Majesty recognises, in respect to the Emperor of Russia, in his quality of King of Poland, the nullity of the Convention of Bayonne, well understood, that this disposition cannot receive any application, but conformably to the principles established in the Conventions mentioned in the 9th article of the Treaty of this day.

The present Separate Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In testimony whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th November, in the year of Grace, 1815.

CONVENTION

CONCERNING THE OCCUPATION OF A MILITARY LINE IN FRANCE.

Art. 1. Composition of the army, and choice of its Commanders.

Art. 2. The French furnish it with fire, candle, lodging, provisions, and forage, in kind. However, the portions which are to be delivered, according to a fixed tariff, are not to exceed 200,000, and the rations not 50,000. For pay, equipments, clothing, and other necessaries, the Government is to pay 50 millions annually; but the Allies, in order to assist France as much as possible, will be content with 30 millions for the first year, on condition that the deficiency shall be paid in the following years.

Art. 3. France provides for the keeping up of the fortications, as well as of the buildings belonging to the civil and military administration, and for the provisioning of the fortresses in the occupation of the Allies. The furnishing of what is necessary for these purposes, in which the maxims of the French military administration are observed, is made upon the application of the Allied armies to the French Goverment, which has to arrange with them the means of providing for these supplies and works in a manner suitable to both parties.

Art. 4. According to the Fifth Article of the principal Convention, the line to be occupied by the Allied Troops extends along the frontiers which divide the Departments of the Pas de Calais, the North, the Ardennes, the Maese, the Mozelle, the Lower Rhine, and the Upper Rhine, from the interior of France. It is further agreed, that (unless particular reasons should, with the consent of both parties, cause an alteration to be made,) the following districts and territories shall not be occupied either by Allied or French troops. In the department of the Somme, the whole country northwards of that river from Ham, to its falling into the sea; in the department of the Aisne, the districts of St. Quentin, Vervin, and Laon; in the department of the Marne, those of Rheims, St. Menehaud, and Vitry; in the department of the Upper Marne, St. Dizier and Joinville; in the department of the Meurthe, Toul, Dienze, Saarburg, and Blamont; in the department of the Vosges, those of St. Diez, Bruyeres, and Premeremont; in the department of the Upper Saone, the district of Leere; in the department of the Doubs, that of St. Hypolite. The King of France may have garrison in the towns which lie in the territory occupied by the Allies, the strength of

which garrisons is limited as follows:—In Calais, 1,000 men; Gravelines, 500; Bergin, 500; St. Omer, 1,500; Bethune, 500; Montreuil, 500; Nisden, 250; Andres, 250; Acre, 500; Arras, 1,000; Boulogne, 300; St. Venand, 300; Lille, 3,000; Dunkirk and its forts, 1,000; Douay and Le Louché, 1,000; Verdun, 500; Metz, 3,000; Lauterberg, 200; Weissemberg, 150; Petite Pierre, 100; Strasburg, 3,000; Schelesteadt, 1,000; New Brisach and Fort Mortier, 1,100; Befort, 1,000. It is, however, agreed, that the *materiel* of the engineer and artillery departments, and the arms not properly belonging to these places, shall be removed from them to other places at the option of the French Government, which must, however, lie without the lines occupied by the Allied troops, and without the line not occupied by the troops of either party. If the Commander in Chief is informed of a violation of these arrangements, he makes a remonstrance to the French Government, which promises to pay due attention to it. As the above places are at present without garrisons, the French Government may send thither the stipulated number of troops as soon as it pleases, first, however, informing the Commander in Chief.

Art. 5. The military command in the whole extent of the departments, through which passes the military line formed by the Allied troops, belongs to the Commander in Chief of the Allies. The places mentioned in article 4th, are to be garrisoned by French troops, together with a *rayon* of 1,000 toises, are excepted from this military command.

Art. 6. The Civil Administrative Justice, levying of taxes remain in the hands of the French Government. The same is the case with the Customs. They remain in their present state; and the Commanders of the Allied troops not only put no obstacles in the way of their Officers, but in case of need lend them assistance.

Art. 7. To prevent all abuses in respect of the Customs, the clothes, &c. for the troops, shall not be imported, except provided with certificates of origin, and in consequence of a previous communication of the Commander of the Corps to the General in Chief, who on his side gives information to the Custom-house officers.

Art. 8. The Gens d'Armes continue to do duty in the countries occupied by the Allies.

Art. 9. The troops not belonging to the Army of Occupation leave France in —— days, after the signature of the principal Treaty. The territories ceded to the Allies, as well as the places Landau, Saar-Louis, and Versoix, will be evacuated in —— days from the same time. The places will be given up in the condition in which they were on the 28th September. Commissioners will be named on both sides to report on this situation, and to deliver up and receive the military stores, plans, models, and archives, belonging to the ceded places and districts. Commissioners will be also named to examine and report the situation of the places to be given in depot to the Allies, which are still in the hands of France, are to be delivered up in —— days. Commissioners shall also report the state of the fortresses already in the hands of the Allies, on the day when they are considered as occupied. The Allies promise to restore, at

the end of the occupation, all the places named in article 5th of the principal Treaty, in the same state in which they found them, without, however, being answerable for the dilapidations caused by time, which the French Government has not prevented by the necessary repairs.

PROTOCOL

RESPECTING THE PARTITION OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED MILLIONS TO BE PAID BY FRANCE TO THE ALLIED POWERS, AND WHICH PROTOCOL IS TO BE INSTEAD OF A SPECIAL CONVENTION ON THAT SUBJECT.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, agreeing to fix the principles of the partition of the sums to be paid by France, in virtue of the Treaty of Paris, of the 20th of November, 1815, among their respective Courts and the other Allied States; and taking into consideration, that it appears to be superfluous to conclude a special Convention on the subject of this agreement, have resolved to set forth in the present Protocol every thing that relates to this object, and to regard this Protocol as having the same force and effect as a special and formal Convention, in virtue of their full powers and instructions from their respective Courts.

Art. 1. The Allied Powers convinced of the necessity of securing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, by the fortification of some of the most threatened points, destine for this purpose a part of the sums which France has to pay, whilst they appropriate the remainder of those sums for general partition, as indemnities. The sums destined for the erection of these fortresses shall form the fourth part of the total which France has to pay; but as the cession of the fortress of Saar-Louis, a measure equally founded on motives of general security, renders the erection of new fortifications, on the side where that fortress is situated, superfluous: and as the sums for the above purpose were estimated by the Commission appointed by the Council of Ministers, at 50 millions, therefore, this fortress, in the amount of the sums destined for fortifications, shall be reckoned at 50 millions, in such way that the above-mentioned fourth shall not be deducted from the actual 700 millions, promised by France, but from 750 millions, thus including the cession of Saar-Louis. In conformity to this regulation, the sum destined for the erection of fortresses is fixed at 137½ millions, viz. at 137½ millions of actual money, and 50 millions included in the valued cession of the fortresses of Saar-Louis.

Art. 2. In the partition of these 137½ millions, among the States bordering on France, the undersigned Ministers take into consideration partly the more or less urgent wants of these States to establish new fortresses, the more or less considerable expense in their erection, and partly the means which those States possess or may acquire through the present Treaty. In consequence of these principles, the King of the Netherlands receives 60 millions; the King of Prussia 20 millions; the King of Bavaria, or any other Sovereign of the

which garrisons is limited as follows:—In Calais, 1,000 men; Gravelines, 500; Bergin, 500; St. Omer, 1,500; Bethune, 500; Montreuil, 500; Nisden, 250; Andres, 250; Acre, 500; Arras, 1,000; Boulogne, 300; St. Venand, 300; Lille, 3,000; Dunkirk and its forts, 1,000; Douay and Le Louché, 1,000; Verdun, 500; Metz, 3,000; Lauterberg, 200; Weissemberg, 150; Petite Pierre, 100; Strasburg, 3,000; Scheleststadt, 1,000; New Brisach and Fort Mortier, 1,100; Befort, 1,000. It is, however, agreed, that the *materiel* of the engineer and artillery departments, and the arms not properly belonging to these places, shall be removed from them to other places at the option of the French Government, which must, however, lie without the lines occupied by the Allied troops, and without the line not occupied by the troops of either party. If the Commander in Chief is informed of a violation of these arrangements, he makes a remonstrance to the French Government, which promises to pay due attention to it. As the above places are at present without garrisons, the French Government may send thither the stipulated number of troops as soon as it pleases, first, however, informing the Commander in Chief.

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the end of the occupation, all the places named in article 5th of the principal Treaty, in the same state in which they found them, without, however, being answerable for the dilapidations caused by time, which the French Government has not prevented by the necessary repairs.

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The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, agreeing to fix the principles of the partition of the sums to be paid by France, in virtue of the Treaty of Paris, of the 20th of November, 1815, among their respective Courts and the other Allied States; and taking into consideration, that it appears to be superfluous to conclude a special Convention on the subject of this agreement, have resolved to set forth in the present Protocol every thing that relates to this object, and to regard this Protocol as having the same force and effect as a special and formal Convention, in virtue of their full powers and instructions from their respective Courts.

Art. 1. The Allied Powers convinced of the necessity of securing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, by the fortification of some of the most threatened points, destine for this purpose a part of the sums which France has to pay, whilst they appropriate the remainder of those sums for general partition, as indemnities. The sums destined for the erection of these fortresses shall form the fourth part of the total which France has to pay; but as the cession of the fortress of Saar-Louis, a measure equally founded on motives of general security, renders the erection of new fortifications, on the side where that fortress is situated, superfluous: and as the sums for the above purpose were estimated by the Commission appointed by the Council of Ministers, at 50 millions, therefore, this fortress, in the amount of the sums destined for fortifications, shall be reckoned at 50 millions, in such way that the above-mentioned fourth shall not be deducted from the actual 700 millions, promised by France, but from 750 millions, thus including the cession of Saar-Louis. In conformity to this regulation, the sum destined for the erection of fortresses is fixed at 137½ millions, viz. at 137½ millions of actual money, and 50 millions included in the valued cession of the fortresses of Saar-Louis.

Art. 2. In the partition of these 137½ millions, among the States bordering on France, the undersigned Ministers take into consideration partly the more or less urgent wants of these States to establish new fortresses, the more or less considerable expense in their erection, and partly the means which those States possess or may acquire through the present Treaty. In consequence of these principles, the King of the Netherlands receives 60 millions; the King of Prussia 20 millions; the King of Bavaria, or any other Sovereign of the

Russia,.....	7,142,857 francs.
Austria,.....	10,714,285
England,.....	10,714,285
Prussia,.....	10,714,285
The other Allies,.....	10,714,285

If France, as shall be the case in the first years, shall pay only 30 millions, or any other sum than 50 millions, for the above object, the same proportion shall take place in the partition of the sums thus modified. The money here mentioned shall be received and divided by the Commission to be appointed, according to the 13th article of this Protocol, to receive the indemnity in money.

Art. 15. Four copies of this Protocol shall be made out, which shall be provided with the signatures of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, and shall have the force and validity above-mentioned.

N. B. No. 3. relates to the mode of paying the contributions of 700 millions, at the rate of 140 millions annually. No. 4. relates to the adjustment of the claims made by the different nations against France. No. 5. relates to the mode of payment of the sums due to British subjects by France; and are not generally interesting or important.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP,

BETWEEN HIS

BRITANNIC MAJESTY and the EMPEROR of AUSTRIA.

SIGNED AT PARIS THE 20TH NOVR. 1815.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

The purpose of the Alliance concluded at Vienna, the 25th day of March 1815, having been happily attained by the re-establishment in France of the order of things which the last criminal attempt of Napoleon Buonaparte had momentarily subverted; their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, considering that the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things founded on the maintainance of the Royal Authority and of the Constitutional Charter, and wishing to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity (the object of the wishes of mankind and the constant end of their efforts,) from being again disturbed; desirous, moreover, to draw closer the ties which unite them for the common interests of their people, have resolved to give to the principles solemnly laid down in the Treaties of Chaumont of the 1st March, 1814, and of Vienna of the 25th March, 1815, the application the most analogous to the present state of affairs, and to fix beforehand, by a solemn treaty, the principles which they propose to follow, in order to guarantee Europe from the dangers by which she may still be menaced; for which purpose the High Contracting Parties have named to discuss, settle, and sign,

the conditions of this Treaty, namely—[Here follow the names and titles of the Plenipotentiaries, viz. Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince of Metternich, and Baron of Weissenburg,] who after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. 1. The High Contracting Parties reciprocally promise to maintain, in its force and vigour, the Treaty signed this day with his Most Christian Majesty, and to see that the stipulations of the said Treaty, as well as those of the particular Conventions which have reference thereto, shall be strictly and faithfully executed in their fullest extent.

Art. 2. The High Contracting Parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolably the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present Act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the Treaty signed this day with the Plenipotentiaries of his Most Christian Majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Buonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the Treaty of the 11th of April, 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the Contracting Powers bind themselves, by the present Act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same Revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other States; under these circumstances the High Contracting Parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert amongst themselves, and with his Most Christian Majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective States, and for the general tranquillity of Europe,

Art. 3. The High Contracting Parties, in agreeing with his Most Christian Majesty, that a line of military positions in France should be occupied by a corps of allied troops during a certain number of years, had in view to secure, as far as lay in their power, the effect of the stipulations contained in articles 1st and 2d of the present Treaty, and uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they engage, that in case the said body of troops should be attacked or menaced with an attack on the part of France, that the said Powers should be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that Power, in order to maintain either of the said stipulations, or to secure and support the great interests to which they relate, each of the High Contracting Parties shall furnish, without delay, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Chaumont, and especially in pursuance of the 7th and 8th articles of this Treaty, its full Contingent of sixty thousand men, in addition to the forces left in France, or such part of the said Contingent as the exigency of the case may require should be put in motion.

Art. 4. If, unfortunately, the forces stipulated in the preceding article should be found insufficient, the High Contracting Parties will concert together, without loss of time, as to the additional number of troops to be furnished by each, for the support of the common cause; and they engage to employ, in case of need, the whole of their forces, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination; reserving to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, such conditions of Peace as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity.

Art. 5. The High Contracting Parties having agreed to the dispositions laid down in the preceding articles, for the purpose of securing the effect of their engagements during the period of the temporary occupation, declare, moreover, that even after the expiration of this measure, the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be deemed necessary for the maintainance of the stipulations contained in the articles 1st and 2d of the present Act.

Art. 6. To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present Treaty, and to consolidate the connexions which at the present moment so closely unite the four Sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the High Contracting Parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the Sovereigns themselves, or by their respective Ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which, at each of those periods, shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintainance of the peace of Europe.

Art. 7. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within two Months, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, A. D. 1815.

(Signed)		(Signed)	
(L. S.)	CASTLEREAGH,	(L. S.)	METTERNICH,
(L. S.)	WELLINGTON,	(L. S.)	WESSENBERG.

Note.—Similar Treaties were signed on the same day by the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty, with those of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, respectively.

COPY

OF A NOTE ADDRESSED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE FOUR UNITED COURTS, TO THE DUKE OF RICHELIEU, ON THE 20TH NOVEMBER.

The undersigned, Ministers of the United Cabinets, have the honour to communicate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu, the new Treaty of Alliance which they have signed in the name, and by the order of their august Sovereigns—a Treaty, the object of which is to give the principles consecrated by the Treaties of Chaumont and

Vienna, the application most analogous to present circumstances, and to connect the destiny of France with the common interests of Europe.

The Allied Cabinets regard the stability of the order of things happily re-established in that country, as one of the essential bases of a solid and durable tranquillity. To that object their united efforts have constantly been directed, and their sincere desire to maintain and consolidate the result of those efforts, has dictated all the stipulations of the new Treaty. His Most Christian Majesty will in that act recognize the solicitude with which they have concerted the measures most proper for removing whatever might hereafter compromise the internal repose of France, and prepared remedies against the dangers with which the Royal authority, the foundation of public order, might yet be menaced. The principles and intentions of the Allied Sovereigns are in this respect invariable.—Of this, the engagements which they have now contracted, furnish the most unequivocal proof; but the lively interest they take in the satisfaction of his Most Christian Majesty, as well as in the tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom, induces them to hope that the occurrences provided against in these engagements will never be realized.

The Allied Cabinets perceive the first guarantee of this hope in the enlightened principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues of his Most Christian Majesty. His Majesty has recognized with them, that in a State which has, during the quarter of a century, been torn by revolutionary movements, it does not belong to force alone to re-produce calm in the minds, confidence in the hearts, and equilibrium in the different parts of the social body; and that wisdom must be joined with vigour, and moderation with firmness, in order to operate these happy changes. Far from fearing that his Most Christian Majesty will ever lend an ear to imprudent or passionate counsels tending to nourish discontent, renew alarm, reanimate hatred and divisions, the Allied Cabinets are completely assured by the equally wise and generous dispositions which the King has announced in all the epochs of his reign, and particularly that of his return after the late criminal usurpation. They know that his Majesty will oppose to all the enemies of the public welfare and tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they may present themselves, his attachment to the constitutional laws promulgated under his own auspices; his will decidedly pronounced, to be the father of all his subjects, without any distinction of class or religion; to efface even the recollection of the evils which they have suffered, and to preserve, of past times, only the good which Providence has caused to arise even amidst public calamities. It is only thus that the wishes formed by the Allied Cabinets, for the preservation of the constitutional authority of his Most Christian Majesty, for the happiness of his country, and for the maintainance of the peace of the world, can be crowned with a complete success, and that France, re-established on her ancient basis, can resume the place to which she is called in the European system.

The undersigned have the honour to reiterate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu their high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH, HARDENBERG,
CASTLEREAGH, CAPO D'ISTRIA.

Paris, November 20th, 1815.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUC DE RICHELIEU.

The Allied Sovereigns having confided to Marshal the Duke of Wellington the command in chief of those of their troops, which, according to the 5th article of the Treaty, concluded this day with France, are to remain in this country during a certain number of years, the undersigned Ministers, &c. &c. &c. think it their duty to give some explanation to his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu, as to the nature and extent of the powers attached to this command.

Although chiefly guided with respect to this measure, by motives tending to the safety and welfare of their subjects, and being very far from having any intention of employing their troops in aid of the Police, or of the internal Administration of France, or in any manner that might compromise or interfere with the free exercise of the Royal authority in this country, the Allied Sovereigns have, however, in consideration of the high interest which they take in supporting the power of legitimate Sovereigns, promised to his Most Christian Majesty to support him with their arms against every revolutionary convulsion which might tend to overthrow by force, the order of things at present established, and to menace also, again the general tranquillity of Europe. They do not, however, dissemble that in the variety of forms under which the revolutionary spirit might again manifest itself in France, doubts might arise as to the nature of the case which might call for the intervention of a foreign force; and feeling the difficulty of framing any instructions precisely applicable to each particular case, the Allied Sovereigns have thought it better to leave it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington, to decide when, and how far it may be advisable to employ the troops under his orders, always supposing that he would not in any case so determine without having concerted his measures with the King of France, or without giving information as soon as possible to the Allied Sovereigns of the motives which may have induced him to come to such a determination. And, as in order to guide the Duke of Wellington in the choice of his arrangements, it will be important that he should be correctly informed of the events which may occur in France, the Ministers of the four Allied Courts, accredited to his Most Christian Majesty, have received orders to maintain a regular correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, and to provide at the same time for an intermediate one between the French Government and the Commander in Chief of the Allied troops, for the purpose of transmitting to the French Government the communications which the Duke of Wellington may have occa-

sion to address to it, and of communicating to the Marshal the suggestions or requisitions which the Court of France may wish in future to make to him. The undersigned flatter themselves that the Duke de Richelieu will readily recognize in these arrangements the same character and the same principles, which may have been manifested in concerting and adapting the measures of the military occupations of a part of France. They carry with them also, on quitting this country, the consoling persuasion, that notwithstanding the elements of disorder which France may still contain, the effect of Revolutionary events, a wise and paternal government proceeding in a proper manner to tranquilize and conciliate the minds of the people, and abstaining from every act, contrary to such a system, may not only succeed in maintaining the public tranquillity, but also in re-establishing universal union and confidence, relieving likewise as much as the proceedings of the government can effect it, the Allied Powers, from the painful necessity of having recourse to these measures, which, in case of any new convulsion, would be imperiously prescribed to them by the duty of providing for the safety of their own subjects, and the general tranquillity of Europe, &c.

The undersigned have the honour, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH,
CASTLEREAGH,
HARDENBERG,
CAPO D'ISTRIA.

Paris, November 20th, 1815.

TREATY

BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA, RESPECTING THE IONIAN ISLANDS, SIGNED AT PARIS, 5th NOVEMBER, 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, animated by the desire of prosecuting the Negociations adjourned at the Congress of Vienna, in order to fix the destiny of the Seven Ionian Islands, and to insure the independence, liberty, and happiness of the inhabitants of those Islands, by placing them and their Constitution under the immediate protection of one of the Great Powers of Europe, have agreed to settle definitively by a special Act, whatever relates to this object, which, grounded upon the rights resulting from the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th May, 1814, and likewise upon the British Declarations at the period when the British arms liberated Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Ithaca, and Paxo, shall be considered as forming part of the General Treaty concluded at Vienna on the 9th of June, 1815, on the termination of the Congress, and in order to settle and sign the said Act, the High Contracting Powers have nominated Plenipotentiaries, [here follow the names of the Plenipotentiaries,] who, after having exchanged

their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. 1. The islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, with their dependencies, such as they are described in the Treaty between his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias and the Ottoman Porte, of the 21st of March, 1800, shall form a single, free, and independent State, under the denomination of the United States of the Ionian Islands.

Art. 2. This State shall be placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors. The other Contracting Powers do consequently renounce every right or particular pretension which they might have formed in respect to them, and formally guarantee all the dispositions of the present Treaty.

Art. 3. The United States of the Ionian Islands shall, with the approbation of the protecting Power, regulate their internal organization; and in order to give to all the parts of this organization the necessary consistency and action, his Britannic Majesty will employ a particular solicitude with regard to the legislation and the general administration of those States, his Majesty will therefore appoint a Lord High Commissioner to reside there, invested with all the necessary power and authorities for this purpose.

Art. 4. In order to carry into execution without delay the stipulations mentioned in the Articles preceding, and to ground the political re-organization which is actually in force, the Lord High Commissioner of the Protecting Power shall regulate the forms of convocation of a Legislative Assembly, of which he shall direct the proceedings, in order to draw up a new Constitutional Charter for the States, which his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall be requested to ratify.

Until such Constitutional Charter shall have been so drawn up, and duly ratified, the existing Constitutions shall remain in force in the different islands, and no alteration shall be made in them, except by his Britannic Majesty in Council.

Art. 5. In order to insure without restriction to the inhabitants of the United States of the Ionian Islands, the advantages resulting from the high protection under which these States are placed, as well as for the exercise of the rights inherent in the said protection, his Britannic Majesty shall have the right to occupy the fortresses and places of those States, and to maintain garrisons in the same. The military force of the said United States shall also be under the orders of the Commander in Chief of the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. 6. His Britannic Majesty consents, that a particular Convention with the Government of the said United States shall regulate, according to the revenues of those States, every thing which may relate to the maintainance of the fortresses already existing, as well as to the subsistence and payment of the British garrisons, and to the number of men of which they shall be composed in time of peace.

The same Convention shall likewise fix the relations which are to exist between the said armed force and the Ionian Government.

Art. 7. The Trading Flag of the United States of the Ionian Islands shall be acknowledged by all the Contracting Parties, as the Flag of a Free and Independent State. It shall carry with the colours, and above the armorial bearings thereon displayed before the year 1807, such other as his Britannic Majesty may think proper to grant, as a mark of the protection under which the said Ionian States are placed, and for the more effectual furtherance of this protection, all the ports and harbours of the said States are hereby declared to be, with respect to honorary and military rights, within British jurisdiction. The commerce between the United Ionian States and the dominions of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall enjoy the same advantages and facilities as that of Great Britain with the said United Ionian States. None but Commercial Agents, or Consuls charged solely with the carrying on commercial relations, and subject to the regulations to which Commercial Agents or Consuls are subject in other Independent States, shall be accredited to the United States of the Ionian Islands.

Art. 8. All the Powers which signed the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815; and also his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and the Ottoman Porte, shall be invited to accede to the present Convention.

Art. 9. The present Act shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in two months or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 5th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

CASTLEREAGH, (L. S.)
WELLINGTON, (L. S.)
Le Prince de RASOUMOFFSKY, (L. S.)
Le Compte CAPO D'ISTRIA, (L. S.)

EXTRACT

OF A PROTOCOL FOR REGULATING THE DISPOSITIONS RELATIVE TO THE TERRITORIES AND PLACES CEDED BY FRANCE, BY ARTICLES 1, 2, and 3, OF TREATY.

The Ministers of the Imperial and Royal Courts of Austria, of Russia, of Great Britain, and of Prussia, having taken into consideration the measures become necessary by those arrangements with France which are to terminate the present war, have agreed to lay down, in the present Protocol, the dispositions relative to the territorial sessions to be made by France, and to the contributions destined for strengthening the line of defence of the bordering States.

Art. 1.—Kingdom of the Low Countries.—Considering that his Majesty the King of the Low Countries ought to participate in a just

proportion in the advantages resulting from the present arrangement with France, and considering the state of his frontiers on the side of that Country, it is agreed, that the districts which formed part of the Belgic Provinces, of the Bishopric of Liege, and of the Duchy of Bouillon, as well as the towns of Phillipeville and Marienbourg, with their territories, which France is to cede to the Allies, shall be assigned to his Majesty the King of the Low Countries, to be united to his dominions.

His Majesty the King of the Low Countries shall receive, moreover, out of that part of the French contribution which is destined towards strengthening the line of defence of the States bordering upon France, the sum of sixty millions of francs, which shall be laid out in fortifying the frontiers of the Low Countries, in conformity with the plans and regulations which the Powers shall settle in this respect.

It is besides agreed, that in consideration of the advantages which his Majesty the King of the Low Countries will derive from these dispositions, both in the increase of, and in the means for defending his territory, that that proportion of the pecuniary indemnity payable by France, to which his said Majesty might lay claim, shall serve towards putting the indemnities of Austria and Prussia on the level of a just proportion.

Art. 2.—Acquisitions of Prussia.—The districts which, by the new Treaty with France, will be detached from the French territory in the department of the Sarre and the Moselle, including the fortress of Sarre-Louis, shall be united to the dominions of the King of Prussia.

Art. 3.—Acquisitions of Austria.—The territories which France is to cede in the department of the Lower Rhine, including the town and fortress of Landau, shall be united to those possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, which devolve to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, by the final act of the Congress of Vienna. His Majesty may dispose of his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, in the territorial arrangements with Bavaria, and other States of the Germanic Confederation.

Art. 4.—Helvetic Confederation.—Versoix, with that part of the Pays de Gex which is to be ceded by France, shall be united to Switzerland, and form part of the Canton of Geneva.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that territory, which is placed north of a line to be drawn from Ugina (including that town) to the south of the Lake of Annecy, and from thence to the Lake of Bourget, as far as the Rhone, in the same manner as it has been extended to the Provinces of Chablris and Faucigny, by the 92d Article of the final Act of the Congress of Vienna.

Art. 5.—Sardinia.—In order that his Majesty the King of Sardinia may participate, in a just proportion, in the advantages resulting from the present arrangement with France, it is agreed, that the portion of Savoy which remained to France in virtue of the Treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, shall be re-united to the dominions of his said Majesty, with the exception of the Commune of St. Julian, which shall be given up to the Canton of Geneva.

The Cabinets of the Allied Courts will use their good offices for inducing his Sardinian Majesty to cede to the Canton of Geneva the Communes of Chesne, Thonex, and some others necessary for disengaging the Swiss territory of Jassy from the effects of the retrocession, by the Canton of Geneva, of that territory situated between the road of Euron and the lake, which had been ceded by his Sardinian Majesty, by the Act of the 29th March, 1815.

The French Government having consented to withdraw its lines of Custom and Excise from the frontiers of Switzerland, on the side of the Jura, the Cabinets of the Allied Powers will employ their good offices for inducing his Sardinian Majesty to withdraw, in like manner, his lines of Custom and Excise, on the side of Savoy, at least upwards of a league from the Swiss frontiers, and on the outside of the great road of Saieve, and of the mountains of Sion and of Waache.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia shall receive, moreover, out of that part of the French contribution which is destined for the strengthening the line of defence of the States bordering upon France, the sum of 10 millions of francs, which is to be laid out in fortifying his frontiers, in conformity with the plans and regulations which the Powers shall settle in this respect.

It is likewise agreed, that, in consideration of the advantages which his Sardinian Majesty will derive from these dispositions, both in the extention and in the means for defending his territory, that part of the pecuniary indemnity payable by France, to which his said Majesty might lay claim, shall serve towards putting the indemnities of Austria and Prussia on the level of a just proportion.

N. B. The previous Treaties, with alterations yet to take place, but concluded have rendered the Acts of Congress comparatively of little use, therefore they are ommitted.

WAR-OFFICE, December 23, 1815.

His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve of the undermentioned regiments being permitted to bear on their colours and appointments, in addition to any other badges or devices which may have been heretofore granted to those regiments, the word "*Waterloo*," in commemoration of their distinguished services on the 18th of June, 1815.

1st Life Guards,
2d Life Guards,
Royal Horse Guards,
1st Dragoon Guards,
Royal Dragoons,
2d Royal North British Dragoons,
6th Regiment of Dragoons,
7th Regiment of Light Dragoons,
10th do. do. do.
11th do. do. do.
12th do. do. do.
13th Regiment of Light Dragoons,
15th do. do. do.
16th do. do. do.
18th do. do. do.
23d do. do. do.
Royal Waggon Train,
Royal Artillery,
Royal Engineers,
1st German Light Dragoons,
2d do. do.

1st German Hussars,
3d do. do.
Grenadier Guards, 2d battalion,
Do. do. 3d do.
Coldstream Guards, 2d battalion,
3d Foot Guards, 2d battalion,
Royal Scots, 2d battalion,
4th Regiment of Foot, 1st battalion,
14th do. do. 3d do.
23d do. do.
27th do. do. 1st battalion.
28th do. do.
30th do. do. 2d do.
32d do. do.
33d do. do.
40th do. do. 1st do.
42d do. do.
44th do. do. 2d do.
51st do. do.
52d Regiment of Foot,
69th do. do. 2d battalion,
71st do. do. 1st do.
73d do. do. 2d do.
79th do. do. 1st do.
92d do. do
95th do. do. 1st do.
95th do. do. 2d do. 6 comp.
95th do. do. 3d do. 2 comp.
Royal Staff Corps,
1st German Light Battalion,
2d do. do.
1st do. do.
2d do. do.
3d do. do.
4th do. do.
5th do. do.
8th do. do.
German Artillery.

After that part of this work relating to the affairs of Nismes was published, the following official and important letter from the Duke of Wellington was made public. It was wrote in answer to one addressed to him from the Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, established in London, requiring from him, in his official capacity, information concerning these affairs. It completely confirms that it was not religious, but political feelings and principles which were the great cause of all these horrors.

(Copy.) *Paris, 28th November*, 1815.

Gentlemen,

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 24th instant, and I take the earliest opportunity of replying to it.

I have every reason to believe that the public, and the Society of which you are Secretaries, have been misinformed regarding what is passing in the South of France.

It is natural that there should be violent contests in a country in which the people are divided, not only by a difference of religion, but likewise by a difference of political opinion; and that, the religion of every individual being in general the sign of the political party to which he belongs, and at a moment of peculiar political interest, and of weakness in the Government, on account of the mutiny of the army, that the weaker party should suffer, and that much injustice

and violence should be committed by individuals of the more numerous preponderating party. But as far as I have any knowledge, acquired during my residence at this Court last year, and since the entrance of the Allies into Paris, the Government have done every thing in their power to put an end to the disturbances which have prevailed in the South of France, and to protect all his Majesty's subjects, in conformity with his Majesty's promise in his Royal Charter, in the exercise of their religious duties according to their several persuasions, and in the enjoyment of their several privileges, whatever may be their religious persuasions.

In a recent instance, an officer, General La Garde, was sent down to Nismes, specially by Government, to inquire into the state of affairs in that country, and upon his first report he had orders to open the Protestant Churches, which, in the course of the contest between the parties, had been closed. He was severely wounded when in the execution of these orders; and I have been informed by good authority, that his Royal Highness the Duc d'Angouleme has since marched at the head of a body of troops against those who had opposed themselves to the execution, by General La Garde, of the orders of the Government.

I inclose a copy of the King's Ordinance issued in consequence of this event, which sufficiently shews the views and intentions of the Government.

I have further to inform you, that it is not true that the salaries of the Protestant Ministers have been discontinued by the King of France.

I trust that what I have above stated will convince the Society, of which you are the Secretaries, that the King of France's Government, at least, are not to blame on account of the unfortunate circumstances which have occurred in the South of France.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Mr. T. Wilks and Mr. T. Pellat, Secretaries to the Protestant Society for Protection of Religious Liberty.

EDWARD KHULL, AND CO. PRINTERS, GLASGOW.

ERRATA.

Page 46, line 8, *for* in *read* as.—p. 74, l. 32, *for* his *read* their.—p. 133, l. 6, *for* present the *read* the present.—p. 156, l. 2, *for* 120 *read* 12.—p. 152, l. 18, *after* infantry *read* and.—p. 158, l. 24, *for* me *read* men.—p. 177, l. 34, *for* that *read* those.—p. 200, l. 26, *for* peevish *read* feverish.—p. 200, l. 35, *for* occasions *read* occasion.—p. 204, l. 28, *for* denied *read* decreed.—p. 226, l. 11 and 12, *for* Babylon,an *read* Babylonian.—p. 251, l. 30, *for* a division of Gerard's corps *read* Gerard's division of the second corps.—p. 265, l. 8, *for* the *read* their.—p. 280, l. 20, and in the note, *for* Stewart *read* Stuart.—p. 302, l. 12, *for* egg *read* breast.—p. 360, l. 35, in a few copies, *for* he *read* be.—p. 382, l. 35, *for* negotiation *read* recognition.—p. 410, l. 22, *for* wiped *read* swept.—p. 411, l. 3d, *for* determined *read* destined.—p. 425, l. 34, *for* the secret which springs *read* the secret springs.—p. 444, l. 10, *for* crush *read* crash.—p. 467, l. 7, *for* remarkable *read* respectable.—p. 470, l. 16, in note, *for* Rochambeau *read* Dillon.—p. 477, l. 16. *for* which were here *read* were here.—p. 482, l. 14, *for* unadultered *read* unadulterated.—p. 543, l. 17, *for* refrain *read* restrain.

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